

PROCEEDINGS

OF THE GENERAL

ANTI-SLAVERY CONVENTION,

CALLED BY THE COMMITTEE OF THE

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

AND

HELD IN LONDON,

FROM

FRIDAY, JUNE 12TH, TO TUESDAY, JUNE 23RD, 1840.

LONDON:

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

27, NEW BROAD STREET;

THOMAS WARD AND CO., AND HAMILTON, ADAMS AND CO., PATERNOSTER ROW;

J. L. PORTER, SLOANE STREET, CHELSEA; BIRMINGHAM, J. W. SHOWELL

LIVERPOOL, MARFLES; DUBLIN, CURRY, JUN. AND CO.; EDINBURGH,

OLIPHANT AND SON; GLASGOW, W. COLLINS; NORWICH,

JARROLD AND SON; NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE, JAMES

FINLAY, AND OTHER BOOKSELLERS.

1841.

LONDON:
JOHNSTON AND BARRETT,
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P R E F A C E.

IN committing the following work to the press, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, feel that they are not merely performing the duty devolved on them by the Convention, in presenting to the world a faithful record of their proceedings, but are essentially promoting the great object for which that distinguished body of philanthropists met, namely, the universal Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade.

The extent of these giant evils may be gathered from a brief statement of facts. In the United States of America, the slave population is estimated to be 2,750,000; in the Brazils, 2,500,000; in the Spanish Colonies, 600,000; in the French Colonies, 265,000; in the Dutch Colonies, 70,000; in the Danish and Swedish Colonies, 30,000; and in Texas, 25,000; besides those held in bondage by Great Britain, in the East Indies, and the British settlements of Ceylon, Malacca, and Penang, and by France, Holland, and Portugal, in various parts of Asia and Africa, amounting in all to several millions more; and exclusive also of those held in bondage by the native powers of the East, and other parts of the world, of whose number it is impossible to form a correct estimate.

To supply the slave-markets of the Western world, 120,000 native Africans are, on the most moderate calculation, annually required; whilst the slave-markets of the East require 50,000 more. In procuring these victims of a guilty traffic to be devoted to the rigours of perpetual slavery, it is computed that 280,000 perish in addition, and under circumstances the most revolting and afflicting.

But this is not all. In the southern section of the United States, and in British India, a vast internal slave-trade is carried on, second only in horror and extent to that which has so long desolated and degraded Africa.

These facts exhibit also the magnitude of the responsibility which devolves upon Abolitionists: in view of it they may well be allowed

to disclaim, as they do, all sectarian motive, all party feeling : “ Glory to God in the highest, on earth peace, good will to men ” is their aim : consistently with the blessed character of this gospel anthem, they recognise no means as allowable for them, in the prosecution of their holy enterprise than those which are of a MORAL, RELIGIOUS, AND PACIFIC NATURE ; in the diligent use of these means, and trusting in God, they cherish the hope that, under His blessing, they may be permitted to accomplish the great work to which they are devoted, and thus be made instrumental in advancing the sacred cause of Freedom, and its attendant blessings, Civilization and Religion, throughout the earth.

The following scheme was prepared by the Committee, for the purpose of facilitating the business of the Convention ; not to rule or limit the discussions of the assembled delegates, but to give them form and order, and to suggest topics of interest and importance connected with the vast and momentous question of slavery.

I. SLAVERY.

1. GENERAL VIEW OF SLAVERY.—*Define Slavery ; various kinds.*

- (1.) Its essential sinfulness, and its opposition to the genius and precepts of the Gospel.
- (2.) Its impolicy with relation to commerce, population, &c.
- (3.) Its influence on legislation, and the security of society.
- (4.) Its moral influence on the character of the enslaver and the enslaved.
- (5.) Its opposition to the advance of civilization, education, and christianity.

2. PRESENT OPERATION OF SLAVERY.—*Number of bondsmen ; features of bondage in*

- (1.) British India and Ceylon.
- (2.) French West Indies.
- (3.) Spanish West Indies.
- (4.) Dutch colonial possessions.

- (5.) Danish West Indies.
- (6.) Swedish West Indies.
- (7.) United States.
- (8.) Texas.
- (9.) South America.
- (10.) Mohammedan countries.

II. SLAVE-TRADE.

- (1.) Its nature—means of obtaining slaves—deportation and middle passage—its physical, commercial, political, and moral effect.
- (2.) Its progress and present extent—victims of professed Christian nations—State of the internal Slave-trade in the United States of America—victims of Mohammedans.
- (3.) Causes of its continuance and increase.

III. RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION, AND OF THE EFFORTS FOR ABOLISHING THE SLAVE-TRADE.

1. EMANCIPATION.

- (1.) Progress of emancipation—Hayti—South American Republic—British Colonies.
- (2.) Success of free labour—advantage to property—profit to employer and labourer.
- (3.) Emigration to emancipated colonies—Europeans—Africans, by engagement, capture from slavers—natives of British India.
- (4.) Condition of the Emancipated—physical, intellectual, moral, civil, social—hardships—Prejudice of Colour—Freedom of Rights—Protection of the Emancipated and their friends—United States—Canada—Hayti—Free States of South America—Brazil—the British West Indies.

2. SLAVE-TRADE ABOLITION.

- (1.) Progress of the *Slave-Trade Abolition*—Britain—Continental nations—America.

(2.) Failure of the means employed in the suppression of the Trade—Treaties—Armed Force.

(3.) Remaining obstacles.

(4.) Condition of liberated Africans—at Sierra Leone—Cape of Good Hope—Liberia—Cuba—Surinam—Rio—West Indies.

IV. PLANS FOR SECURING UNIVERSAL EMANCIPATION, AND THE ENTIRE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.

The difficulties should be noticed, and the delusiveness of any transition state exhibited.

(1.) The general principle of immediate and entire Abolition—by the overthrow of slavery the demand for the slave-trade shall cease—plans of a pacific, moral, and religious nature.

(2.) Measures—Intercourse of abolitionists—frequent conference on their several plans—notice plans.

Propriety of withholding Christian fellowship from Slaveholders, their abettors and apologists; and the faithful exposure of the abuses and enormities of the system.

Fiscal, commercial, social, and domestic arrangements for discouraging slave produce, and promoting the use of free-grown.

International:—Free Governments endeavouring to influence others that tolerate either Slavery or the Slave-trade.

The influence of literature.

Christian addresses to Pastors and Churches implicated in the maintenance of the system.

Testimonies emanating from collective Societies of Christians and of Abolitionists.

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CONCLUSION.

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PROCEEDINGS, &c.

PURSUANT to previous announcement, the Convention opened its sittings in FREEMASONS' HALL, GREAT QUEEN-STREET, LONDON, on Friday, June 12th, 1840. The members began to assemble before 10 o'clock, and by 11 o'clock the spacious Hall was filled. The upper end and one side of the room were appropriated to ladies, of whom a considerable number were present, including several female abolitionists from the United States.

W. T. BLAIR, Esq.* (of Bath) rose, and said—

Our venerable friend, THOMAS CLARKSON, will shortly enter the room. I am requested to suggest, in consideration of the infirm state of his health, that there be no expression of popular approbation on his entrance. Perhaps the most acceptable way in which he can be received, will be by the company standing.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq., then entered the room, leaning on the arm of W. D. CREWDSON, Esq., and JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., and accompanied by his daughter-in-law and grandson.

WILLIAM ALLEN, Esq.—I have been requested by the Committee to propose to this numerous and respectable assembly, that our friend, THOMAS CLARKSON, be Chairman of this Convention.

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq. (of New York), seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to.

At the suggestion of some of the members of the Convention, a few minutes were spent in devotional silence.

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. (of Birmingham).—I hope I shall be excused for making one or two remarks before the business of the meeting commences. Those who have known our dear and honoured CHAIRMAN only through the unimpaired intellectual vigour evinced in a work which has recently appeared

* The places represented by the respective delegates, may be found on reference to an alphabetical list appended to this volume.

before the public, can little estimate how much he suffers from bodily weakness, and what a sacrifice it has been to him to comply with the unanimous wish of the Committee that he would preside on this occasion ; or how much cause we have for thankfulness that he is yet spared to be amongst us, for however short a period, at the age of more than eighty years. On the last occasion that our dear friend appeared in public, except the one when the freedom of this city was presented to him at the Guildhall, he was so overcome by the heat of the room, and the applause of the audience, that he was unable to proceed with his address ; but the kind and delicate manner in which this assembly have now abstained from the usual expressions of approbation, will, I trust, spare him any of those painful sensations on the present occasion ;—he will feel that he is surrounded by his friends. The Committee, who have made preliminary arrangements, were particularly anxious to afford every warm friend of the cause an opportunity of being present at this Convention ; nevertheless, to avoid giving offence, they have found it necessary strictly to adhere to the rule laid down for granting tickets of admission to visitors, but I am sure they will not be charged with partiality because they have, at the express request of the CHAIRMAN, made a few exceptions. I allude to one of these, for the purpose of introducing my young friend who stands beside me, who is the only living representative of THOMAS CLARKSON, and who bears his name. [Mr. STURGE here took the youth by the hand, but was so much affected, as to be for some time unable to proceed. The deep sympathy of the meeting was audibly testified.] It was the particular wish of the father of our cause, whose labours extend over a period of fifty-six years, that his grandson should be present ; and I hope I shall not in the least degree wound the delicacy of his widowed parent, by saying, in her presence, that it is the dearest wish of her heart, that her darling and only child should consecrate his future life to the great cause which we are this day met to promote. It is an interesting fact, which I did not know till yesterday, that this is the birth-day [nine years,] of the youthful THOMAS CLARKSON ; and if I venture to give expression to the earnest prayer of my heart, that the blessing of God may rest upon him, and that, with the descending mantle of his ancestor, he may catch a double portion of his spirit, I am sure it will find a response in the bosom of very many in this assembly.—(Cries of “Amen.”) When many of us are removed to that bourn where the wicked cease from troubling and the weary are at rest, and where all distinctions of clime and colour will be swept away for ever, may he see the day when the Divine blessing shall have so eminently crowned this great cause of justice and of mercy, that the sun shall cease to rise upon a tyrant or set upon a slave.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq.—My dear friends, I stand before you as an humble individual whose life has been most intimately connected with the subject which you are met this day to consider. I was formerly, under Providence, the originator, and am now unhappily the only surviving member of the Committee which was first instituted in this country in the year 1787, for the abolition of the slave-trade. My dear friend and fellow-labourer, Mr. WILBERFORCE, who was one of them, is, as you know, dead ; and here I may say of him, that there never was a man either dead or living, to whom your cause was more indebted than to him. My dear friend and fellow-labourer, WILLIAM SMITH, the late member for Norwich, who was another of them, is dead also, by whose indefatigable exertions for nearly fifty years, both in and

out of Parliament, it was most vigorously supported. As to the rest of the Committee, SAMUEL HOARE, WILLIAM DILLWYN, GEORGE HARRISON, RICHARD PHILLIPS, and the other dear friends, whose names I am sorry that I cannot at this moment recollect, these also are all dead, and gone no doubt to their eternal rest. My dear friends, I was invited many months ago to be at this meeting, but old age and infirmities, being lame and nearly blind, and besides being otherwise seriously affected at times, gave me no hope of attending. At length, I have been permitted to come among you; and I rejoice in it, if I were only allowed to say in this place, in reference to your future labours—*take courage, be not dismayed, go on, persevere to the last*; you will always have pleasure from the thought of having done so. I myself can say with truth, that though my body is fast going to decay, my heart beats as warmly in this sacred cause, now in the 81st year of my age, as it did at the age of 24, when I first took it up. And I can say further with truth, that if I had another life given me to live, I would devote it to the same object. So far for your encouragement to persevere. My dear friends, you have a most difficult task to perform; it is neither more nor less than the extirpation of slavery from the *whole world*. Your opponents who appear the most formidable, are the cotton and other planters in the southern parts of the United States; who, I am grieved to say, hold more than two millions of their fellow-creatures in the most cruel bondage. Now, we know of these men, that they are living in the daily habits of injustice, cruelty, and oppression, and may be therefore said to have no true fear of God, nor any just sense of religion. You cannot therefore expect to have the same hold upon the consciences of these as you have upon the consciences of others. How then can you get at them so as to influence their conduct? There is one way; you must endeavour to make them feel their guilt in its consequences. You must endeavour by all justifiable means to affect their temporal interests. You must endeavour, among other things, to have the produce of free tropical labour brought into the markets of Europe, and under-sell them there; and if you can do this, your victory is sure. I have only now to say, may the Supreme Ruler of all human events, at whose disposal are not only the hearts but the intellects of men, may He in his abundant mercy, guide your councils, and give his blessing upon your labours.

W. D. CREWDSON, Esq. (of Kendal).—It is of very great importance to the comfort of our venerable President, that the solemn feeling which has been over the meeting should be continued whilst we are favoured with his presence. I trust that by the exercise of this feeling he may be permitted to remain with us longer than he now anticipates. I should be sorry if he stayed to weary or oppress himself; but for a few minutes it may be interesting to him to see what is the course which this meeting intends to pursue in the prosecution of its important labours. In the first place, I have to introduce to the meeting a communication from LORD BROUGHAM, on whom two gentlemen with myself waited yesterday, to inform him as an old, a very active, and a powerful friend of the cause in which we are now engaged, of what was going forward; and to request him, if it were possible, even for a few minutes only, to give his attendance at this meeting. I am sorry to say, that the state of his health is such, that he thinks it necessary to decline; but he sent a letter last night, addressed to me, which I will request our friend, the Rev. T. SCALES, to read to the meeting.

The Rev. T. SCALES, (of Leeds), then read the following letter :—

“ *House of Lords, Thursday.* ”

“ GENTLEMEN,—I am much honoured by the request which you have made to me through your deputation this morning, that I would attend the meeting of delegates to-morrow ; and I assure you that it is very painful for me to be under the necessity of refusing. But the state of my health has been such for some time past, that I am barely able to discharge those duties in this place from which I cannot withdraw, and I have been compelled to lay down a rule against going to any public meeting whatever. Of all the instances in which I have been obliged to follow this rule, there is no one which has given me greater pain ; for I need hardly say how deeply I feel interested in whatever concerns the great cause which brings you together. I earnestly hope that all your proceedings may be guided by the same wisdom, and animated by the same zeal, which have from the earliest period of the controversy, been displayed by the friends of humanity and justice ; and I trust that, under the blessing of Providence continued to their exertions, our earnest desires may finally be crowned with success. I have the honour to be, gentlemen, your faithful and humble servant,

“ BROUGHAM.”

“ *To the Committee of Management of Delegates.* ”

Mr. CREWDSON resumed.

The next subject which I have to bring before the meeting, is the appointment of Vice-Chairmen, in order to relieve our PRESIDENT. It was thought necessary at this early stage of the business to be provided with those who should efficiently occupy the Chair, and considering the extent of labour which is likely to rest upon them, the Committee have thought it expedient to propose four gentlemen, whose names I shall now submit to this meeting for their consideration, and I trust, their adoption. I beg leave, therefore, to move—

That WILLIAM THOMAS BLAIR, Esq., of Bath, JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., of Birmingham, JAMES GILLESPIE BIRNEY, Esq., of New York, and ROBERT KAYE GREVILLE, Esq., LL.D., of Edinburgh, be requested to become Vice-Chairmen of this Convention.

GEORGE BRADBURN, Esq., (of the Massachusetts legislature, U. S.) seconded the motion, which was agreed to.

Rev. HENRY GREW, (of Philadelphia, U. S.)—It is with emotions which no language can describe, that I proceed to the discharge of a duty very interesting to myself, and I trust to all who are present. I have to present to our venerated and respected CHAIRMAN, a memorial of the high regard which the friends of liberty in the western world entertain for his benevolent services in a cause dear to humanity. It consists of a book,

containing a history of the Pennsylvania Hall. That Hall was erected by the friends of liberty, for the advocacy of the general principles of free discussion on all subjects, but especially on the great topic of human rights. On the 14th of May, 1838, it was opened and consecrated to virtue, liberty, and independence. We hoped that it would have stood until the jubilee of universal emancipation should have cheered a regenerated world. But in the inscrutable counsels of infinite wisdom, it was otherwise ordained. On the evening of the 17th of the same month it was destroyed by a mob, instigated and infuriated by that demon spirit of slavery which has cursed the world. I am charged by my friend, SAMUEL WEBB, of Philadelphia, one of the managers of Pennsylvania Hall, to present this volume. Considering the state of health of our dearly beloved friend, the CHAIRMAN, and the value of your time, I shall not now enter into a detail of the circumstances of this catastrophe. I will only express a hope, in which I shall be joined by millions of kindred spirits in the old world and in the new, that his declining days may be crowned and blessed, and consummated by "the peace of God, which passeth all understanding," and that he may then have an abundant entrance ministered unto him into that temple into which the powers of darkness shall never be able to enter, but where the Lord God Almighty and the Lamb shall be the glory.

The Rev. W. KNIBB, (from Jamaica).—I will claim your indulgence for only one moment. I beg to present on behalf of 300,000 emancipated slaves in the island of Jamaica, the only tribute which they have to give, but which I am sure is the best tribute they could give, to my venerated father, THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq., namely, the propriety of their conduct since they have been made men. I did not expect that I should have been permitted to address this assembly, and thus publicly to return thanks to one whom I shall ever respect and admire. I have an engraving of a view of one of our chapels in Jamaica, in which the first Anti-Slavery meeting was held in that beloved island. If I had been aware of this opportunity, I would have presented it publicly to our CHAIRMAN, but I shall now forward it privately on behalf of those whom I formerly knew as slaves, but whom I now know as freemen, rising in intelligence, and exhibiting to the world that propriety of conduct, which has won for the emancipated sons and daughters of Africa, universal admiration.

J. H. TREDGOLD, Esq., Hon. Secretary to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, then read the summons of the Convention.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

Offices, 27, New Broad-street, London.

More than half a century has elapsed since the horrors, the cruelty, and crime of the African slave trade awakened the sympathies of Britons. Aroused to exertion they determined on its extinction. They had to contend with fierce opposition from almost every quarter, especially from those interested in supporting this iniquitous traffic; their discouragements were all but overwhelming: yet, knowing their cause to be the cause of humanity and religion, they did not faint, they

laboured diligently and devotedly ; every obstacle at length gave way ; and in the year 1807, a Law was enacted by the British Legislature for its extinction.

In the year 1823, the condition of the slaves in the British Colonies was brought before Parliament ; strenuous efforts were made in every shape to resist Emancipation ; a Society was then formed for the Abolition of Slavery ; information was circulated through the country ; Auxiliary Societies were established ; public feeling was universally excited ; petitions were poured into both Houses of Parliament, and laid before the Throne, from cities, towns, and villages. In 1833, an Act was passed by the Legislature for the Abolition of Slavery in the British Colonies ; but, although a generous and confiding nation was betrayed into a grant of *Twenty Millions* sterling to the slave-owners, the slave was not yet made a freeman ; consigned to an apprenticeship of six years, subject to the domination of the same master, he still groaned under the oppression and cruelty inseparable from the state in which he was placed ; personal inspection confirmed the worst apprehensions of the abolitionists, and proved that the apprenticeship was only slavery under another name. Again, the sympathies of the British nation were aroused, and, under the blessing of the Most High, the efforts of the friends of justice and humanity were finally crowned with success. The slaves were released from their oppressive servitude, and freedom was conferred on every descendant of Africa in the British Colonies.

The labourers in this cause, notwithstanding their joy and thanksgiving for the events they had been permitted to witness, could not look upon the accomplishment of these great objects as the signal for repose ; they could not but feel that, from a variety of circumstances attendant upon his new condition in life, the recently emancipated slave had a powerful claim upon the protection and assistance of those who had laboured for his deliverance from bondage ; they had rejoiced in the liberation of 800,000 of their fellow-subjects, but they could not forget that in the nations of the American Continent and its adjacent islands, upwards of Five Millions of the descendants of Africa were still groaning under the oppression, and subject to the cruelty of slavery. It has been ascertained from conclusive evidence, that, to supply the slave-markets in these countries, and the fearful waste of human life consequent on this atrocious system, *upwards of one thousand* of the inhabitants of Africa are *daily* sacrificed to the slave-trade, either as

victims to the wars fomented in their native land, lost during the indescribable sufferings of the middle passage, or, at length, consigned to the oppressions of slavery on the shores of the western world. In addition to this, it may be observed, that in the United States of America, an internal slave-trade is carried on to a prodigious and increasing extent, and with features of the most disgusting depravity and revolting cruelty.

Thus the slave trade, justly designated by the Allied Sovereigns, at the Congress of Verona, on the 8th of February, 1815, as “a scourge which has too long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity,” though piracy by British law, and contraband to other civilized nations, baffles all measures which have been devised for its suppression, and is still carried on to an unprecedented extent, and with aggravated horrors. These considerations induced the friends of justice and humanity again to assemble. Deputies met from various parts of Great Britain, and a Society was formed in London, in the spring of the present year, (1839) under the name of the “British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.”

The fundamental principles of this Association are embodied in the following resolution :—

“That so long as slavery exists there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects, but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.”

From the foregoing Resolution it will be seen, that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society is impressed with the conviction that there is no reasonable prospect of exterminating the slave-trade but by the annihilation of slavery itself; and that, in pursuing its object, it is entirely restricted from being accessory to the employment of an armed force, or of any means but those of a moral, religious, and pacific character. Degraded and forlorn as is the condition of the slave, the members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society cannot but feel persuaded, that there is no country in which there will not be

found those who commiserate his condition, and who would desire to prove themselves the friends and protectors of the oppressed. To these, in EVERY LAND, the Society offers the right hand of fellowship, and earnestly solicits their co-operation. Justice and mercy are most strongly inculcated by the precepts of our blessed Lord, "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." "Be ye therefore merciful as your Father also is merciful." These precepts may well embolden the friends of the slave to come forward and plead the cause of their oppressed, helpless, and afflicted brethren.

The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in thus announcing itself to the friends of the slave of every nation, strongly urges it upon them, wherever it may be practicable, to associate themselves, and unitedly, as well as individually, to labour for the extinction of slavery; a system which, whether regarded in a political, moral, or religious point of view, is alike inimical to the prosperity of Nations, corrupting and demoralizing to every community in which it exists, and utterly at variance with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. For the purpose of promoting this great and truly Christian object, the Society has concluded to hold a General Conference in London, to commence on the 12th of June, 1840; in order to deliberate on the best means of promoting the interests of the slave; of obtaining his immediate and unconditional freedom; and by every pacific measure, to hasten the utter extinction of the slave trade. To this Conference they earnestly invite the friends of every nation and of every clime.

On behalf of the Committee,

JOHN H. TREDGOLD, *Secretary*.

GEORGE STACEY, Esq.—I have been unexpectedly called upon to move a resolution, which I will proceed to submit to the Convention. It is as follows:—

That the following gentlemen be invited to act as Secretaries during this Convention, JOHN SCOBLE, of London, HENRY BREWSTER STANTON, of New York, THOMAS SCALES, of Leeds, WILLIAM BEVAN, of Liverpool, WENDELL PHILLIPS, of Boston, Massachusetts, and WILLIAM MORGAN, of Birmingham.

The Rev. JOHN BURNET seconded the resolution.—It is of great importance (he observed) that we should have efficient, devoted, and persevering Secretaries. No Society can go on well without such Secretaries, and the individuals that are now proposed have proved their perfect competency to carry on the work which is to be committed to their hands. I have been very

much pleased with the way in which this meeting has opened, its proceedings augur well for the future circumstances connected with the movements of this Society. I have been pleased with the readiness with which the meeting has taken the hint thrown out to it respecting your own feelings, Sir, and your own age. I have been pleased to find that in the midst of all the ardour and devotedness which they feel in common with myself in the anti-slavery cause, they are yet able so to control that ardour, and that devotedness, as to prove that they can act with the cool deliberation of men ; while they can, at the same time, when need requires, display all the emotion of individuals whose every feeling is enlisted in this great cause. I trust that the same self-control will pervade all the proceedings of this Convention to its close. I trust that there will be found no individual who will not be ready to feel that he is embarked in a great cause, in the presence of which every personality must sink, and every passion must die, except the passion of a well directed, a burning, but a wisely controlled zeal for the great object we have in view. I do hope, Sir, that we shall have reason at the close of this Convention, to congratulate ourselves, and to congratulate you, that at the evening of your life, you have come, surrounded by the recollections of many long years, to give the sanction of your presence and your opinions to such a great and interesting object. I trust that the meeting at large will take a lesson from the appearance you have made here to-day, associating with your weakness of body all that energy of mind which has long distinguished your career, and which I trust, will long distinguish those, to whom you have commended a similar course.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

The Rev. THOMAS SCALES.—I feel that the office to which, in common with several other gentlemen, you have been pleased to call me, is one of considerable labour, but of still greater responsibility, and I feel exceedingly anxious that we may be assisted with all that is requisite to enable us rightly and faithfully to discharge its duties. One of our number, Mr. SCOBLE, to whom the cause owes so much, is prevented by severe, personal, and domestic indisposition from being with us this morning, but I hope that in a day or two, he will unite with us in our important engagements. I wish also to intimate that of the Secretaries who have now been appointed by you, two of our friends are from America. Mr. STANTON is well known as one of the valuable Secretaries of that important Society which has been established in the United States for the abolition of slavery, and which, under the blessing of heaven, has laboured with so much ardour and effect ; and Mr. PHILLIPS is well-known as a devoted advocate of this sacred cause, who has consecrated the energies of his heart and mind to the object for which we are associated. I hope that by your forbearance and sympathy, and by assistance from on high, we shall discharge the duty committed to us in such a way, as to subserve the great end for which we are come together in this Convocation.

JAMES MOTT, Esq. (of Philadelphia, U. S.) moved,

That the following gentlemen be appointed a press Committee to superintend the publication of the reports of the Convention : JOHN BEAUMONT, J. H. TREDGOLD, JOSEPH COOPER, and HENRY TUCKETT, Esquires.

The Rev. JOHN ANGELL JAMES, (of Birmingham).—This is a motion of mere formal business, which precludes me, even if I were disposed and able, from addressing the meeting at any length. I cannot, however, avoid expressing that I really feel it an ineffable honour to second a resolution on such a subject as this, which has been moved by one of the delegates from America, and which places me in juxta-position with the friends on that side the Atlantic in this great and noble cause. I also feel it an honour to second a resolution which is to be put to this meeting, Sir, by yourself. I would simply express my prayer, that this Convention, which I rejoice you have lived long enough to witness, may be the evening star of your life, and the morning star of that dear youth, who, I trust, will stand before the public as your representative in this cause, long after you have gone to your eternal rest.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

GEORGE THOMPSON, Esq. (of Edinburgh).—However my heart may throb to give expression to those sentiments, which the grand objects of this meeting and the presence of the champions of human rights from all sections of the globe, and those irresistibly touching scenes upon which our eyes have gazed to-day, for the first and for the last time, are calculated naturally to inspire in my bosom, and in yours ; this is not the stage of the proceedings of this Convention at which it would be good taste to occupy much time in the submission of any resolution, because the resolutions are at present quite preliminary, and have reference to that business which will afford us the opportunity, by and by, of largely expressing our views upon all those topics that are connected with the interests of that cause in which we are embarked. But for the information of the venerable CHAIRMAN, I would say, he has before him on this occasion, not only the tried and trusty friends of human liberty in this kingdom ; but he has before him, on either side of him, and in the distance, those who have not only laboured, but suffered and sacrificed, more than language can express, in this same cause, in the western hemisphere of our world. Ere he retires, I am anxious that he should feel that his advice, his counsel, and his energy are appreciated most deeply by those who have been permitted this day to behold him for the first time. I am sure that our friends from the other side of the Atlantic will depart inspired and encouraged by the words of comfort which have been addressed to them from the Chair. I trust, Sir, that the example which you have set us, of dedicating our children and our grand-children to the cause of freedom, will be followed by all who have wept tears of emotion over the scene we have witnessed this day. I heartily unite in the expressions which have already fallen from the lips of preceding speakers, hoping that our future deliberations, while they are characterised by the highest principle, and by the greatest fervour, may at the same time be characterised by good taste and Christian forbearance, and *that* wisdom which is profitable to direct.

Mr. THOMPSON concluded by submitting a series of regulations for conducting the business of the Convention, which, having been seconded by the Rev. NATHANIEL COLVER, of Boston, Massachusetts, were, after some discussion, amended and unanimously adopted in the following form :—

1.—That this Convention do sit twice in each day, commencing at ten o'clock in the morning, and at four o'clock in the afternoon ; and that the VICE-CHAIRMEN be requested to preside alternately in the absence of the PRESIDENT.

2.—That all original papers, propositions, and resolutions be submitted in writing to the Secretaries, the day before it is proposed to introduce them ; and that all amendments and propositions arising out of business under discussion, be submitted to the CHAIRMAN in writing at the time.

3.—That the Secretaries be instructed to report at the close of each day to the CHAIRMAN the subjects upon which it is proposed that information shall the next day be communicated to the Convention, and that such subjects shall be regularly disposed of before any other matter be introduced.

4.—That as occasions may arise, Committees shall be appointed to draft addresses, prepare resolutions, &c. &c., to be passed through the hands of the Secretaries to the CHAIRMAN.

5.—That no member of Convention shall be allowed to speak twice on the same subject, except in explanation ; or the opener, by way of conclusion, in reply.

6.—That all documents shall be signed by the CHAIRMAN.

7.—That all letters and documents addressed to this Convention, or to the CHAIRMAN, be referred to the Secretaries.

8.—That no new business be introduced in the morning sitting, after two o'clock, P.M.

DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq. M.P., on the request of the Chairman, next addressed the meeting. I feel, (said the honourable and learned gentleman), that it would be impossible to resist such a request. It is to me a sacred command. I should not detain this highly respectable meeting many seconds, if one idea were not impressed on my mind. It is this,—much has been done by Great Britain in the cause of our coloured brethren ; their emancipation was a great and majestic act, and it has been followed by consequences which, if you looked at them alone, have been of the utmost value to humanity. Under the British flag, with the exception of the East Indies, slavery no longer exists ; and those who were compelled heretofore to labour for the advantage of others, now labour for their own, their wives, their children, and their families. It would be quite impossible to exaggerate what has been done. You have struck off the fetters from 800,000 human beings ; from the rank of slaves you have made them free ; but then you have not done all ; there remains much yet to be effected. Even your benevolence and humanity have left a larger blot than before upon the escutcheon of human nature. You have left behind you the Slave-Trade, and emancipation has multiplied its victims. You have come together for the very purpose of doing away with the injury inflicted

on Africa, not by your efforts, but by the avarice of others. You are not responsible for it—they are. But the fact I rose to impress upon you is this—that this Convention is more important than any which has yet assembled on the face of the globe. Men have come more than 5000 miles in order to attend it. They have come here not from selfish motives, not to advance their own interests, not to acquire pride and glory from participating in your objects; but from higher and more ennobling motives—from a desire to serve the cause of humanity. You have representatives from the neighbouring kingdoms of Europe—you have them from every portion of the British isles—and no portion of the British isles ought to be exempted from our meeting. You have at this Convention the patriarch of the cause of liberty, and I am delighted that that venerable gentleman has lived to see a consummation which, when he commenced his labours, the fervid imagination of his youth could not have conceived. He has been the prime moving cause of that majestic operation of British justice. It is delightful that he has lived to witness the purest of all fame. This is a powerful assembly; but in proportion to its importance, so is the awfulness of the duty imposed upon it. Are you met to teach morals, to display talent, and to show a good disposition? Yes, you may meet for all these purposes, but they are totally insufficient for your work, and without some great movement in favour of humanity, it would have been better that you had never met: for, instead of doing good, you will create a re-action favourable to the foes of the human race, and will assist, in fact, those nations that, from political considerations, have pledged themselves to the British crown to assist in putting an end to human slavery, and are yet practising all manner of deceit, redoubling the horrors of the middle passage, and committing thousands of murders more than were perpetrated in the worst period of our slave-trade. The only reason why I rose to obey the call was, the opportunity it furnished of raising my humble voice in earnest solicitations, that this meeting should not break up until it has made a movement forward—until it has made those arrangements which in your wisdom you may think most fit, in order to establish co-operating societies in every country of the world. I am proud to see gentlemen present from Massachusetts, because the Massachusetts legislature having perceived that in point of law the first paragraph of their declaration of independence—the charter of American freedom—is inconsistent with slavery,—upon the construction of that clause alone they have determined that no slavery shall exist in that state. I come back to my only point, that it is the duty of every one of us to work out our principles, to take care that something permanent results from our operations, and that they shall not prove transitory. It does not become me to suggest what they should be, but I am ready, as a man of business, to adopt measures which shall produce an effect in every portion of the civilized world. You should throw a glance beyond the ocean; you should commence a correspondence with the place where the worst slavery exists—with the East Indies. It is not only the actual bondsman who is a slave there, but every occupier is under the basest of tyranny, and the East India Company have unlimited power to tax him to the utmost amount which they can possibly grind out of him. Nothing can be more glorious to America than the number of Anti-Slavery Societies already established in that country, and we should make a perfect brotherhood of affection with them. I have been blamed for phrases untruly attributed to me, as if I had charged all Americans with that which I applied only to slave-owners. I can never speak but with indignation of monsters who claim liberty to themselves, and yet inflict on the backs of

their slaves the vilest marks of their tyranny. I hail with delight the approach of meetings at which there will be associated with us the honest citizens of America, who come here at so much expense, so much peril, so much sacrifice of time, and in spite of the prejudices of those of their countrymen who will raise the knife where they fail in argument. I am obliged to the meeting for giving me an opportunity of throwing out my sentiments. I hope that every gentleman will join with me in the conviction, that we are under an imperative duty to operate forwards, or we shall drive the cause of humanity backwards. Would it not be a lamentable thing for such a Convention to meet without forwarding the cause which they have come together to promote? If we are to work well, we must make sacrifices of individual opinion to public sentiment. Honest men are often those who are the most stubborn; for having no improper motives in their own minds, but being actuated by pure conviction, they are frequently unwilling to yield. There are some places, which shall be nameless, where a man is never angry with another for differing from him in public. Though they often agree in private, they take adverse views when they come before the world. I rejoice to have had an opportunity of seeing you in the chair, and of seeing the representative of your family—of the glorious name you will leave to posterity. I rejoice that we cannot be accused of a wrong motive. I defy the entire press of England—admitting its ingenuity, but paying it no other compliment—to impugn our motives. The efforts of the Convention are beyond reproach. You have nothing to fear. I trust that God who has told us that charity is the greatest of all, will smile propitiously on our efforts, and that the Convention will do some mighty work, which shall make efficient progress in raising men all over the globe from a state of degradation to a state of freedom, as the only real preparative for the reception of the truths of Christianity, and the blessings of civilization.

J. C. FULLER, Esq. (from the State of New York, U.S.)—There are no men in the room whom I am more happy to see than the CHAIRMAN and DANIEL O'CONNELL. We have been told that there must be an influence go out of this meeting that shall tell upon the nations of the earth. I was glad to hear it. DANIEL O'CONNELL has talked to us—I now want to talk to him. There is a charm about his name all over the universe. I believe he could do more to put down slavery in America than the Convention can effect. Some of our Irish brethren there, are the principal supporters of slavery, and if he would issue an address to them we should soon have powerful coadjutors. I hope he will do something of that kind. There is a charm in his name which slavery cannot tarnish.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—I only beg you to be assured of this; I want no additional stimulant to induce me to carry into effect that which I have long had in contemplation. Before the Convention breaks up, I will show to that gentleman, if he will permit me, and to other American delegates, that address, in order that I may know whether they deem it suitable to the country or not.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I rise not without considerable embarrassment. But I feel that I can do no less than advert to the allusion which has been made by the distinguished individual who has just sat down, to my own native State. He has referred to the constitution of Massachusetts, and has truly told you, that its adoption struck a death-blow to slavery within the limits of that commonwealth. But it was not, I am sorry to say, until very lately, that Massachusetts could be induced to do, what consistency with that constitution

demanded, in relation to slavery in the national district of Columbia. Slavery in that district exists only by the will of the national government. Of that government, Massachusetts, in virtue of belonging to the Union, is an integral part, and therefore divided with her sister-states the responsibility of continuing slavery, with all its concomitant horrors, in the district of Columbia. But it gives me great pleasure to say, that in this matter also Massachusetts has now done her duty. Through the voice of her legislature, at its last session, she pronounced slavery to be a heinous wrong—a violation, at once, of all human justice, of the eternal laws of God, and of the great principles which constitute the basis of our republican constitution and government; and declared it to be the duty of Congress *immediately* to abolish slavery and the slave-trade in the district of Columbia, and in the territory of Florida, and also to put an end to the slave-trade between the several States—Congress having the same “exclusive jurisdiction” over the “territories” of the country, and over “commerce among the several States,” that it has over the district of Columbia. At the previous session of her legislature, she had lifted up her voice of indignant remonstrance against certain laws in the slave-states, which infringe the rights and the personal liberty even of her own free citizens; and adopted measures for the protection of those citizens against the operation of those atrocious enactments. The constitution of Massachusetts makes no distinction among her citizens on account of their complexion, neither does that of the United States. Yet, in consequence of the laws, now alluded to, in the slave-states, many of our own citizens, chancing to go into those States for purposes of business, or being driven thither by circumstances of adversity over which they have no control, are seized by certain human hyenas, pronounced to be slaves, and thrown into dungeons; and if they cannot *prove* themselves to be the owners of their own souls and bodies, or in other words, to be freemen, and by the testimony of white men, or proving themselves to be such, have not money enough to pay the expenses which have been saddled upon them by those same human hyenas, they are sold into perpetual slavery. There is in the slave-states another class of laws, enacted with special reference to free coloured mariners, scarcely less injurious to citizens of our free-states. Under this class of laws, free coloured persons on board vessels visiting the ports of slave-states are taken from the vessels and thrust into prison, incarcerated till the vessels leave port, when, if called for, they are permitted to go on board; but if they are not called for, which sometimes happens, these also are doomed to all the horrors of the vilest system that ever saw the sun! Of the kidnappings perpetrated under these two classes of laws, there is scarcely any end in our country. Thousands of them occur annually. Massachusetts has now pronounced them an outrage upon the constitution of the land, and will, it is to be hoped, soon take measures to effect a legal decision of the question of their constitutionality by the Supreme Court of the nation, and thus—for no one can doubt what that decision would be—impose on the general government the duty of seeing that none of them be any longer enforced. I congratulate Englishmen, though I must needs do so with a feeling of deep humiliation, that these atrocious laws are not, so far as I have been able to learn, attempted to be enforced against the subjects of QUEEN VICTORIA. A friend of mine, some years ago, had occasion to visit Charleston, South Carolina. On board the ship, in which he took passage, was a coloured man. On her arrival at Charleston, an officer, as usual, came on board in search of coloured

men. But the captain, understanding the officer's object, and feeling a peculiar regard for this coloured mariner, very adroitly put him into a boat, and sent him on board a British vessel, then lying in the harbour. And there, under the red cross of your own English monarchy, he found that protection which the ægis of our American eagle was not broad enough to throw around him. If every other free-state in America would but do as Massachusetts has done, slavery would soon cease to disgrace our national capital; for the free-states do in reality, hold the power of the nation. They have but to exercise that power, and slavery in America, so far at least as it is a national affair, would be at an end. I cannot sit down without regretting my incapacity to express the gratitude I feel on this occasion, in seeing before me such an audience, and especially that I am permitted to behold the venerated CHAIRMAN of this noble body, whose long, and energetic, and well-directed labours, in behalf of the suffering bondmen, have won for him so exalted a place among the benefactors of mankind. And I feel scarcely less grateful that I am permitted to behold, also, that other veteran in the great cause of emancipation, who sits at the CHAIRMAN's right hand, and who, by his unrivalled eloquence in advocating the great rights of human nature, has excited the admiration and love of the friends of those rights in every quarter of the civilized globe. They are the two personages whom I have often said I would go further to see, than any other two beings on the surface of the earth. And both are now before me, and I am permitted to look on them with my own eyes. Surely, if it be not the happiest occasion of my existence, it at least furnishes a rich compensation for all the pains I have taken to come hither. I will not, in imitation of my good friend opposite, introduce any exhortations, nor ask for any pledges. We need no pledges from this gentleman, (Mr. O'CONNELL), to assure us of his unintermitting perseverance in the work of emancipating the oppressed. I know that his creed is founded on no considerations of colour, of clime, or of sects. The world is his country; all mankind are his countrymen. I know as certainly as though it were proclaimed from the blue vault above by an angel's voice, that he *will* persevere unto the end, in this great and glorious cause. The distinguished gentleman has alluded to his former rebukes of a certain portion of the American people. I am glad he has not weakened their force by offering an apology for them. They need no apology. They were richly merited. And I can assure him, that the reading of them, as they have been sent forth from time to time, has done my heart good; for I knew them to be Christian rebukes, the natural manifestations of a righteous indignation against hypocrisy and oppression. Many a slaveholder has trembled in his shoes, as his eye has run over the reports of those thrilling speeches, in which the eloquent gentleman has referred so frequently to the inconsistent republicans of North America.

The Rev. T. SCALES then read the following exposition of the objects of the Convention, prepared at the request of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society:—

It is of the utmost importance, in the very outset of our proceedings as a Convention, that we should virtually understand each other, and be agreed upon the ground we occupy, and the object which, in our united capacity, we propose to act together to accomplish.

This is necessary, that our proceedings may be uniform and consistent, and that no topics of a foreign and irrelevant character may be introduced to divide our attention, or to divert us from the one great end we all have in common.

That evils in abundance, and in a vast and frightful variety, exist throughout our world, we must all feelingly deplore, and the sooner remedies for these evils are devised and applied, so that they may be meliorated and effectually cured, we shall readily acknowledge to be most desirable. But our attention is now called to one monstrous evil, of a character sufficiently marked and distinctive to bear a special designation; and for the eradication and destruction of this evil, we, in our office as delegates, and members of this Convention, are summoned and have come hither, at the special invitation of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society—that we may confirm one another in our hatred of that great wrong—in our purpose and resolution to oppose it; and that by our calm, solemn, and enlightened deliberations we may devise such methods of future co-operation, as may, by the guidance and blessing of the Most High God, the fountain of all wisdom and goodness, and the common Father of our whole race, the more speedily conduct to its utter final overthrow in every part of our habitable world. That evil is slavery—direct, unequivocal, absolute slavery—not other evils of a kindred character, or which in the opinion of some may be of equal, or even greater magnitude, or which may be classed by some philosophical philanthropists under the same head, and called by the same name; but, if we may so speak, *slavery proper*, in its own distinct and essential attributes.

It has been truly observed by an eloquent writer, “that a great variety of human conditions, relations, and tenures, and some of them not only innocent in themselves, but indispensable to the social state are often confounded with slavery.” This confusion of things which differ, has been the occasion of much mischief, has tended to weaken the convictions entertained by many, of the enormity of slavery, to confirm its upholders in their adherence to the system, and has supplied them with a plea in its justification, and an additional pretext for its continuance.

Political disabilities have been denounced as slavery, and every restriction which either civil or ecclesiastical legislation in any country has imposed upon the enjoyment of perfect liberty of conscience and

of worship, has been represented as only another of its forms ; but in whatever light we may regard them, and by whatever terms of reprehension we may feel ourselves moved, or deem ourselves warranted to condemn such pernicious infringements of human rights, it is only by a figure of speech, that they are designated slavery : since they may exist, in their worst forms, and exert their fatal influence, in countries and communities, where slavery, properly so called, is entirely unknown. The same may be predicated of many other forms of law, of injustice, and oppression, which are utterly inconsistent with the law of God and the happiness of man, but which, though they may sometimes be called slavery, must be distinguished from it, since they want its essential attributes and features. Slavery, then, is a condition in which man presumes to claim property in his fellow-man ;—wrests from another the right he has to himself, and assumes to be his master and owner ; which reduces man—moral, responsible, immortal man, who was made in the image of God—to the state of a mindless and irresponsible brute, whom his proprietor is at liberty to use according to his own pleasure, to buy or sell, and work as any other portion of his cattle or chattels. So that it is not merely a fact, but it is the very letter of the law in many slave countries, that “the slave is one who is bought or sold, and held as property.” “That slaves,” meaning human beings, the sons of God, of the very same flesh and blood with these legislators, “shall be deemed, taken, reputed, and adjudged, to be chattels personal in the hands of their masters, and possessions to all intents and purposes whatsoever,” and in some also as “real estate.”

That this is a cruel usurpation, an outrage on humanity, an insult to the God who made us and *who has made of one blood all the nations of men who dwell on all the face of the earth*, is a proposition which merely to state is to prove, and which no process of reasoning can make more evident and convincing, than its mere announcement, to parties who are not warped by the influence of the evil itself, or involved in its guilt, and enriched by its gains. It is not only to reverse such unrighteous decrees, but also, and even more, to rescue the unhappy victims of them, in every clime and of every colour, that we thus confederate. This is our high enterprise. We come not here to arbitrate the conflicting rights of freemen ; to balance or adjust the real or supposed inequalities of rank or order, of precedence or

subordination, as they exist in different countries and communities, and have been introduced and established by the course of events, and by the usages and customs or prejudices of mankind. All these we leave untouched—they form no part of our business here; as the Delegates of this Convention, we are not, I presume, called to discuss and settle the wrongs and grievances of the free; but, freemen ourselves, and jealous of our rights, we meet in behalf of the despised and degraded victims of thralldom, that we may raise them from the dust, and lift them to the rank of manhood, that we may break their galling fetters and bring them into the glorious liberty which is their birth-right; and thus roll away from religion and from the respective countries to which we belong, and which we come hither to represent, the stain and reproach by which they have been so long dishonoured.

Early in the last year, the project of forming a Society for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade occupied the attention of some of those friends of the negro race, whose exertions, under the blessing of God, had so materially contributed to achieve the great work of emancipation in our own colonies. In the month of March, an invitation was sent to all the delegates who had assembled in London in the years 1833, 1837, and 1838, to meet at Exeter Hall, on Wednesday, April 17th, for the purpose of considering the propriety of the formation of a Society for promoting the Abolition of Slavery and the Slave-Trade throughout the world, by moral, religious, and other influences, no sanction being given to the employment of an armed force. Great care was taken to make this invitation as extensive as possible, so that it might embrace the great constituency who had been so active in the previous struggle. On the day appointed, a considerable body of gentlemen assembled in Exeter Hall, almost the whole of them having come up from the country, prepared to express not only their own feelings but those of the friends of the cause generally with whom they had held consultation. The meeting was attended by the Right Hon. Dr. LUSHINGTON, SIR GEORGE STRICKLAND, SIR EARDLEY WILMOT, and Mr. TURNER, members of Parliament, and was especially indebted to the first of these gentlemen for the sedulous attention which he paid to the business of the day, and the facilities he afforded for the settlement of some difficulties which arose.

The general grounds and objects of the movement were set forth by Mr. STURGE, to whom it is not out of place or at all invidious in me here

to state, which I do most fervently and cordially, and from my own knowledge, that our great cause, and the cause of humanity itself, owes a large debt, and whom both hemispheres may delight to hail and to honour.

The Society was then constituted, and the following resolutions as its basis, and for its future government, were adopted on the succeeding day :—

“ I. That the name of this Society be, ‘ The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.’ ”

“ II. That the object of the Society be the universal extinction of slavery and the slave-trade, and the protection of the rights and interests of the enfranchised population in the British possessions, and of all persons captured as slaves.

“ III. That the following be the fundamental principles of the Society :—that so long as slavery exists, there is no reasonable prospect of the annihilation of the slave-trade, and of extinguishing the sale and barter of human beings ; that the extinction of slavery and the slave-trade will be attained most effectually by the employment of those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character ; and that no measures be resorted to by this Society in the prosecution of these objects but such as are in entire accordance with these principles.

“ IV. That the following be among the means to be employed by this Society :—

“ 1. To circulate, both at home and abroad, accurate information on the enormities of the slave-trade and slavery ; to furnish evidence to the inhabitants of slave-holding countries not only of the practicability, but of the pecuniary advantage of free labour ; to diffuse authentic intelligence respecting the results of emancipation in Hayti, the British Colonies, and elsewhere ; to open a correspondence with the abolitionists in America, France, and other countries, and to encourage them in the prosecution of their objects, by all methods consistent with the principles of this Society.

“ 2. To recommend the use of free-grown produce, as far as practicable, in preference to slave-grown, and to promote the adoption of fiscal regulations in favour of free labour.

“ 3. To obtain the unequivocal recognition of the principle, that the slave, of whatever clime or colour, entering any portion of the British

dominions, shall be free, the same as upon the shores of the United Kingdom, and to carry this principle into full and complete effect.

“4. To recommend that every suitable opportunity be embraced for evincing, in our intercourse with slave-holders and their apologists, our abhorrence of the system which they uphold, and our sense of its utter incompatibility with the spirit of the Christian religion.”

Almost coeval with the formation of the Society, was the consideration of a proposal for holding a General Convention, made on the 31st May, 1839. The attention of the Committee was called to this object in a communication from the Birmingham Anti-Slavery Society, quoting from an article in the *New York Emancipator*, of March 21st, 1838. A sub-committee was at once appointed to prepare a circular, which was adopted at a subsequent meeting, and ordered to be extensively issued in the English language, and also to be translated into other languages. This circular contained the fundamental principles of the Society, and concluded in these words :

“The British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in thus announcing itself to the friends of the slave of every nation, strongly urges it upon them, wherever it may be practicable to associate themselves, and unitedly as well as individually to labour for the extinction of slavery ; —a system which, whether regarded in a political, moral, or religious point of view, is alike inimical to the prosperity of nations, corrupting and demoralizing to every community in which it exists, and utterly at variance with the spirit and precepts of Christianity. For the purpose of promoting this great and truly Christian object, the Society has concluded to hold a General Conference in London, to commence on the 12th of June, 1840, in order to deliberate on the best means of promoting the interests of the slave, of obtaining his immediate and unconditional freedom ; and, by every pacific measure, to hasten the utter extinction of the slave-trade. To this Conference they earnestly invite the friends of the slave of every nation and of every clime.”

Thus cordially invited, the friends of humanity and of the slave have as cordially responded, and have come from the east and the west, the north and south, to unite with those who have called them together in this hallowed Convention, to discuss a question of the deepest interest to the human family, and to devise means for bringing to a speedy termination all those forms of slavery, and that revolting traffic in slaves, which have done so much to blight and desolate some of the

largest and fairest portions of our globe. Most fervently do I wish and pray—and do I presume in indulging and expressing my conviction, that this august assembly has already in spirit devoutly breathed the aspiration to Him from whom all Holy desires, all good counsels, and all just works do proceed!—that he may inspire our hearts with love, and our councils with wisdom, and deign to employ and bless our efforts to the triumph of righteousness and mercy, and to the world's deliverance.

E. BAINES, Esq., M.P.—I have nothing to address to the meeting, except to move that its cordial thanks be given to Mr. SCALES for the very lucid exposition he has just made of the objects of the meeting; and to express my earnest desire that those objects he has so well described, and the importance of which I hope we all earnestly feel, may be attained. I have also to express, and I do it with great gratification, the pleasure I have in once more seeing my venerable friend, THOMAS CLARKSON. I am happy also to be surrounded by a great number of influential men from all countries, who have come to promote this god-like work. I hope they will continue to exercise that spirit of benevolence which has been so well expressed by my honourable and learned friend,—that they will make a movement in advance, and that that movement will never cease till it has effected the liberty of all mankind. That such a result will be accomplished I have no doubt, though it may not be realized in our time. Who would have expected when our venerable friend first entered on his labours, that so much would have been effected as has already been attained? Who would have expected to find the slave-trade abolished, and slavery itself, so far as England is concerned? I will not further detain the meeting, except by proposing,

“That the thanks of this meeting be presented to the Rev. THOMAS SCALES, for having prepared the valuable paper, now read, setting forth the objects of the Convention.”

The Rev. J. H. JOHNSON, (Vicar of Tilshead).—It is with feelings of very great pleasure that I rise to second the motion which has just been made. As a warm and sincere friend to universal liberty I feel peculiar gratification, not only because there appears to be one unanimous feeling that the slave shall always meet with your sympathy and assistance so long as he is in bondage, but also because I see here persons of every political shade of opinion, and of various religious sects. I hail this as one of those delightful signs of the times when men shall learn to love as brethren, and to spend their short remaining lives not in bickering—not in quarrels, but in one grand effort to remove from the face of the earth one of the greatest scourges which has ever afflicted mankind. I feel pleasure, because I am assured that the Divine counsel must ever attend efforts of this description, and because we have entered on the business of the day, by first imploring, each one for himself, the direction of Almighty God, without whom nothing is strong and nothing is holy. Vain are all the contrivances of slave-owners to keep the prey within their grasp, if the God of love interpose on our behalf. He has promised that if, whatever our

hands find to do, we do it with all our might, He will be with us in exercising works of piety and mercy. So long as there shall be a child of Adam in sorrow, or in the grasp of tyranny and oppression, it is our duty to go on in this cause. As Christians, professing to feel for the spiritual welfare of the world, we have much to do ere the gospel can be received by them. Let the African look at a Christian and know him to be animated by feelings like ours, and then we can expect a patient hearing. But what has he generally seen in the white man? Appropriately has he styled him "a white devil," having every thing but kindness, and love, and mercy, on his lips and in his heart. Is this the way to send the bright beams of gospel light on that benighted land? Is it to be by oppression, by wrong, by robbery, by murder, that we are to teach him the lessons of Jesus? Oh no. It is by going amongst them, taking nothing of theirs, but giving them all we can, by laying out our lives and all we possess in order to do them service. When they see white men cease to wrong them they will listen to them. When they see hearts of benevolence, then we may expect that they will throng to the missionaries of the cross, and hear the gospel of Christ. When I see Africa, that large part of the world, covered with paganism, I cannot help thinking that it is owing to the conduct of Christians that it is so benighted; still I trust the time will not be long, ere through the length and breadth of Africa the gospel of love and mercy shall be spread; and men be taught there, as we have been taught here, that with God there is no respect of persons, that whether a man be carved in ebony or ivory, he is equally acceptable to Him. Animated by these considerations, let us bind ourselves together, not by vows, but as one whole family, going forth under the blessing of Jesus to conquer the bad habits of bad men, to show them that it is to their interest, both here and there, to let the oppressed go free. With these sentiments, and apologizing for the length of time I have occupied, I beg most cordially to second the motion.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I beg before the Chairman withdraws, to introduce to him, and to the meeting, HENRY BECKFORD from Jamaica, who three years ago was himself a slave.

Mr. HENRY BECKFORD, (of Jamaica).—I pray God to look down in mercy upon the labours of this Society, which has been formed in this country to deliver us from bondage. I rejoice to see the kind gentleman who, as the root of this Society, relieved my body from suffering. I rejoice to tender my thanks to the British ladies from one end of the land to the other. I have seen the blood run down the negro's back; I have seen the poor creatures confined in chains; but how shall I rejoice when I return to my native country, to tell my friends that I have seen those gentlemen who delivered us from the accursed system which was the ruin of men's souls as well as their bodies! Slavery brought men down to the level of four-footed beasts; but now, when I return, no man can ask me where I have been. I came here as a freeman, and I shall return as the same. I was a slave for twenty-eight years, but look at me and work on. There are other parts of the world where slavery now exists, but I trust the negroes there will soon become freemen as I am to-day. We hope, however, that you will assist us till we become more thoroughly established in the blessings we now enjoy, and we will assist you by our prayers till slavery is abolished throughout the world. I hope that this assembly will

enjoy the blessing of God, and that great benefits will result from your deliberations. It is good to be the servants of the Lord Jesus Christ, and to be engaged in promoting His cause.

THOMAS CLARKSON, Esq., then retired from the chair, and on the motion of Mr. ALEXANDER, seconded by Mr. BENNET, W. T. BLAIR, Esq., one of the vice-chairmen was called to occupy it.

The CHAIRMAN.—In being called on immediately to succeed our venerable and respected PRESIDENT, I cannot but feel and express how undeserving I am of the distinction which has been conferred upon me. I can truly say, without any affectation, that there are very many in the assembly who possess far stronger claims and better qualifications than myself to occupy such a position. In bowing, however, to the decision of the Convention, I have only to throw myself on the kind consideration and indulgence of the assembly; and to solicit for myself and my respected colleagues your united support, in our endeavours to maintain that good order and harmony which is essential to the credit of our proceedings. This meeting having been opened in the usual way, by the speech of our respected PRESIDENT, it would be unsuitable and unnecessary for me to detain you by any observations of my own. But I will just hazard one remark, which may not be altogether unimportant in reference to the harmony of future proceedings. It must be obvious to every one present, that this meeting is composed of gentlemen entertaining a great diversity of sentiment upon political and religious subjects, as well as others; though cordially united, I trust, as one man, in the great object which brings us together. I trust, that no opinion or expression will escape in the progress of discussion that can possibly wound the feelings or offend the innocent prejudices of any one, that a spirit of forbearance and conciliation will be maintained throughout the proceedings, and nothing will be suffered to clash with the paramount object we have in view.

Mr. G. THOMPSON, rose to submit a resolution expressive of the feelings of the Convention in reference to the PRESIDENT, which motion was withdrawn in order to be re-introduced at the close of the Convention.

WENDELL PHILLIPS, Esq. (of Boston, Massachusetts, U. S.)—Those who may have watched the proceedings of this Convention during the presence of THOMAS CLARKSON, will have observed that we have not yet provided for the formation of any roll of membership. There is no constituted body emanating from this Convention to receive the credentials of delegates, and inscribe their names. Several friends who are interested in the matter have proposed to make a motion to that effect, in the regular course of business, but it was suggested that as it might lead to discussion, it would be better to delay it till after the retirement of our venerated friend. I make these remarks to apologize for the seeming inappropriateness of the motion which I have to submit to the meeting. It is as follows:—

“That a Committee of five be appointed to prepare a correct list of the members of this Convention, with instructions to include in such list all persons bearing credentials from any Anti-Slavery body.”

It may be necessary before I sit down to state the reason of making that motion, when to all appearance there exists on this table a list of delegates. I do it because, coming from the state of Massachusetts, there are several of my co-delegates, who though in this Hall, have not received an entrance as members of the Convention by the authority of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, who have undertaken to settle the qualifications of membership of this body. Under their control the list before me has been formed; a list very useful for the purposes of reference or communication between the various members who have arrived in this city. But some of us feeling ourselves, shall I use too harsh a term when I say, aggrieved! by this act of the Committee, have thought it our duty to bring the subject before the Convention. I allude to the refusal of tickets of admission to the women of Massachusetts. When the call, which was read by Mr. TRENGOLD, reached America, we found that it was an invitation to the friends of the slave of every nation, and of every clime. Massachusetts has for several years acted on the principle of admitting women to an equal seat with men in the deliberative bodies of anti-slavery societies. When the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society received that paper, it interpreted it, as it was its duty, in the broadest and most liberal sense. If there be any other paper emanating from the Committee limiting to one sex the qualification of membership, there is no proof, and as an individual I have no knowledge, that such a paper ever reached Massachusetts. We stand here in consequence of your invitation, and knowing our custom, as it must be presumed you did, we had a right to interpret "friends of the slave," to include women as well as men. In such circumstances we do not think it just or equitable to that State, nor to America in general, that after the trouble, the sacrifice, the self-devotion of a part of those who leave their families, and kindred, and occupations in their own land, to come 4000 miles to attend this World's Convention, they should be refused a place in its deliberations. The meeting will observe that I have purposely introduced into the motion language which brings the question before the Convention.

PROFESSOR ADAM, (of Cambridge, Massachusetts, U. S.)—I shall merely state, that I have great pleasure in expressing my entire concurrence in the sentiments that have now been stated to the meeting. I will only add, if the ladies who have come from America are not deemed entitled, in consequence of the credentials they bear, to a place in this assembly, I feel for one that I am not entitled to occupy such a position. My credentials proceed from the same persons, and from the same societies, and bear the same names as theirs. I have no other authority to appear amongst you, to take a place in your proceedings, and give a voice in your deliberations, than that right which is equally possessed by the ladies to whom a place among you has been denied. In the Society from which I have come, female exertion is the very life of us, and of all that we have done, and all we hope to do. To exclude females, would be to affix a stigma upon them.

Mr. STACEY.—I feel that any one is placed in a very invidious position in having to speak a word against the proposal now made. It is inconsistent with our natural feelings to take a part which may seem in the least degree to imply an unfavourable opinion of the conduct, exertions, influence, or power of our female friends in this cause. I believe no persons estimate more highly than the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society do, the bright example and philanthropic efforts of our

female friends. But the custom of this country is well known and uniform. In all matters of mere business, unless females are especially associated together, and announced as such, in the promotion of the objects in view, they do not become a part of the working committees. Having, from its formation, been a member of the Committee from which the invitation referred to was sent, and having taken a constant part in its proceedings, I feel myself in some degree qualified to bear testimony to the meaning of such documents as it has issued ; and I do take the liberty of saying that, to my knowledge, the document calling this Convention had no reference to, nor did the framers of it ever contemplate that it would include, females. We did become aware in the progress of the business that there was a disposition on the part of some of our American brethren, and that with the best intention, to construe the document in question as it might have been construed, had it been issued by themselves—that is, that it might include females, as well as men. The earliest moment that this circumstance came to the knowledge of the Committee, that Committee issued another circular, which bears date the “15th of February,” in which the description of those who are to form the Convention is set forth as consisting of “*gentlemen*.” We thus felt that we had done all we could to prevent inconvenience to our American friends on this subject, and supposed that we should not have been brought into difficulty with the question. But as the point has been introduced, I take it for granted, that sooner or later the opinion of the Convention must be taken, as to whether or not females are to become a part of the Convention. I waive all remarks with respect to the operation of the proposal now made ; for I think that the sooner the matter is brought to a conclusion, the better.

Dr. BOWRING.—I think the custom of excluding females is more honoured in its breach than in its observance. In this country, sovereign rule is placed in the hands of a female, and one who has been exercising her great and benignant influence in opposing slavery, by sanctioning, no doubt, the presence of her illustrious consort, at an Anti-Slavery meeting. We are associated with a body of Christians, who have given to their women a great, honourable, and religious prominence. I look upon this delegation from America as one of the most interesting, the most encouraging, and the most delightful symptoms of the times. I hope that a committee will be appointed to consider this question, and to report on the facts of the case. I cannot believe that we shall refuse to welcome gratefully the co-operation which is offered to us.

The Rev. J. BURNET.—I feel that, if there ever was a time when it was necessary for this Convention to be calm and self-collected, this is that moment. I have no hesitation in saying, that I feel that the Convention itself is periled in this discussion, and whilst I have the highest possible regard for the ladies of America and England, and whilst neither for the one nor for the other, can I entertain for a moment any feeling but one of the greatest respect ; I must at the same time claim your indulgence while I take a calm and deliberate view of the question,—one of the most important that can be discussed in connexion with the mere forms of this Convention. We must be calm, and we must be firm ; and I shall be as firm in the maintenance of my sentiments, as I shall be calm in the statement of them. The gentleman who has proposed the motion, which is now before you, stated his case very well and very calmly ; and very fairly stated the claims which the ladies have to the kind consideration of all for their works of usefulness, and their energy in those works. We hail the

continuance of their works of usefulness ; we thank them for the past, we trust them in the present, and we anticipate great things from them in the future. I would apply this to England as well as to America. The ladies of England are active and diligent in all works of benevolence, they have frequently stimulated to the creation of such institutions as this, when the lords of creation did not think of creating them. The ladies have carried them on, when the gentlemen would have found it impossible, from the multiplicity of demands made on their time by the business in which they are engaged. But let me say, and I take it for granted, I shall carry with me the gentleman who moved the resolution when I say that, English ladies and English gentlemen are accustomed to consider what takes place on this side of the water, just as American ladies and American gentlemen consider what takes place on their side the water. He thinks that he should put an American interpretation on American phraseology and so he ought ; but upon the same principle he will agree that we ought to put an English interpretation on English phraseology. So far, we stand on precisely the same ground. But let me add further, that in taking this question into consideration, and deliberating upon it, it never did occur to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that they were inviting ladies from any part of the globe, to take an essential part in the proceedings of the Convention. It never was contemplated in the formation of the Society ; it never was practised in the doings of the Society ; it never was intended in the resolutions of the Society. I am not now saying, be it remembered, whether it was right or wrong ; but, this I do say, that it never was contemplated, and consequently, it has come upon us now without our contemplation. It never was anticipated that such a contingency could arise. With regard to what has been stated by the gentleman who has just addressed you in connexion with the indignity offered to these ladies, I should say, that no such indignity was intended. We place them on a level with our own ladies. Our wives and our daughters are in the same position with them. And surely, if they are placed in the same position as the ladies of England, it cannot be said that we have cast indignity upon them. I should not have thought that America would select ladies for such an object. But I welcome those ladies to this Hall ; I welcome them to all the proceedings where ladies can, according to the custom of the country, take a part. I thank them for the self-sacrificing devotedness that brought them here. Nothing could be a greater misapprehension of the feelings of the British nation than the idea that the slightest affront was intended them. Nothing could be a greater mistake than to suppose that anything was meant towards them but the profoundest affection, the deepest respect, and the most cordial welcome. But it is quite another thing to clothe them with office. To make officers of them is one thing—in connexion with a custom not pursued in this country ; to receive them with kind consideration is quite another. My own impression is, that as we need all the individuals we can obtain in the country to help us onward, so we must have their help, and we cannot do without it. But this great change in all the practices, and feelings, and habits of England—the propriety of these practices, and feelings, and habits, is another question, a question which I am not called now to argue—would, I am convinced, keep away those whom we cannot do without, and would take away from us those with whom we are acting already. I do state my firm conviction—I

use strong language to express a strong conviction—it would be better that the Convention should at this moment be dissolved, than that this resolution should be adopted. Some gentlemen say “no, no.” I wish them to think seriously and gravely. If this Convention should take the course proposed by the mover and seconder of the resolution, I am deeply convinced that they will sincerely regret it. I should say that our American friends would add another laurel to those they have already reaped in the Anti-Slavery field, amid their deep self-denial and great suffering, were they to say at this moment, “Let us not make shipwreck of our vessel, let us, not even for a moment, put her in a perilous sea. As we are in England let us act as England does ; and when English abolitionists come to America, we shall expect the same ready conformity. There is no violation of principle in the adoption of the spirit of the land to which we have come, to mingle with the inhabitants for the purpose of doing good.” As to the first lady of the land, our honourable and worthy friend, who has just sat down knows as well as most men, and better than most men, the peculiarities of that case. It is not necessary, because we have a QUEEN, henceforth to clothe all the ladies with office in the general management of our social affairs. I do appeal to our friends, with sincere regard, both for them and for their good ladies, and I hope and trust they will meet the appeal as kindly as it is made. I beg of them to withdraw this question, and to let the Convention proceed to its urgent and substantial business.

The Rev. H. GREW.—I stand here, on behalf of America, while my heart responds to all the encomiums passed on the female sex in respect to the importance of their co-operation, their past good work, and their future efforts, without which I do not anticipate success ; and while, at the same time, I wish to express that the invitation to this meeting was understood by many in America, in the sense represented by my respected brother, yet the proposition now made is not in accordance with my own views of propriety. Let me add, not that I wish to say anything of a sectarian character, the reception of my respected female friends, as a part of this Convention, would in the view of many who stand precisely in the same position as I do on this occasion, be not only a violation of your customs, and of the customs of other countries, but of the ordinance of Almighty God, who has a right to appoint our services according to his sovereign will.

The Rev. N. COLVER, (from Boston, Massachusetts, U. S.)—I do not rise to discuss this question. I came at the invitation of the Society, with their explanation before the public, which was understood by a great portion of the American community precisely as you understand it here. From an accidental omission on the part of Mr. PHILLIPS the case has not come fairly before the meeting. The American delegation are represented as being one on this subject. It is not so. That brother and others are from a Society which allows of ladies sitting in its meetings ; but a large portion of the delegates are from another branch who have resisted this attempt to change the customs of the country ; and but for the assurance that the Convention would be composed as it now is, a large number of us would not have been here to-day.

Mr. STACEY.—I believe it will not be for the good of the meeting to go into the abstract question. I therefore think it is time to have a substantive resolution upon it. With that view I beg to propose the following amendment :—

“That this Convention, upon a question arising as to the admission of females appointed as delegates from America to take their seats in this body, resolve to decide this question in the negative.”

The Rev. ELON GALUSHIA, (of New York, U. S.)—It affords me great pleasure to second the amendment ; and you will allow me to say, that I am one of the representatives of a portion of the American public, whose number is equal to half the population of this great metropolis. And although I have travelled through all the free states of the Union, I know not of a single individual belonging to the body which I represent, whose views on the subject do not accord with those of our British friends. I would further say, that it is my honest and unwavering conviction, that those who entertain a different view of the question are an exceedingly small minority of the American people. In support of the other side of this question, reference has been made to your present sovereign. I most cordially approve of the policy and sound wisdom, and commend to the consideration of our American female friends who are so deeply interested in the subject, the example of your noble QUEEN, who by sanctioning her consort, His Royal Highness, PRINCE ALBERT, in taking the Chair, on an occasion not dissimilar to this, showed her sense of propriety by putting her Head foremost in an assembly of gentlemen. I have no objection to woman's being the neck to turn the head aright, but do not wish to see her assume the place of the head.

Dr. ROLPH, (from Upper Canada).—I feel very reluctant to approach this question ; but I should be wanting in my duty to my own feelings, and also to a very large portion of ladies on the continent of America, if I did not express my warm approbation of the resistless appeal made to your feelings by the eloquent observations of the first Reverend Gentleman who took the negative side of the question. It must be remembered that this is a question on which America is undecided, and the decision of the subject by this Convention would impose upon us the invidious office of umpire between two contending parties in that country. I have witnessed the self-devotedness, the heroism of ANGELINA GRIMKE, and other American females in urging the abolition of slavery. I am not insensible to their services, and I would be the last to say anything that could be construed directly or indirectly to reflect on their character, their heroism, and their devotedness. But in the consideration and construction of the letter of invitation, it appears that the Society of Massachusetts has interpreted it contrary to all the rest. The interpretation thus given ought not to outweigh the opinion founded on it by all others to whom it has been submitted. I trust, if the Convention comes, as I hope it will, to the negative proposition before it, that it will be considered neither by Americans nor Englishmen to cast a reproach on the services of the ladies.

Mr. BRADBURN.—This question has occupied, and is likely to occupy, more time than I had hoped it would. I had hoped, that the vote would be taken without discussion ; that here, in a *World's* Convention, there would be very little difference of opinion on the subject, how much soever Englishmen, as such, might differ from some of us respecting it. We have been told, that when the invitation was issued, no reference was made to women. But I ask, if, when that invitation was sent into different quarters of the globe, it was not intended to make this, in reality, a *World's* Convention of abolitionists—

that abolitionists every where should be represented in it? Will any one undertake to say, that it was intended to exclude from representation in this body the abolitionists of Massachusetts, and of Pennsylvania; for it is not true, as some one has asserted, that Massachusetts is the only state that has sent female delegates hither? Do you intend to say, that the abolitionists of those States had not the right to elect such persons as they pleased, to represent them in this Convention? But you do say this, if you exclude from these seats any whom those abolitionists have regularly appointed to occupy them. I cannot, I will not, believe, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society did intend thus to tie up the hands of American abolitionists. And what a misnomer, to call this a World's Convention of abolitionists, when some of the oldest and most thorough-going abolitionists in the world are denied the right to be represented in it by delegates of their own choice! The Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society would have spurned the invitation of the Committee, had it known it was not at liberty to elect its own delegates. The members of that Society are none of your half-and-half sort of abolitionists. They are thoroughly imbued with love for the cause; have made sacrifices for it; have been ready, I trust to die for it, if need were: and they know it were as contradictory of facts, as it would be ungrateful, to say, that women, in virtue of their sex, were unqualified to represent them in a Convention of this character. Let it not be forgotten, that this was designed to be a World's Convention.

W. WILSON, Esq., (of Nottingham). I rise to know what is meant by a World's Convention?

Mr. BRADBURN resumed.—The invitation was extended to all abolitionists throughout the world; and no doubt it was earnestly desired, as well as designed, that they should all be represented here. If this were not the grand prominent idea of the Committee, I know not what it was. I know that some time after the invitation was sent forth, and after some of our delegates had been appointed, a letter was published by some one, stating that gentlemen only were expected to attend. But we neither did nor could regard this as of any consequence. We deemed the question of who should sit in the Convention, would be determined by the Convention itself, not by any self-constituted Committee, and least of all by any individual. But we are now told, that it would be outraging the tastes, habits, customs, and prejudices of the English people, to allow women to sit in this Convention. I have a great respect for the customs of Old England. But I ask, gentlemen, if it be right to set up the customs and habits, not to say prejudices, of Englishmen, as a standard, for the government, on this occasion, of Americans and of persons belonging to several other independent nations? It seems to me that it were, to say the least, very unadvisable to do so. I can see neither reason nor policy in so doing. Besides, I deprecate the principle of this objection. In America it would exclude from our Conventions all persons of colour; for there, customs, habits, tastes, prejudices, would be outraged by *their* admission. And I do not wish to be deprived of the aid of those who have done so much for our cause, for the purpose of gratifying any mere custom or prejudice. I know that women have furnished most essential aid in accomplishing what has been accomplished in the state of Massachusetts. If, in the legislature of that state, I have been able to do any thing in furtherance of this cause, by keeping on my legs eight or ten hours, day after day, it was mainly owing to the

valuable assistance I derived from the *women* of Massachusetts. And shall such women be denied seats in this Convention? My friend, GEORGE THOMPSON yonder, can testify to the faithful services rendered to this cause by some of those same women. He can tell you, that, when "gentlemen of property and standing," in broad day and in broad cloth, undertook to drive him from the city of Boston, putting his life in peril, it was our women who made their own persons a bulwark of protection around him? And shall such women be refused seats here in a Convention seeking the emancipation of slaves throughout the world? I was sorry to hear my friend from Pennsylvania say, that he was satisfied with the explanation which had been given; that we ought to understand the invitation in the sense in which it has been said to have been understood by the Committee. I object to acting on any such understanding of it, because, as was well observed by another, it would be taking the English yard-stick to measure the American mind. And as to its being a sin against God, to allow women to participate in the proceedings of a body like this, I confess I was astonished to hear such a sentiment uttered here, for this is neither the time nor the place to discuss *that* question. Another friend from America has said, that there is a difference of opinion there on this subject; that the American delegates themselves were not united respecting it; and that the great body of the American people were utterly opposed to the admission of women into such companies as this. I admit it. But I have to ask that friend, if he means to say, that the great body of the real, working abolitionists of America would be opposed to it? I know they would not. In America, women have taken, and they continue to take, part in meetings of this sort. On the American Anti-Slavery platform, they stand as the equals of the men, in respect, at least, of rights and privileges. The American Anti-Slavery Society has decided, that, as members of that body, they ought so to stand. It has been so decided in most of the local societies in Massachusetts, where the standard of abolitionism was first planted. And, with all deference to the abolitionists present, I say, that the best, the bravest, and those who have sacrificed most for this cause, are, with very few exceptions, decidedly on this side of the question; and they would never have consented to any participation in the proceedings of this, or of any other Convention, had they supposed that any delegates freely chosen by themselves would be denied the right to sit in it. Some one has said, that if women are admitted, they will take sides on this question. Well, what then? Have they not just as good right to take sides as we have? But I shall be satisfied if this Convention, not the Committee, will decide who are, and who are not, entitled to seats here. This will also, I doubt not, satisfy the delegates whose seats are contested. They do not feel at liberty, I speak of those more especially who have come from Massachusetts, to withhold their credentials from the Convention, merely because a Committee, not created by this body, has seen fit to reject them. They feel bound, in justice to those by whom they were sent, to impose the responsibility of receiving, or of rejecting those credentials upon the Convention itself. They therefore present them, in obedience to their convictions of duty. You, gentlemen, can dispose of them as you please.

The CHAIRMAN.—If the discussion proceeds, the second letter of invitation, explanatory of the first, defining the terms in which the Convention is called, should be read. Perhaps it will be better that both should be read.

Mr. TREDGOLD.—The first is to this effect.

“For the purpose of promoting this great and truly Christian object the Society has concluded to hold a General Conference in London, to commence on the 12th of June, 1840, in order to deliberate on the best means of promoting the interests of the Slave; of obtaining his immediate and unconditional freedom; and, by every pacific measure, to hasten the utter extinction of the Slave-Trade. To this Conference, they earnestly invite the friends of the Slave of every nation and of every clime.”

The second or explanatory letter is the following :

Mr. PHILLIPS.—Where was that sent to ?

Mr. TREDGOLD.—To America.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—To whom ?

Mr. TREDGOLD.—To the Anti-Slavery friends.

Mr. W. WILSON.—It is of no value to read this unless it was sent to them.

The Rev. J. BURNET.—Read it. It has been so decided by the CHAIRMAN.

Mr. TREDGOLD proceeded—“The Committee are anxious early to receive from the different Anti-Slavery bodies who may appoint deputies, the names of the gentlemen who are to represent them. Such deputies and the members of the London Committee to form the Conference. The business of the Conference will comprehend the following, amongst other matter :—information as to the results of Emancipation in Hayti: the British West Indies, &c.: the nature and extent of Slavery in the different countries where it exists, but especially as regards the African race and their descendants: the nature and extent of the Slave-Trade; and, finally, the best measures by which, consistently with the great principles on which the Society is founded, the total and unconditional abolition of slavery and the slave-trade can be obtained, and the liberties and welfare of the emancipated population secured.”

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—My friend will admit that it appeared in the Anti-Slavery papers of America.

COLONEL MILLER, (of Vermont, U. S.)—I fortunately belong to a state in America which has never been troubled with the woman question. The women were among our primeval abolitionists. They took it into their heads to establish a standard of liberty, and were seconded by their husbands. The question ought not to have come to be settled here; it ought to have been settled on our own shores; but as it is here I may state that I believe in the right of women, properly and duly delegated, to take a part in this cause of humanity. I do not claim a pre-eminence for them over men, but they were early in their attendance at the cross, they were the first and the last at the sepulchre, and from that time to this, they have taken the van in the march of civilization and liberty. I agree with the gentleman from Massachusetts

that we will bow with all due deference to your decision. We are not here to lord it over the Convention. There is not a female delegate from the state to which I belong ; but if the female friends of the cause in that state were here, this Hall would not hold them. We have taken up time enough on this question, I only want a fair and honourable expression of the opinion of the Convention, and to that expression I pledge myself the delegates from America will bow.

CAPTAIN STUART (of Bath).—There is plainly a difference of opinion between our friends from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, and the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, respecting the interpretation of the invitation. The Committee give one interpretation ; our friends another. I leave it to the Convention to settle to which we are to defer ; but I am persuaded from having travelled in the United States and from having become acquainted with a large body of abolitionists both in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, that some of the noblest and most uncompromising friends of liberty and of the slave there, are against the reception of lady delegates, and in favour of the British view. I am satisfied that there is a vast amount of that feeling.

Mr. W. ALLEN.—There is one thing which I would submit to the Convention. I would urge them to consider the value of the cause which we are all met to promote. I do not give an opinion with regard to the propriety of female delegates, but I do regret that a motion of this kind has been mooted here. It may be a subject for grave consideration at another time and in another place, but I lament that at this Convention, met for a different purpose we should have anything thrown in amongst us which is likely to prove an apple of discord. I put it to every one who loves the cause, whether such sentiments as have been advanced ought not to have been kept in abeyance. During the discussion of the question I have thought of what took place at Ephesus ; when there was a great commotion, and the officer came in to quell the tumult raised, he exhorted them to quietness, not to go into disputes of that kind, adding, if there is anything to be brought forward let it "be determined in a lawful assembly ; for we are in danger to be called in question for this day's uproar."

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I desire to obtain the attention of the Convention for a few moments, because the question is one on which I think the fate of the Convention, for all good purposes, hinges. It is my satisfaction to feel assured, that there is not an individual in the assembly who knows the view I am about to take of this question, or the vote which I am about to give upon it, if unhappily a vote should be called for. My esteemed friends who sit in your presence to-day, and whom I delight to see here, and to recognise as among the foremost and fastest defenders, both of my principles and my person, in the United States of America, will bear me witness that I have hitherto refrained from the expression of any opinions, except those which had reference to the policy which might commend itself to them, in order to see what was their feeling of duty, and to ascertain what was their principle of action ; and be to them the faithful interpreter of the true state of our country upon the question which concerns them, our customs, our laws, our feelings, our prejudices, our antipathies. I have deprecated most sincerely the introduction of the abstract question into this Convention. I have anticipated it with dread ; and I now feel that though unhappily we are not in a condition to retrace our steps, yet we may possibly avert

the consequences which must inevitably arise, if we become partizans in this matter, if we commit ourselves by our votes, if we array ourselves on one side or the other, and on a future occasion, in consequence of our recorded votes, should regard each other as friends with whom alone we can associate, or opponents from whom we must stand aloof. I am speaking of the effects of a decisive vote. (*Cries of no, no*). Gentlemen may say "no," but I argue from universal experience. When a vote is given opposite to me, I cannot help the feeling arising in my mind, that the gentleman who has given it stands opposed to my conviction of what is right and wrong. But, I say, we may possibly avoid that, if a middle course be taken. I have listened to the arguments advanced on this side, and on that, of this vexed question. I listened with the profoundest attention to the arguments of Mr. BURNET, expecting that from him—as I was justified in expecting—I should hear the strongest arguments that could be adduced upon this or any other subject upon which he might be pleased to employ his talents, or which he might adorn by his eloquence. What are his arguments? Let it be premised, as I speak in the presence of American friends, that that gentleman is one of the best known controversialists in this country; and one of the best authorities upon questions of business, points of order, and matters of principle. What are the strongest arguments which one of the greatest champions, on any question which he chooses to espouse, has brought forward? They are these, first, that English phraseology should be construed according to English usages; secondly, that it was never contemplated by the Anti-Slavery Committee that ladies should occupy a seat in this Convention; thirdly, that the ladies of England are not here as delegates; fourthly, that he has no desire, nor has any other individual, to offer an affront to, still less to insult, the ladies now before us. These are the strong arguments, I presume the strongest arguments, which that gentleman has to adduce: for he never fails to use to the best advantage the resources within his reach. I look at these arguments, and I place on the other side of the question, the fact, that there are in this assembly ladies who present themselves as delegates from the oldest societies in America, the originators of all the other societies of America. I expected that Mr. BURNET would, as he was bound to do, if he intended to offer a successful opposition to their introduction into this Convention, grapple with the constitutionality of their credentials. I thought he would come to the question of title; I thought he would dispute the right of a Convention assembled in Philadelphia for the abolition of Slavery, consisting of delegates from the different states in the union, and comprised of individuals of both sexes, to send one or all of the ladies now in our presence. I thought he would grapple with the fact, that those ladies came to us who have no slavery, from a country in which they have slaves, as the representatives of two millions and a half of captives. Let gentlemen when they come to vote on this question remember, that in receiving or rejecting these ladies, they acknowledge or despise, (*loud cries of no, no*). I ask gentlemen who shout "no," if they know the application I am about to make? I did not mean to say you would despise the ladies, but that you would by your vote acknowledge or despise the parties whose cause they espouse. Something has been said about usages and customs. It appears that we are prepared to sanction ladies in the employment of all means, so long as they are confessedly unequal with ourselves. It seems that the grand objection to their appearance amongst us is this, that it would be placing them on a footing of equality,

and that, that, would be contrary to principle and custom. I suppose I may put my own construction on the arguments which have been employed. I yield to no gentleman in anxiety for the settlement of the question; but I stand here in peculiar circumstances. I have been in the country from which those ladies come, and I should wrong both them and myself, if I did not speak my sentiments on the question. I ask, if they are not to sit in this assembly, why is it? It is answered, because English phraseology is to be interpreted by English usage. That is a flimsy excuse for their exclusion. It is again replied, because it is not intended by those who gave the invitation that women should sit in it. It was known years before this Convention was contemplated, that these ladies were fighting the battle amidst calumny and danger, and in constant apprehension of death; aye, at a time when some of those who are now their most vigorous opponents were unknown as abolitionists. While gentlemen talk of not affronting such ladies, they not only affront them, but the bodies from which they came. These ladies came from the United States, the representatives of large associations. CAPTAIN STUART has spoken of a majority in America being opposed to the admission of females. I differ from him on the subject. If he says a majority of the entire population of the United States, I grant it; but if he says a majority of the real abolitionists, then, from my intimate acquaintance with this movement from its commencement in America up to the present time, I am decidedly opposed to his opinion. These ladies are not only accredited by the local societies they represent, but by the National Society of the United States. Again, I ask, why are they excluded? Is it on the score of intellect? No gentleman, I am sure, will call their intellectual qualification in question. Is it on the score of principle? No gentleman will call that in question. Is it on the score of discretion? Putting this their present act in dispute out of the question, (in my opinion the noblest of their lives), they stand acknowledged by their countrymen and countrywomen to be irreproachable in the midst of a crooked and a perverse generation. Are they ineligible on the ground of their inferior zeal? Oh, that we all opposed slavery half as earnestly; then instead of being the opposers of their entrance into this Convention, we should feel ourselves honoured in admitting them. Is it on the ground of their past conduct in the Anti-Slavery cause? That conduct has been above all praise, much more my humble praise, (*question*). I do trust, that while upon this subject, especially while any one is speaking in behalf of these excluded females, no gentleman will call, "question." Why are these our sisters with us to-day? Because gentlemen in their own country are either too absorbed in business, or too temporizing in their principles to make the same sacrifices. For years, the women of America have carried their banner in the van, while the men have humbly followed in the rear. It is well known that the National Society solicited ANGELINA GRIMKE to undertake a mission, to rouse the spirits of New England women, and that that distinguished woman displayed her talent, not only in the drawing-rooms, but before the senate of Massachusetts. Let us contrast our conduct with that of the senators and representatives of Massachusetts, who did not disdain to hear her. It was in consequence of her exertions, which received the warmest approval of the National Society, that that interest sprung up, which has awakened such an intense feeling throughout America. Then with reference to efficient management, the most vigorous Anti-Slavery Societies are those which are managed by ladies. These things I state in justice to these

fellow-labourers, that you may have their characters before you. Upon the abstract question I have my own feelings. I am decided upon this point, that it would have been better to have kept that question out of the Convention. I have laboured up to the eleventh hour to effect this. If now after the expression of opinion on various sides, the motion should be withdrawn, with the consent of all parties, I should be glad. But when I look at the arguments against the title of these women to sit amongst us, I cannot but consider them frivolous and groundless. The simple question before us, is, whether these ladies, taking into account the credentials they hold, the talent they have displayed, the sufferings they have endured, the journey they have undertaken, should be acknowledged by us, in virtue of these high titles, or be shut out for the reasons stated. One gentleman has said, that if we do not exclude them we shall regret it. What shall we have to regret? Our magnanimity, our justice, our gentlemanly feeling? What harm can their admission do? unless their opponents should feel so straitened, that they cannot co-operate with them, and those who admit them. It may be said, that beyond this place, the fact of their admission may tell against our cause. I have anticipated these difficulties. But I apprehend that division and exclusion will be attended with still greater danger. If our friends, by an expression of their opinion, in a protest against the opinion of the Committee, to be laid on the table, can discharge their duty to those who have delegated them, and withdraw the motion, I should feel thankful for such a termination of the debate. To conclude, having seen the devoted heroism, the unblameable conduct of the ladies now amongst us, I felt that I should have been recreant to all that is honourable, and just, and grateful, if I had forborne to bear my testimony in their behalf. I am perhaps, in some degree, to blame for the appearance of some of these ladies. When the call for this Convention first went out, I wrote to the United States, expressing a hope to see, not only a strong muster of the male champions of the cause, but of the ladies. What, however, I have already said to the ladies elsewhere, I now say on this occasion, to clear myself from suspicion, that I had no reference to the *capacity* in which they should come. I did not refer to their being formally delegated. I do not remember that such a thought was before my mind. I hoped many of them might be able to come, and I could wish, if it were without strife and debate among us, that they had been a thousand times as many as they are. With these views, I recommend the American friends, with all the respect I can express, to withdraw their motion. I have boldly uttered my opinion, they have as boldly uttered theirs; and as nothing is to be gained, and much may be lost by a vote, I repeat the expression of my hope, that they will prevent the necessity of taking the ayes and the noes on the question of admitting or excluding these our estimable sisters; and I hope that those ladies will be disposed to unite most cordially in any plan, which may promote the peace of the Convention, and the prosperity of the cause in which we are all engaged.

Mr. STACEY.—I will withdraw the amendment, on the condition that our friend from America will withdraw the original motion; otherwise I believe the Convention must go to the question, yea, or nay. I trust, however, that we shall not be driven to this alternative.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—It has been hinted very respectfully by two or three speakers that the Delegates from the state of Massachusetts should withdraw their credentials, or the motion before the meeting. The one appears to me

to be equivalent to the other. If this motion be withdrawn we must have another. I would merely ask, whether any man can suppose that the Delegates from Massachusetts or Pennsylvania can take upon their shoulders the responsibility of withdrawing that list of delegates from your table which their constituents told them to place there, and whom they sanctioned as their fit representatives, because this Convention tells us that it is not ready to meet the ridicule of the morning papers, and to stand up against the customs of England. In America we listen to no such arguments. If we had done so, we had never been here as abolitionists. It is the custom there not to admit coloured men into respectable society, and we have been told again and again, that we are outraging the decencies of humanity when we permit coloured men to sit by our side. When we have submitted to brick bats, and the tar tub and feathers, in America, rather than yield to the custom prevalent there of not admitting coloured brethren into our friendship, shall we yield to a parallel custom or prejudice in Old England? I wish to add one word. We cannot yield this question if we would: for it is a matter of conscience. But we would not yield it on the ground of expediency. In doing so, we should feel that we are striking off the right arm of our enterprise. We could not go back to America to ask for any aid from the women of Massachusetts, if we had deserted them when they chose to send out their own sisters as their representatives here. We could not go back to Massachusetts, and assert the unchangeableness of spirit on the question. We have argued it over and over again, and decided it time after time in every Society in the land in favour of the women. We have not changed by crossing the water. We stand here the advocates of the same principle that we contend for in America. We think it right for women to sit by our side there, and we think it right for them to do the same here. We ask the Convention to admit them: if they do not choose to grant it, the responsibility rests upon their own shoulders. Massachusetts cannot turn aside, or succumb to any prejudices or customs even in the land she looks upon with so much reverence as the land of WILBERFORCE, of CLARKSON, and of O'CONNELL. It is a matter of conscience, and British virtue ought not to ask us to yield it.

The CHAIRMAN.—Mr. PHILLIPS having now replied, I will put the question.

Dr. BOWRING.—When the gentleman who has moved a resolution has spoken in reply it is not usual to re-open the question.

The CHAIRMAN.—It appeared to me that Mr. PHILLIPS having exercised his right of reply, the debate must close.

W. H. ASHURST, Esq.—Mr. PHILLIPS was called upon to say whether he would or would not withdraw the motion. He gave his reason why he could not withdraw it. If I had supposed that he had risen to reply, I should have interposed to make a few remarks.

The CHAIRMAN.—I understand from Mr. PHILLIPS that he had no idea of making a reply but only to answer a question, the discussion may therefore continue.

The Rev. J. H. JOHNSON.—We must come to a division and the sooner the better.

The Rev. CHARLES EDWARDS LESTER, (of Utica, U. S.) I trust we shall meet the question like men, and not disgrace those who have sent us.

WILLIAM CAIRNS, Esq., (of Edinburgh).—In order to settle this question

without offending the feelings of any party, I have drawn up an amendment. It is this :—

“ That this Convention feels itself placed in a state of great perplexity in reference to the female delegates from Massachusetts and Pennsylvania ; and they regret that, agreeably to the terms employed in describing the persons who were to be delegates of the Convention, they cannot recognize them as delegates ; they at the same time contemplate with feelings of the highest satisfaction the zeal and intrepidity, as well as philanthropy, which have been so nobly manifested by them in this cause, and in their coming 4000 miles to be present at this meeting.”

Mr. ASHURST.—It does not matter in the consideration of this question what were the intentions of the Committee in issuing the invitation ; we are now to consider what ought to be the extent of the invitation given by a Convention like this. It is clearly a meeting on the principles of universal benevolence, and you ought to welcome all human beings who come here for the purpose of carrying those principles into effect. It has been stated by those who are able to bear their testimony, that to those whom you now propose to exclude, you owe the deputation which has come from America ; and yet at the first Convention met to act on the principles of universality, you propose to commence by disfranchising one-half of creation. Are not these women as competent as yourselves to judge of the principles of Christianity, and to bring forth the best affections of our nature ? If these are their qualifications, should you upon principle exclude them. It seems impossible for you or for any Christian men to draw that conclusion. I use that argumentatively, because I am aware that many take a different view of the same principle. This is my view of the subject—not casting the least reflection upon those who vote against me. But let us look at the arguments which have been brought forward by a gentleman who would have adduced others if they were to be found. The only argument is, that you must construe the invitation according to the custom of the country in which you are assembled. What would be the result of such an argument employed in Virginia ? Would they not say that slavery is the custom here, and therefore you have no right to place yourselves in opposition to the prejudices and customs of society by attempting to put it down. But come back to our principle. You are convened to influence society upon a subject connected with the kindest feelings of our nature ; and being the first assembly met to shake hands with other nations, and employ your combined efforts to annihilate slavery throughout the world, are you to commence by saying, “ we will take away the rights of one-half of creation ? ” That is the principle which you are putting forward.

The Rev. A. HARVEY, (of Glasgow).—I regret exceedingly that this question should have been brought before the notice of the Convention. I am sure that every individual who was present during the two first hours of our meeting was deeply and solemnly impressed with the vast importance of the cause on which we are met ; and I think there has unhappily been brought before us a question, altogether foreign to the object for which we have

assembled. The question for discussion now, is not whether we are to deliver men from the condition of abject slavery, but whether from this Convention there shall go forth a decision in reference to the rights of females. That seems to be the point involved in the present debate. I will yield to none in the high estimate which I form of female talent, female genius, female kindness, and female accomplishments. I believe that they have laboured most efficiently in this cause, and that the sphere which they have hitherto occupied, is the one in which they can best promote the grand object in view. I question whether, in coming forward to sit in such a meeting as this, females are in their own sphere. I have my doubts on the subject. The question is whether in recognizing them as members of this Convention, we should not be introducing them into a position which might be injurious to our cause. I am certain that it would be in direct opposition to the opinion of a vast majority of the people of this country. But we must look at the consequences. It was stated by a brother from America that with him it is a matter of conscience ; and it is a question of conscience with me too. I have certain views in relation to the teaching of the word of God, and of the particular sphere in which woman is to act. I must say, whether I am right in my interpretation of the word of God or not, that my own decided convictions are, if I were to give a vote in favour of females sitting and deliberating in such an assembly as this, that I should be acting in opposition to the plain teaching of the word of God. I may be wrong, but I have a conscience on the subject ; and I am sure that there are a number present of the same mind. I must, however, state that I admire the devotedness of character exhibited by the females of America, and I admire still more the heroism and the zeal, the enlightened zeal which they have displayed : although in the present instance the request which is tendered to us for their admission is not quite in accordance with the view I entertain with respect to the sphere of female labour, yet I will call it enlightened zeal for the amelioration of the unhappy condition of so many millions of our oppressed and injured fellow men. I tender them my warmest thanks for their zeal ; I hold them up as examples for British imitation ; and I am sure that whether they are admitted into the Convention or not, the very devotedness which they have displayed will have a most electric effect on the females of England, and tend to raise them to a degree of activity and self-sacrifice such as they have never before exhibited in this good cause.

The Rev. J. A. JAMES.—I have not been an inattentive, an indifferent, or an inactive spectator, so far as I could observe it from the shores of my own country, of the progress of the abolition of slavery in America. And such has been the impression produced on my own mind by the exertions of those illustrious females, of whose names America may justly be proud, that I would have travelled to the metropolis, had it been for no other purpose, could I have enjoyed the gratification of seeing Mrs. CHAPMAN and Mrs. WELD. But I am quite sure, that in this assembly this morning, had even *they* been present, they would rather by their presence have prejudiced than promoted that cause which is dearer to their own hearts than life. I am sorry that the abstract question of the rights of woman has occupied so large a share of the attention of the Convention. I regret that this question, litigated so warmly in America, should have been brought here for our decision. It would have been better to have settled it there ; and that we should

have been suffered to pursue our own course, without being embarrassed by the introduction of this subject. But one or two expressions have been used by gentlemen from America which delighted my heart, and which led me to imagine, that, although we could not come to an agreement in sentiment, yet we should not be materially disturbed in the feelings with which we regarded each other. I was pleased with the declaration of COLONEL MILLER, that he was prepared for one to bow to the decision of the assembly; and, though Mr. PHILLIPS cannot conscientiously consent to withdraw the resolution, and therefore the question cannot come to a conclusion without a vote, yet it will be considered as a point of conscience with us all, and not simply as a matter of opinion and disagreement; and however we may give our vote, we shall stand prepared to abide by the decision of the majority, and go forward in this good work with a perfect confidence in each other's conscientious motives, though we may not have the same confidence in the correctness of each other's opinions. We shall differ on many subjects, and it is not to be expected but that there should, on so delicate a subject as *this*, be a difference of opinion. The question is almost new in this country, and this is not the assembly where it should have been mooted. We are not yet prepared to discuss it. Our brethren from America may charge us with some obtuseness of understanding, on a point which has commended itself to their more acute vision. We are not prepared to jump to a conclusion. The question involves in this, and every country far wider considerations than even the Anti-Slavery cause itself. I trust, therefore, that we shall not gratify the enemies of that cause, by quarrelling on the very threshold of it, that we shall not strengthen the prejudice of those who have imbibed prejudice already against the whole subject; but that if we do vote, and should oppose each other, as I presume we must do, it will be only opposition of sentiment. Our friends from America have done honour to themselves by the firmness, I will not say the pertinacity, with which they have held their opinions. They will stand acquitted, at the bar of their own country, of all accusations of lukewarmness. The female part of Massachusetts will never reproach them with having deserted their cause. They will carry back no disgrace from this country; on the contrary, they will go back honoured amongst all those who sent them here to represent their claims. Should it be, that in the progress of sentiment amongst us, we shall one day agree with them in opinion, then, how welcome will be those females within the bar, who are this day placed above it and beyond it; and who, they will permit me to say, do not, in my judgment, disgrace themselves by being there. They are entitled to our admiration, for much they have done in America. No man can have read the "Martyr Age," and have gone through those glowing pages, which to me possessed the charms of romance, without forming the highest opinion of the devotedness, the talents, and the heroism of the women of America. If any thing could have convinced me that those females ought this morning to have been amongst us, instead of with us and around us, that pamphlet would have done it. America is the only country yet, which, in fact can boast of a very extended martyrology in this great cause; and they will add another laurel to their brow, if they will but concede the point we are now discussing. I trust, that though we should beat them, and if it be carried to the vote, I believe, and I hope we shall, they will go through with us in the delightful proceedings of an assembly unequalled in the world. It is the first of the kind that has been presented on the face of our globe since slavery has existed. I hope all that has occurred on this question, will be only like

the notes of discord sometimes introduced in the best concerted music, to make the harmony the sweeter.

The CHAIRMAN.—We will take the decision on the original motion. After the long time during which the subject has been under discussion, and the general call for a division, I am bound to say that we must divide.

The motion of Mr. CAIRNS not having been seconded, fell to the ground.

Mr. STACEY.—I consented to withdraw my amendment only on the condition, that WENDELL PHILLIPS would withdraw his original motion ; as he has not withdrawn it, my amendment must be submitted to the Convention.

The CHAIRMAN again said, he was ready to put the question.

The Rev. Dr. COX.—We were told that every thing was to be done in calmness ; that every thing was to be done in the manner demanded by the solemnity of the occasion. I do not think that it is competent for any number of gentlemen to call upon the Chairman to come to a prompt decision, and say that others are not to be heard. Considering that some gentlemen have come across the Atlantic, and that this is a question of the greatest possible interest, I do think that gentlemen ought to be heard, unless the impatience of the assembly is such that they will not attend to them. I think gentlemen on the other side have a right to be heard ; if they are not heard, I shall move an adjournment.

Mr. FULLER.—I apprehend that I represent a larger constituency than any man here. I am surprised that I should be prevented from speaking while a number of others have been allowed to go on. I hope that we shall not be prevented from having a hearing. One friend said, that this question ought to have been settled on the other side of the Atlantic. Why it was there decided in favour of the women a year ago. With regard to the invitation, there was nothing about "gentlemen" in the first invitation, and the women from Pennsylvania were appointed previously to the issuing of the amended notice calling this meeting. This is the only explanation I want to make.

Captain WAUCHOPE, R. N. (delegate from Carlisle).—In whatever country an institution may be formed, something should be given up to the feelings and prejudices of that country. Now I hold that England has something to say upon the efforts which have been made to annihilate slavery. The ladies across the Atlantic have exerted themselves nobly, and I trust that they will continue their efforts, even though this question should be carried against them. I entreat the ladies not to push the question too far. They do not fully comprehend the feelings of this country on the subject. I wish to know whether our friends from America are prepared to cast off England altogether ? Have we not given £20,000,000 of our money for the purpose of doing away with the abominations of slavery ? Is not that proof that we are in earnest about it ? I can answer for the friends of emancipation here, that if this society had been established in America, they would never have mooted the question of the exclusion of females ; but I must say, that our American friends are violating the feelings of the country in which they are now assembled. I trust they will do nothing calculated to cripple the great cause in which we are engaged.

The CHAIRMAN.—Permit me to say in reference to an observation which

fell from a gentleman at the end of the room, (Mr. FULLER), that I trust I am not in the least disposed to limit the freedom of debate. I thought that I was only interpreting the general feeling of the meeting when I suggested that the time had arrived to take the vote.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I rise to correct an erroneous impression which may have been made on the Convention by what has fallen from some of my American friends, as well as from my friend, Mr. THOMPSON. They spoke as if the question of promiscuous female representation in the Anti-Slavery Societies of the United States was already *settled*. This, in my apprehension, is far from being the case. The question is a mooted one there as here; it has been as distracting to Anti-Slavery Conventions there, as it is likely to become to this Convention, if it be obstinately persisted in. It has been stated, that the right of women to sit and act in all respects as men in our Anti-Slavery associations, was decided in the affirmative at the annual meeting of the American Anti-Slavery Society, in May, 1839. It is true, the claim was so decided on that occasion, but not by a large majority; whilst it is also true, that the majority was swelled by the votes of the women themselves. A portion of the minority thought they were called on to *protest* in a formal manner against the act of the majority, which they accordingly did. Since that decision, the question has been pressed with great pertinacity by those who favour the right of women to sit in the Anti-Slavery meetings, and resisted in the same manner by those who are opposed to it. Votes have been taken in several instances in the auxiliary societies; and wherever the result has been in favour of the admission of female representation, females have themselves voted. In Massachusetts it has been made a principal ground of separation between the abolitionists of that State. It is true, there were other grounds of separation deemed more obnoxious than the one now under discussion; but it was *one* of the grounds, and considered by no means an unimportant one. The abolitionists who were in the negative on the "women's rights" question, and who thought the other ground of separation alluded to still more imperative, separated from the old society and instituted another, which is conducted exclusively by men. I regret that it has been thought proper by my friend, Mr. THOMPSON, to institute any comparison between the two parties, as to the *thoroughness* of their abolitionism. He cannot but know, that in the new society, there are those whose purity as abolitionists cannot be questioned, or even disparaged by any comparison into which they may be brought with others, no matter how high those others may stand in his estimation. I think it proper also here to state, that I have just received from a gentleman in New York, well known to Mr. THOMPSON, one whose Anti-Slavery standard he, (Mr. T.) would be among the last, in any way, to underrate, a letter communicating the fact, that the persistence of the friends of promiscuous female representation, in pressing that practice on the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its annual meeting on the 12th of last month, had caused such disagreement among the members present, that he and others who viewed the subject as he did, were then deliberating on measures for seceding from the old organization, and instituting a new one, from which this cause of dissension would be excluded. The immediate occasion of the secession was this: the CHAIRMAN of the meeting, one of the Vice-Presidents of the Society, who it is understood is decidedly favourable to female representation, in appointing the "business Committee," nominated a lady as a member of it, together with Mr. L. TAPPAN and others who were well

known to be opposed to ladies acting in such matters promiscuously with gentlemen. The lady was not herself present at the meeting. It was moved that the husband of the lady, a gentleman in every way qualified for any station for which respectability and intelligence are considered qualifications, should be substituted for his wife. This, as I understand the letter, was not done, but instead of it another lady was made the substitute for the one who had been nominated in her absence. Believing that the time had at length come when the American Society was to be made the instrument of carrying this measure, in connexion with others still more obnoxious, which were known to be cherished by the most zealous of the women's rights party ; and not being ready to aid in any way in furthering such purposes, a large number withdrew from the Society, and were, at the date of the communication, deliberating on the organization of a new association, from which all matters of reform, except those inseparably connected with slavery and emancipation, should be carefully excluded. I have alluded to other measures deemed still more obnoxious than the women's rights question, but to which the latter was considered as having been associated by the most zealous of its supporters. These may be considered as coming within the designation of the Non-Resistance or the No-human government scheme. I think it may truly be said, and without exception so far as I am informed, that the members of this sect, one that is new in the United States, and which denies the rightful existence of all human governments, except such as are merely *advisory*, are zealous for the perfect equalization of the sexes as to rights, duties, &c., &c. But whilst I give this as my opinion, I must also say, that there are among us in America, multitudes of abolitionists of the firmest and most approved texture, the friends and supporters of human governments as they now exist, who also believe, that by the constitution of the American Anti-Slavery Society (in which its members are described as "*persons*"), females desiring to be considered as members cannot be excluded. I do not so interpret the constitution. I have thought it due to those whom I, in part, represent, as well as to this Convention, to make this statement, trusting that it will aid us in some measure, in coming to an intelligent decision of the question before us.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I wish to speak to certain facts. I know from the kind attention which the meeting has already paid, that it wishes to get at facts.

The Rev. J. BURNET.—I speak to a point of order. Our worthy friend is about to speak to facts, in the way of reply to the gentleman who has just sat down. That is not what we call explanation, and it cannot be entered upon. I would just say, that this question must come to a close at some time, or the business of the Convention can never be done.

The CHAIRMAN.—Mr. BURNET has rightly interpreted the rules ; no gentleman who has spoken before can speak in reply, or otherwise, to matters of fact, except the gentleman who opened the discussion.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—In what I said, I did not intend to institute a comparison between parties who had divided.

The Rev. C. STOVEL.—I think that the whole of the question has now become one entirely of order. I think, that we are convened here by your summons sent to the United States, and to several parts of the world from which we now have delegates. I fancy that we have been convened on a question relating to negro slavery ; or rather, we are now an Anti-Slavery body. I know that we have a right to constitute ourselves, and that we

have a right to sit on that question ; but whilst we have been speaking on this question respecting the reception of delegates, we have been brought to a topic, which however it may have been discussed in America, is one which is totally new to me. I never heard a word about it before. I certainly never studied what is called the rights of women. I would not withhold from them one right. I would give them more than their rights ; for I think the women will be badly off when they have nothing but their rights, and the men also. I do not think that this is the time when that should be discussed. I appeal to you on all sides of the question, whether what you are pursuing is the great object for which we are met, whether it forms any part of the order of our proceedings ? We ought not to be compelled to discuss this question, or to decide upon it now. If it tears your Societies to pieces in the United States, why would you tear in pieces our Convention ? If I had been on the Committee, and the Committee had voted to receive ladies, I would receive them as a matter of courtesy. But when you attempt to divide the Convention on this subject, you are out of order, and we ought not to entertain the question. My vote is, that we confirm the list of delegates ; that we take votes on that, as an amendment ; and that we henceforth entertain this question no more. Are we not met here pledged to sacrifice all but every thing, in order that we may do something against slavery, and shall we be divided on this paltry question, and suffer the whole tide of benevolence to be stopped by a straw ? No ! You talk of being men, then be men. Consider what is worthy your attention. You talk of possessing liberty, then by all means conduct yourselves as freemen ought to do. You have undertaken to do something to destroy slavery ; expose not yourselves then to ridicule, through the length and breadth of the country, by a question of this sort. If you are wise men use wisdom, and if you are strong men use strength in the accomplishment of what you have undertaken to do. If you think it right, when you have done this work, sit down and consider the rights of women. I shall move as an amendment that the list of delegates taken by the Committee be adopted.

S. J. PRESCOD, Esq., (of Barbadoes).—I wish to state a very simple circumstance in connexion with this question which has been most improperly forced upon us. The fact is this, that the ladies themselves did not come here with a certain expectation of being received amongst us. I had this fact from the ladies themselves. The ladies were elected conditionally, namely, that if the customs of this country and the sense of the Convention were against their sitting with us, they were absolved from all responsibility. I state this, not only in the presence of the American delegates, but of the ladies themselves.

The Rev. W. BEVAN.—I beg to protest against mere private conversations being repeated before a public assembly.

Mr. PRESCOD.—The conversation which took place last night was not a private one. There was a preliminary meeting at which persons, not delegates, were present.

One or two gentlemen denied that Mr. PRESCOD had given an accurate representation of what had taken place.

The CHAIRMAN.—The speaker is decidedly out of order in giving the details of private conversations ; he has clearly no right to do so.

The Rev. Dr. MORRISON.—I feel, I believe, as our brethren from America and many English friends do at this moment, that we are treading on the brink of a precipice; and that precipice is the awakening in our bosoms by this discussion, feelings that will not only be averse to the great object for which we are assembled, but inconsistent, perhaps, in some degree with the Christian spirit, which I trust will pervade all meetings connected with the Anti-Slavery cause. For I do believe that whatever has been done to purpose in this great work in our own country, or in any other, has been effected mainly under the guidance and direction of Christian principle. There are, we must all perceive, firm minded men, on both sides of this question. The Americans have proved themselves to be firm minded men; and I honour them for it; but they must see also that English Christians are equally firm and decided in the course which they intend to pursue. It is a question of conscience between the two parties; but it is a question of conscience between a very small minority on the one side, and a mighty majority on the other. If you discuss this topic, not only till the sun goes down, but until this Convention shall be under the necessity of breaking up, is there a shadow of hope in the mind of any American, or of any Englishman, that such discussion will harmonize the minds of the Convention? I do hope that our American friends, considering what a small minority they are, will withdraw the motion: for on no other ground can unity be secured. I cannot yield my convictions till I have had the same opportunity of discussing this topic as has been enjoyed by my American friends. They have already anxiously discussed it; but the people of this country have not. But have their discussions of it across the Atlantic tended to harmony? I say, unhesitatingly, because I know it, *they have not*. Will they then, upon a question of a minor order, divert attention from the great object for which we have been convened? Will they so far sacrifice themselves—their Christian selves—their Christian manhood—and the cause which I believe is most dear to them, and which I know they have proved by the sacrifices which they have made for its promotion? Will they on a minor question—the admission of female delegates from a small section of the American continent—run the hazard, the fearful hazard, of exciting a spirit which may tarnish the whole procedure in which we are engaged? I beseech then calmly to consider the nature of these proceedings. This is very unlike the meetings we have hitherto held. We have been unanimous against the common foe; but we are this day in danger of creating a division among heartfelt friends. Will our American brethren put us in this position? Will they keep up a discussion in which the delicacy, the honour, the respectability, of these excellent females, who have come from the western world, are concerned. I tremble at the thought of discussing the question in the presence of these ladies, for whom I entertain the most profound respect. I am bold to say, that but for the introduction of the question of woman's rights, that it would be impossible for the shrinking nature of woman to subject itself to the infliction of such a discussion as this. I do entreat, Mr. CHAIRMAN, that you will keep the meeting to its business. I am not here to instruct you; you are better capable of instructing me. I have known you long, and your devotion to this cause. I look around me on men whose hearts are warm in it, and none beats more warmly in the cause than those of the Americans. I have held correspondence with some of the best Anti-Slavery men in America, and I know that they have been rendered overwhelmingly anxious by the discussion of this subject, which

is now threatening to make us as unhappy as our friends on the other side of the Atlantic. Our friends do not know the position we occupy in this country, or they would not obtrude the question upon us. I do entreat the meeting not to let any more time be lost. We cannot be convinced on either side. Our judgments in England are not things of straw, any more than those of our American friends. I give them credit for the manliness with which they have asserted that, which they regard to be a great principle; but having asserted it as Christian men, let us be content to proceed to a division, and then determine, in the spirit of Christians, to abide by that decision.

The CHAIRMAN.—As the hour is so late, I will now call upon Mr PHILLIPS to reply.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I will not enter on a reply. I have only one word to say, and that is to correct misrepresentations. The first respects what was stated by a gentleman on my right, (Mr. PRESCOD), that the women did not expect their seats when they came here. I deny it. They may have said that they did not expect to be in a majority if it went to a division. Secondly, he states they came here with liberty left to them of presenting their credentials or not. We should have come before the Convention with a lie in our mouths, we should have detained this meeting under the most false pretences, and have practised the grossest deception upon it, in making the statements we have done, had we been entrusted with this liberty of choice. The only women who have presented credentials are those from the State of Massachusetts, and there was no such liberty left to them. He has exaggerated what transpired, and confounded different cases. With respect to the observations made by Mr. BIRNEY, I think it is my duty to advert to one of them. He has stated that the woman question has rent the Massachusetts Society asunder. That is not true. I attribute no want of truth to Mr. BIRNEY; we know each other too well for him to suspect that I should make such an assertion. He has misapprehended the state of the matter. It was political action which divided us, and not the introduction of the woman's question.* Mr. BIRNEY has also stated that most of the advocates of the woman's question are friends of the no-human government system. I might go over a long list, and show that the majority of those who have permitted me to stand up here are not favourable to the no-human government system. The defenders of that scheme are but a small portion of our body; but, thank God, the friends of woman on the platform of abolitionism are the majority. I throw back the imputation, that the main body on the woman question are the no-human government men. I rose to correct mistakes, and have done it.

The CHAIRMAN then submitted Mr. STACEY's amendment, which was put and carried by an overwhelming majority.

The Rev. J. H. JOHNSON.—I hope we shall now all proceed unitedly with heart and hand.

* Mr. PHILLIPS has since expressed a desire that an acknowledgment should be made on his behalf that he was in error here. The alleged causes of the division in America have been the introduction of women into the meetings, and differences about resolutions on political action.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I hope that as the question is now decided it will never be again brought forward; and I trust that Mr. PHILLIPS will give us the assurance that we shall proceed with one heart and one mind.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I have no doubt of it. There is no unpleasant feeling in our minds. I have no doubt that the women will sit with as much interest behind the bar as though the original proposition had been carried in the affirmative. All we asked was an expression of opinion, and having obtained it, we shall now act with the utmost cordiality.

PROFESSOR ADAM.—I shall co-operate with the gentlemen now around me with the same zeal and earnestness as I should have done if this question had never been started.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE moved, and Mr. BENNET seconded, that the Convention adjourn until ten o'clock to-morrow morning, which was put and agreed to.

SECOND DAY'S SITTINGS, SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1840.

(MORNING.)

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq. in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said,

Before commencing the business of the day, I am anxious to offer a remark or two on the somewhat irregular way in which the meeting was opened yesterday morning. It was the desire of the Committee to save our venerable friend, THOMAS CLARKSON, as much as possible from excitement: and they arranged that he should be voted into the Chair before he entered the room, I did not know that this had not been done, when I accompanied him to the platform, yesterday; but the question was not regularly put to the meeting, though no doubt could exist that it would have been unanimously carried. As one or two of our friends who have been elected office-bearers, arrived only on the preceding evening, they could scarcely be thoroughly cognizant of the arrangements for preserving order in conducting the business; and should any other little irregularity in the proceedings of yesterday have occurred, I hope this will be accepted as an apology. In future, it will be necessary to act in strict accordance with the prescribed rules, as by so doing much valuable time will be saved. I trust, we shall go on in that spirit of love, unanimity, and Christian charity, which especially marked the early proceedings of yesterday. I am glad that our friends who were in the minority last evening, are now not only present, but, I believe, anxious, cordially and sincerely, with the best and kindest feelings, to unite in all the proceedings, and to further the great objects, of this Convention.

M. ISAMBERT, the secretary to the French Anti-Slavery Society, and a member of the Chamber of Deputies, in whose honour medals have been struck by the coloured inhabitants of the French colonies, and M. LAURE, also a distinguished member of the French Society, were

introduced by Messrs. J. H. TREDGOLD, G. W. ALEXANDER, W. T. BLAIR, and D. TURNBULL.

The CHAIRMAN.—I hope I shall not be violating the scruples of any one, if I request, that we sit a minute or two in devotional silence, before the business proceeds.

It was afterwards announced, that it was the intention of those who wished to join in devotion, before the commencement of the sittings of the Convention, to meet in an adjoining room for that purpose, each day at half-past nine o'clock.

The minutes of the sitting of Friday were then read and confirmed.

The Rev. BENJAMIN GODIWN, (of Oxford,) on the call of the Chairman, read the following paper :—

ON THE ESSENTIAL SINFULNESS OF SLAVERY AND ITS DIRECT OPPOSITION
TO THE PRECEPTS AND SPIRIT OF CHRISTIANITY.

I am aware that the number and importance of the topics which will be brought under the consideration of this meeting, render an economy of time necessary. The paper, which I have been requested to draw up and read, is on a subject of great and vital interest, which spreads out a wide field of discussion, but which it has been my endeavour to present in a condensed form, and within narrow limits.

There are many views which may be taken of the evils of slavery by the philanthropist and the politician ; but there is one aspect under which it presents itself to the mind of the Christian, which is especially adapted to awaken his feelings and to stimulate his efforts,—that is, *its sinfulness*. It will be the object of this paper to show that its moral delinquency is not an accident or a circumstance, but that it is inherent in the system, and belongs to its very nature ; that it is not the abuse of slavery merely, but the very existence of it that is wrong ; and that consequently, there is only one way of dealing with it, and that is, not to correct and amend, but to exterminate it altogether.

Slavery, as it has prevailed in the world, and as it still prevails, appears with many modifications ; it is not my design to apportion with nice discrimination the exact amount of guilt to every shade of distinction : the proposition I mean to affirm is, *that slavery, so far as it is slavery, is sinful*. By slavery, I mean *the coerced service of the perpetual bondsman, exacted and enforced without any alleged crime, for the sole benefit of the owner, who exercises over him an irresponsible power, and claims*

in him the right of property. And while our remarks will apply to slavery in general, they will have an especial reference to that type of slavery which prevails in America, and in the colonies of Europe.

Without going into detail, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of the system which we pronounce as sinful.

One essential feature of the slave system, and that from which all its mischiefs spring, is *the right of property in man claimed and enforced.* Hence originated the term "*owner*," a term not designating the relation of child, or servant, or captive, or prisoner; but the relation of property to a possessor. It is the relation which a man bears to his house, his furniture, his farm, and the cattle that work and stock it. The title to the slave is acquired like that of other property, by purchase, by gift, by inheritance, or by will; and it is transferred in the same way. So that the limbs, the strength, the powers of the slave's mind and body are his owner's property; the husband has no claim on the enslaved wife; he can perform no duties, yield no protection, but such as the owner allows. The duties and obligations of parents and children are absorbed in the claims of the owner—are in fact annihilated by this relation. As with the brute animals possessed by man, the offspring of the female belongs to the owner, whoever be the father, and whether he be bond or free. And this right of property set up and claimed is perpetual. The flock of sheep and the gang of slaves, with their descendants, are the owner's, not for a term of years or a number of lives, but for ever.

This claim of property produces another condition in this state, which also prominently marks it, that is, *coerced and unremunerated service.* There is here no contract made; the labourer has no power of choice. The slave-master does not ask, nor reason, nor persuade; he compels. The slave can no more consult his own interest than a sheep can choose its own pasture, or a horse its own master. And however laborious or valuable the service rendered, it is not on the principle of remuneration. It is not an exchange of commodities for the benefit of both; it is not an equivalent given and taken. Food and clothing, and lodging are not given to remunerate the slave, but to benefit the master. The slave is no more remunerated by these than the ox is remunerated by his fodder, or the hound by his kennel.

The exercise of irresponsible power springs also from the claim of property, and is a feature of the slave system. All think they have a right to do what they will with their own. This is the very spirit

of slavery, this is its congenial element. To call a slave-owner to account for the manner in which he treats his slave, is felt to be an encroachment on his rights, and is generally resisted as such; as if a person should dictate to another how many miles he should ride his horse, how often he should use the whip or spur, or in what way he should punish his dog. The force of conscience, a sense of shame, the strength of public opinion, may have placed, in various degrees, some checks on this power; laws may have been passed for the prevention of cruelty to slaves just as enactments for the prevention of cruelty to animals, but in most cases these checks have proved, and must necessarily prove, ineffectual. Whenever man is held as legal property, an immense power over the happiness of the slave must be possessed, of which the law can take no cognizance, over which it can exercise no control. In our own foreign dependencies, while slavery was in its palmy days, a few pounds, or a short imprisonment, and these scarcely ever inflicted, were the penalties for the wilful murder of a slave. And when the secrets of this prison house were revealed to the British public, how slow and reluctant was every movement to place additional responsibility on the master's power, and with what vehemence and pertinacity were all the proceedings of the British Parliament opposed, when it stretched out its hand to limit this terrible power.

This, then, is the system which we condemn as sinful.

Such a condition of society must be attended with great and serious evils; a vast amount of physical suffering must necessarily flow from it. Such power cannot be exercised over his fellow-creatures by man, subject as he is to all the evil passions of human nature, without the infliction of much misery. And facts prove that suffering, to a very frightful extent, has ever attended slavery. But independent of the amount of physical suffering, the injuries inflicted are unspeakable; and the wrong done, the injustice committed, is flagrant.

For, first, *it degrades a slave from the condition of a man*, it thrusts him off the common level of humanity. It does not allow him to stand in the same relation to society as others, nor to live under the same laws. And this dreadful penalty is inflicted for no crime charged on him; but for the mere accident of colour, or because his mother was the victim of the same injustice before him.

It robs him also of the rights of man, at least of the possession and enjoyment of those rights which God and nature had given him. His right to his liberty, to the produce of his own industry, to the govern-

ment and obedience of his own children, to the exercise of his reason and choice in seeking his own happiness ;—rights, to invade which, is a kind of sacrilege—are all sacrificed. Thus the slave is plundered of the rights which God has given to every man, or holds them only by sufferance, and in such pittance as his owner may dole out to him.

This wicked system also, as far as it can be done, *deprives the slave of the attributes of a man*. He has no free and independent action. He must have no will but that of his owner. He must neither act from choice, nor from conscience. He can neither rest, nor labour, recreate his body, nor cultivate his mind, nor join in the worship of his God, but at the will and under the power of another. There is a power that stands between him and his happiness, between him and his children, between him and his wife; between him and his God. This power may be sometimes mildly exercised, or allowed to slumber, as a man may treat a favourite nag or a faithful dog, but the power is there, and if disputed or denied, would be immediately felt. Placed in the position of an animal kept for work, or pride, or pleasure, he is debarred the highest exercises of a rational and immortal creature.

Now we say, that to hold our fellow-creatures in such a condition is sinful. It is a violation of the law of nature, of the law of God. It is contrary to all religion, natural and revealed.

For, 1st, *It is a violation of the immutable principles of equity and justice*. All the great principles of justice, and of moral obligation, are eternal, unchangeable, and universal. No custom, however general, no usage, however ancient, can alter them ; no legislation can supersede them, no enactments can change them. Right is still right, and wrong is still wrong, whatever men may say or do. That innocence should not be punished, that no rational creature should invade the rights of another, are propositions as invariably and universally true, as that the whole is equal to all its parts, and that the three angles of every triangle are equal to two right angles. As slavery is punishment without crime, as it is withholding from another his due, as it is inflicting on another a most serious injury, it is essentially, incurably wrong ; a violation of the principles of justice which nothing can make right. Every slave in the world has a right to be free ; a right which all the tyranny on earth can neither destroy nor nullify. Of the enjoyment of this right he may be deprived, but the claim cannot be extinguished : and the withholding of this right is the perpetuation of a wrong.

But, 2nd, *If we try it by the test of revealed religion, we must with*

equal emphasis pronounce it sinful. Sin is defined in the sacred writings, as “ a transgression of the law ;” and the fundamental principles of this law are violated by slavery. One great object in the revealed will of God, is to bring out clearly and to establish fully, by the most solemn sanctions and in the most impressive manner, those great and immutable principles of truth and justice by which the administration of His moral government is regulated, and on which it is founded. These principles of moral rectitude affect man in his twofold relation, to God and to his fellow-creatures ; and all the duties in detail which spring from them, are reduced by our divine Teacher to these two comprehensive precepts : “ Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart”—and, “ thy neighbour as thyself.” “ On these two commandments hang all the law and the prophets.” Now to reduce a fellow-creature to a state of slavery, or to hold him in this state ; to exercise such power over him, and to claim such right of property in him, is incompatible with this love to God, and to our fellow-creatures.

For, 1st, How can it be compatible with the unbounded and reverential love we owe to the Great Creator, to misuse and maltreat *his* creatures ; to deprive them of the rights which He has given them, without any express warrant from Him ? There is something sacred about man—he is God’s creature, stamped with his image, and endowed with his immortality ; and to deprive such a being of the rights of humanity, to reduce him as far as possible to the level of the brute creation, and thus to stunt his intellectual growth, obstruct his social sympathies, depress his lofty aspirations, and stand between him and the very end of his being, is not only to insult our Maker by wronging his creatures, but is to invade his prerogative, by the assumption of dominion and authority which belong to Him alone.

And in the next place, can slavery be reconcilable with such love to man as the divine law requires, is it compatible with the duties of the second table ? Can that law which forbids not only stealing, but even coveting or desiring what belongs to another, tolerate man in depriving his fellow-creature of his liberty, of the fruits of his own industry, and of all that is dear to him for purposes of selfish aggrandizement ? *Slavery is essentially unjust ; therefore slavery is essentially sinful.* It wrongs, it insults, at once, both God and man.

The prescribed brevity of this paper forbids the discussion of objections to the conclusion we have drawn. But unless the premises can

be disproved, no difficulties with which ingenuity may perplex the question can invalidate it. So far as slavery is what we have described it to be, it cannot but be unjust—that is, it must be sinful.

If it should be pleaded that slavery was tolerated by God among the ancient Israelites, and therefore is not in its own nature sinful, it might be replied, first, that neither the bond service of the Israelites which was voluntary, nor that which was a punishment inflicted, nor any form of service which was temporary, comes within our definition; and secondly, that for reducing the nations of Canaan to slavery, and for putting them to the sword, they had a special warrant from the Judge of the whole earth, as the executioners of his justice. And no people can ever be placed in such circumstances as the Jews were.

It is not denied, also, that slavery existed throughout the Roman empire as a recognised civil institution, when Christianity was first promulgated; that there is no express precept to bind believing masters to release their slaves; that the slaves are not directed to claim their freedom, but for the gospel's sake, to obey. There are, however, reasons in the circumstances in which the first preachers of Christianity were placed, to account for these things, but no reasons can be assigned why Christianity should lend its sanction to what is in itself unjust, or why it should be indifferent to an evil at which humanity is shocked. So diametrically opposite to slavery is Christianity in its whole scope and tendency, that it would require very distinct statement, very strong evidence, to prove its patronage of any thing so cruelly wrong; and if such proof could be produced, it would present Christianity so strangely at variance with itself, as to weaken its own evidence of a divine origin.

How can Christianity be otherwise than opposed to slavery since it proceeds from Him, whose throne is founded in righteousness, whose name is “just and holy,” and whose strongest denunciations and severest threatenings are against pride, and wrong, and oppression? It could not, therefore, be for a moment supposed that a system originating with God, and introduced, not merely by eminent prophets, but by his Son, who came to take away sin and destroy the works of the devil, could be otherwise than opposed to every form of injustice, to every species of wrong.

And what is Christianity itself but an emanation of divine benevolence, a concentration of all the divine purposes of mercy to man, an emphatic announcement that “God is love,” that “glory to God in the

highest," is by the advent of the Saviour combined with "peace on earth and good will toward men." How, therefore, could it be supposed that such a system could coalesce with the spirit of slavery; the very tendency of which is to wound, and depress, and mortify, and to injure man in his relations both to time and eternity?

How are the views which Christianity gives us of man to be reconciled with the practice of holding a fellow-creature in perpetual bondage, and claiming property in him as our goods and chattels? Every man in the sight of God is placed on an equality: he "hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth." All stand related to Him as the Creator, the Benefactor, the Parent of the human family. No man can claim an exemption from the consequences of the fall, the plan of divine mercy looks with equal benignity on all; all must die, all must stand before His judgment-seat, with whom "there is no respect of persons." How can, then, we ask,—*how can* such views be reconciled with the practice of claiming man as property, and exercising over a fellow-creature the rights, or rather the wrongs, of a slave-owner?

The precepts of Christianity exhibit a high and pure morality, often entering into duties in detail, but more particularly distinguished for the principles which it inculcates, and which lead to "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report." Does not Christianity perpetually insist on the duties of justice between man and man? It neither abolishes nor relaxes any of its essential and immutable principles; but insists on their universal obligation, "Do we then make void the law through faith? God forbid: yea, we establish the law." It shows also that the divine law in all its precepts, extends not merely to overt acts, but to "the thoughts and intents of the heart." And on the principle on which our divine Teacher explains the law, any wish or intention to possess what is another's, or to encroach on his rights, or to do what would injure him or diminish his happiness, is sinful. And can a man hold a slave without infringing on his rights, and doing him an actual injury? No man living in the practice of injustice can expect to share the blessings of Christianity—"the unrighteous shall not inherit the kingdom of God;" its language is, render to all their dues—and to give us a clear rule of duty in our conduct to others, it enjoins the precept, "whatsoever ye

would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." Can the man walk by this rule who makes a slave, or holds a slave?

That it is wrong to return evil for good is a principle in morals which all will readily admit; but Christianity goes much farther than this, and prohibits the return of evil for evil,—nay more, it charges us to return good for evil: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink:" "bless them that curse you," "and pray for them which despitefully use you, and persecute you." Apply these principles to slavery. To the poor suffering slave they forbid revenge and retaliation, and cheer him in patient submission to evils which he cannot remove; but if the slave-owner acts upon them he must at once "undo the heavy burdens," and "let the oppressed go free."

How assiduously does Christianity inculcate the kindest charities of human nature. Our sympathies are ever to be alive. We are "to weep with them that weep," as well as "rejoice with them that do rejoice." Our love is to be measured by the love which God bears to us, for, "if God so loved us, we ought also to love one another." And if any man love "not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen." Now "love worketh no ill to his neighbour." Let this love on the part of the slave-owner, "be not in word only, but in deed and in truth," and the fetters of every slave he possesses will be instantly struck off.

Look, in a word, at the pervading spirit and genius of the gospel of Christ, at its divinely gracious intentions and objects. Look at the benign aspect which Christianity wears to all,—contemplate the boundless generosity, and love, and grace of him, "who though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that we through his poverty might be rich." Then place by its side the genius of slavery. Can any two things be more opposite? The one is an angel of light, the other a fiend of darkness; and while you thus view them, we ask, "what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness? and what concord hath Christ with Belial?"

The spirit of Christianity is to diffuse happiness to the widest possible extent, and to the greatest possible degree; the spirit of slavery is to diminish the means of happiness, and to open new sources of misery. The spirit of Christianity is to confer benefits even on the unworthy: the spirit of slavery is to inflict injuries even on the innocent. The spirit of Christianity is to remove from the world every form and

degree of evil, and to continue its unceasing efforts till humanity is relieved of all the miseries under which it groans; the spirit of slavery forbids all encroachment on its dark domains, and declares that "the prey" shall not "be taken from the mighty," nor "the lawful captive delivered." The spirit of Christianity is to elevate, and expand, and ennoble our nature: the spirit of slavery is to contract, and to depress, and to brutify all that is human.

There are two facts which strikingly show the opposition of these systems in their genius and influence. The one is, that as Christianity prevailed, it abolished the long-continued and widely spread slavery of Greece and Rome: and the other is, that wherever slavery prevails, it views with extreme jealousy the efforts of Christian missionaries, and greatly obstructs them. I need only refer to what transpired in Demerara, in Barbadoes, and more recently still in Jamaica. The labours of those devoted men, who sought to impart religious instruction to the slaves, without mentioning a word about their condition, except in exhortations to patient obedience, were suspected, frowned on, and discouraged; till at length slavery, indignant and alarmed, proclaimed open battle with Christianity, and fell in the struggle.

The conclusions to which we arrive, then, are these:—

1. That to make or hold a man a slave, is an offence against God, and a grievous wrong to man, and should be viewed and dealt with as a sin.

2. That, therefore, all who fear God and regard man, should purge themselves from this accursed thing, and "touch not; taste not; handle not."

3. That this is the ground on which the battle for universal emancipation must be fought.

4. And that on this ground all who love God and man should rally for a determined, combined, and persevering effort, assured that greater is He that is for us, than all that can be against us.

At the close of the reading of this paper the PRESIDENT entered the room, and assumed the chair.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—I was greatly pleased with the character of the paper that has just been read, and I felt anxious that something practical might be devised; or, that measures might be adopted to devise something practical, upon that religious view of the whole question before us, to which the Essay relates. I had drawn up two or three resolutions, which I shall not now submit to you to discuss, but which I rise to move may be referred with

the Essay to a committee, and brought forward afterwards in a practical form, for the purpose of constituting a recommendation to be issued from this body to all Christian denominations, to make the matter of slavery one of church discipline. I feel that neither will the church do justice to itself, nor assume its true weight and character in the world, until it has taken a decisive and a Christian ground on this great matter. I do not understand wherein consists the duty of preaching the gospel of Jesus Christ, unless it be in adapting and applying its several truths and principles to the errors which prevail at the time in which we live, to their correction, and to the deliverance, first, of the persons entangled in those errors and vices, from their guilt; and, secondly, of all such as suffer through them, from their injuries. If it be your opinion, then, my Christian brethren of every name, that slavery is a curse, it must be a matter of interest to you that those who are cursed by it may be delivered from their calamity; and if it be in your judgment a guilty thing, you cannot, as friends of the gospel of Christ, be relieved from your responsibility, until you have taken such ground as the gospel tells you to take in reference to all such as are implicated in this vice.

Mr. STOVEL concluded by reading the outline of a scheme for a series of resolutions which he had prepared, and moved—

That the paper read by the Rev. B. GODWIN be referred to a Subcommittee, consisting of the Revs. N. COLVER, W. KNIBB, B. GODWIN, J. A. JAMES, and Mr. G. THOMPSON, with instructions to prepare resolutions thereon, of which it is recommended that a paper read by the Rev. C. STOVEL form the basis.

Rev. J. H. JOINSON seconded the resolution.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I would inquire whether the subject now before the meeting is to be laid aside, and to be called up and discussed when the paper is presented; or whether the discussion is to go on now?

Rev. C. STOVEL.—I have no objection to the discussion going on now, but perhaps it may be better when the paper is prepared.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—I would beg leave to suggest that so much truth and light may be elicited from the discussion, that the Committee will be better prepared afterwards to embody the views of the Convention, than if they were ignorant of the particular arguments which may come before them.

Rev. JOHN YOUNG.—I shall only detain the meeting a very few moments. It is evident that the feeling and conviction of the meeting are with the resolutions which have been moved by Mr. STOVEL. I perfectly agree with the first portion of these resolutions, and with all that has been said in reference to the paper which has been read; but I totally disagree with the principle involved in the resolutions; and I could not conscientiously and honestly refrain from expressing my opinion to this effect. We are a Convention from various denominations of Christians; members of the Society of Friends, Episcopalians, Roman Catholics, Presbyterians, Baptists, Independents, and Methodists. Had the resolutions been proposed to a Baptist union, or an Independent union, or a Presbyterian synod, or an Episcopalian convocation, then, indeed, had it been my lot to be a member of any of those bodies, I should have concurred in these resolutions, but I totally

dissent from the principle that this Convention should take any part in matters of church discipline. There are churches to which these resolutions cannot apply at all. I may be excused for referring to the Roman Catholic Church, and the Episcopalian body, in which the exercise of the discipline belongs not to the parties whom you address. I think all the good which we design or desire will be accomplished by a strong expression of our sentiments on the general subject, without pronouncing that churches ought to exercise discipline and exclude certain parties from their communion. It appears to me, that when we have strongly uttered our sense of the sinfulness of slavery, and the perfect inconsistency of any man professing the Christian religion, being either a slave-owner or in any way identified with slavery, we have done all which it is competent for us to do. There are some of the minuter details to which also I should demur ; but the principle of the whole I decidedly object to, and I move as an amendment—

“That all the words from the word ‘thereon’ be omitted.”

REV. WILLIAM JAMES (of Bridgewater), seconded the amendment.

REV. H. TAYLOR, (of Woodbridge).—I have attended almost all the meetings of delegates since the question of slavery has attracted the attention of the British public, and I confess that, as a Protestant Dissenting Minister, I have never heard a set of resolutions announced at any meeting which I more cordially and fully approve, than those which have been read by Mr. STOVEL. I do trust, by the integrity of our faith, as Christian men—by the intensity of our desire, to see this abomination of slavery wiped away from the face of the earth, that we shall pass the resolutions which have been moved. I contend that we do not interfere in church discipline in adopting the resolutions moved by Mr. STOVEL. If you were to attempt to enforce any resolution enacting laws for a church, or in the name of a church, I would be the first to contend to the death against it ; but we do not. We are assembled here, a Convention for the world, to put down slavery, by the blessing of God. We only propose, in our collective capacity, to recommend all Christian men who are associated together in any form as Christian men, to make it a matter of grave consideration with themselves, whether slave-owners or legislators for slavery, or the protectors and abettors of slave-owners, should sit with them as Christians holding the truth in Jesus Christ. That is all that is proposed to this meeting, that is the whole ; and I have seldom been more astonished, I might say, more grieved, than when I heard a well-known and highly-approved minister of Christ request that those resolutions should be withdrawn. I hold these resolutions to be among the strongest and best practical measures I have ever met with on the question. For years I have come up to London, and attended meetings of delegates day and night, and I protest to you my soundest conviction is, that I never yet met with a practical matter brought forward so well adapted as this. I have never heard anything suggested to be done, (and let us bear in mind that we come here to do), that appeared to me more likely to prove effectual. I trust, therefore, that we shall send forth this recommendation with all the weight that our gravest and our unanimous approbation can attach to it.

MR. O'CONNELL.—I really think that we are agreed in principle, if we understood one another ; and that there is no difference between the

respected gentlemen who moved and seconded this amendment, and the majority, if not the entire, of this assembly. We are agreed, first, that nothing can be more complicated in its sinfulness than slavery. It is the violation of all private morals, it is robbery, by taking away from the man the right to the reward of his own work. It is multiplied murder in all its details; and as it is of the most enormous sinfulness, there is not a Christian man among us that must not abhor it from the bottom of his heart, according to the sincerity with which he worships his God. That being so, we have next to consider what our purpose is in coming here. It is not to attempt to interfere with the discipline of any of the churches to which we belong. For my part, I would not presume to vote on a question respecting the church to which these gentlemen belong. I do not belong to them, and would not presume to interfere with their discipline. Liberality does not consist in a man's giving up a portion of what he himself believes; that is not liberality, but latitudinarianism, which I do not, for one, approve of, or relish. Liberality consists in giving to others that which we claim for ourselves: namely, the entire, independent exercise of our judgments and our conscience before God, and the discipline and doctrine of the church to which we belong. We cannot, therefore, dictate discipline to each other, but cannot we recommend it? We are here to recommend, and cannot we recommend it to every church? You do not belong to the church to which I belong, I do not belong to the church to which you belong, but will it be the worse for this or that church, that it has the sanction of an humble individual, zealous for the same things which you are zealous for? I am sure there is nobody in my church that would not be glad to get the recommendation of such an assembly as this, to carry out, what the highest authority in that church has lately recommended so emphatically and strongly to all Christians joining in communion with him; and who has put on record one of the most eloquent and urgent recommendations respecting the utter sinfulness of slavery, and the necessity of adopting measures in that church to have it abolished completely, and calling on the clergy to act upon it. Many of them have already done so, and the rest of them will. Well, then, as far as recommendation may we not go? Further we ought not. But in letting the question go to the committee, we shall see whether they can form a resolution, leaving the conscience of every individual perfectly free; but allowing all as fellow-creatures and men interested in the cause of humanity, to recommend to each other, to vie one with another in doing good. Different churches have had rivalry heretofore, setting one above the other; it is natural, perhaps not wrong, but let us vie with each other in proclaiming the sinfulness and abominations of slavery, and in promoting that cause that will banish from humanity the horrible crime of making man a property, and which makes the woman weep that she has given birth to a man-child. I think upon this point we must be agreed. I perceive that the respected gentleman, who very properly followed his own conscientious feelings, agrees in letting it go to a committee; then let it go without further discussion. We are not bound by any thing the committee does, until the resolutions come before us; when they do seriatim, we will consider them, each respecting the religious scruples and opinions of the other, all of us concurring in the great duty of humanity, to break the fetters of the slave, and to terminate the dreadful sinfulness of this system.

WILLIAM BALL, Esq.—I thought before the last gentleman rose, and I still think, that the meeting requires to be set right in one point. I appre-

hend that the very words CHARLES STOVEL uses are, "recommend to consider;" and as this question has been mooted, I wish to warn this assembly, (the most interesting that perhaps ever assembled in relation to this cause), how they repudiate the principle which the resolution goes to support.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—One word in behalf of America. However distinctly you may avow your sentiments, in relation to the moral character and tendency of slavery, it will have little effect on the American churches, unless you definitely express an opinion as to the application of those principles to the discipline of the churches; for the doctrine of abstraction will be the subterfuge to which they will immediately fly. They will say, This Convention, it is true, believes slavery to be sinful, and so do we in the abstract; but you see they very carefully guard against an intermeddling with these subjects in churches. The circumstances are so peculiar, the laws are of such a character and tendency, and the complicated difficulties that gather around American slavery are such, as render it totally impracticable and inexpedient to exercise discipline in relation to it. If you wish to do them good, put your finger not only on the principle, but on the very *point* where you would apply it, to render it effectual in destroying this monster, and the protection that is given him in the churches of America and of the world.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—So intensely do I feel in the discussion of this question, so firmly convinced am I of its utility, that I most earnestly entreat all the ministers of Jesus Christ by whom I am surrounded, to give it their careful attention. It was my misfortune, when I first left England, to be trammelled with instructions, as all missionaries are, but I burnt them; and as soon as I had made up my mind that slavery was inconsistent with Christianity, I at once came to the conclusion that it was inconsistent with the gospel terms of church-fellowship. I spoke to the persons who were slave-holders in the church, and they assured me, that if I had only spoken earlier, they would earlier have relinquished their practice. I am happy to say, that they at once did so; and the church was free from the stain. They are now as fully convinced as our Anti-Slavery friends in America are, that if we can but obtain from the pastors of Christian churches a distinct recognition that the slave-owner has no right to communion in a Christian church, that slavery in twelve months, or little more, will fall in America. If this proposition is not carried, I shall retire from this Convention with feelings of the deepest pain; if it is carried I shall feel that I have had a great honour, not merely in being present, but that I am most fully recompensed for leaving, for a time, the island of Jamaica to attend it. I do hope that no fear, lest the independence of the church should be touched, will keep us away from the grand point, that slavery is a sin; and can we consider that man who participates in it to be a fit subject for church-fellowship?

Rev. H. GREW.—I am constrained by the importance of this subject to offer a word or two upon it. I do not advocate any dictation to the churches. I perfectly agree with my friends on that point; but the simple recommendation of this important matter to the churches throughout the length and breadth of the land, commends itself to my understanding and to my conscience. The holding within Christian churches of those who make merchandize of the souls of men, who rob man of all his rights, is the main

pillar in our land, if not in yours, of the whole system of this abomination. When we plead there the cause of oppressed humanity, we are pointed to the church as a sufficient refutation of all our arguments, and of all our appeals to the understandings and to the hearts of our fellow-men ; and we despair, notwithstanding all our arguments, and all our efforts, we despair of the consummation of the desire of our hearts, in seeing the last fetter broken while the church of Jesus Christ practically sanctions this evil, and (awful thought) ! practically declares that the great head of the church is a slaveholder. I will not trespass on the time of this meeting any further than to express my earnest desire that we may proceed with the recommendation, and send it forth throughout all the world.

JAMES FRANCILLON, Esq., (of Gloucester).—I am by temper and habit a listener rather than a speaker, nor would you have heard my voice on this occasion, were it not that besides urging you by all means to adopt these resolutions, I think I am able to remind you of a fact in the history of this country and of Europe which is a precedent in this matter, and which, perhaps, will induce you to believe that a measure of this sort will be really and truly effectual. We are accustomed to confine our attention in these meetings to the horrid system of slavery with which we are acquainted by the relations of travellers, and the reports of those who have resided in the West Indies while slavery existed there ; but I was pleased to hear in the religious discourse with which this meeting was opened, an allusion to the slavery of ancient Rome, and to the slavery of ancient states in various parts of the world ; states which called themselves “free,” which asserted their freedom, and yet were possessors and oppressors of domestic slaves ; like some modern states, which call themselves free, and have fought for, and won, their freedom, yet, nevertheless, have disgraced it in the way of which I am speaking. When I heard the gentleman in his mention of them say, that in the prevalence of Christianity the slavery of ancient Rome has disappeared from the face of the world, (of course he was speaking of the domestic state of ancient Rome), then I thought also of that which within these 400 years was part and parcel of the law of this country, and which is now an unrepealed law, except by the feelings, habits, practice, and the usage of the people, but still unrepealed by the voice of the legislature,—I mean the existence of villainage or bondage on the part of the landed proprietor. It was by the prevalence of Christianity, and by the exertions of the clergy of the two churches, which have one after the other been established in this country, by the exertions of the clergy of the church of Rome particularly, I believe, that villainage disappeared. Legal historians will tell you that it was the practice and habit of the church at that time not to excommunicate, because, perhaps, the laws of the church would not justify them ; but in their intercourse with their flocks, which confession gave them, to direct restitution for wrong, and by recommendations with regard to penance, there was an influence exerted by the clergy on the feelings of the people, and one after another villains were emancipated, and severed from the state to which they belonged. They became, in many instances, small landed proprietors. I may advert to the circumstance, that, to the action, of the clergy on Christian principles and motives, are we, in all probability, indebted in a great measure for the disappearance of slavery from this free land. I feel that I have said more than was necessary for the purpose of bringing forward the historical fact to which I have adverted ; if, however, any argument can be built on it, I shall consider that I have not done wrong

in alluding to it. I have only one other point to touch upon. The resolution read by the gentleman who proposed the reference to the committee, contained some phrases which seemed to me to involve matters of very high principle; and I want, therefore, to ask, for the information of the committee the meaning of one phrase which dropped from his lips, involving, according to my notion, some of the most important features of the subject. With the utmost possible respect, I would ask the gentleman what was the meaning of the words, when he proposed that the church should deal harshly and with censure on persons who held slaves, when no merciful reason for doing so could be suggested. Now, I should have supposed that slavery being ascertained to be, as I believe it is, a claim to property which is altogether null and void, which has no existence in the law, or in the will of God, and which cannot be recognised by any person who respects the will of God, and reveres it; I should have thought those words, if introduced in any resolution we adopt, to be inconsistent with the notion upon which we all act; and I should like to know what Christian and good man could suggest any possible merciful reason for the assertion of a property by one man, in the person or rights of another. I ask this with the utmost respect, and I take the opportunity of suggesting, that whatever resolution may emanate from the committee, or be adopted by the Convention, we should never lose sight of the fact, that slavery regarded as a property, as a right, has no manner of existence; it has only existed as a crime, a sin, an usurpation, a thing to be resisted and overturned by every man that has the feelings which ought to distinguish one of that race of beings which God has endowed with the faculties, understanding, and powers that we possess.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—The reason why that phrase was introduced is this, I wish to allow slave-holders all that can be allowed, to give them an opportunity of stating, if they can state, a Christian and benevolent reason for holding a slave. I think this is fair, though we wish for further information upon it. I would appeal to our friend, Mr. BIRNEY, whether there may not be such a case for holding a slave, *pro tem.*? Suppose a man, passing from one state to another, while wishing to liberate his slaves to greater advantage; I would give him an opportunity of doing it, and of holding the slave if he found it necessary. I have been told on good authority, that there were cases in which mercy would dictate the holding of a slave for a time, that he might be liberated to greater advantage. If such a case could be shown, I would not excommunicate a man who had that purpose in view. I do not stickle for the phrase. I hold slavery to be a sin, as absolutely as any man can do.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I know I am appointed on the committee, and therefore I shall say nothing to commit myself with the committee. It is only on one point that I get up at all. It is to the delicate point suggested by my friend on my right (Mr. YOUNG), of this Convention expressing an opinion or desire to the various churches and denominations of christians, that they should exclude the slave-holder from church fellowship. There seemed to be a delicacy in his mind. I myself have none upon this point. I will give a very brief illustration of my views. A short time since there was a disturbance in the Canadas, and a great many persons from the United States who were fond of trouble and commotion, and interfering with other people's business, went over there and assisted in making trouble in Canada; and when pursued by the British arms (for they used carnal weapons, which would soon have quieted

them), they fled back into the United States, and took shelter under our government. The British Minister on finding this to be the case, sent to request our government, which acted on the laws of neutrality, not to give shelter to the disturbers of their peace. Our country readily responded to that request. Was there on the part of England an unjustifiable interference with our government matters in this respect? Not at all. Now we do not attack slavery with carnal weapons, but with the two-edged sword of the Spirit, the word of God. We get on the track of a slave-holder; and he finds his shelter: where? in the Church of God. Now is it interfering with the manner of that church's government, or the rights of that church, if, with very great humility and respect we say, "Brethren wont you refuse shelter to a slave-owner; wont you turn him out to our weapons? wont you let us get at him; wont you withdraw your protection and put him out?" I put it to my friend, if this is an interference with church government; of such an interference I should be guilty with a neighbour under like circumstances. If a man took shelter in my neighbour's house, and from that house sallied out to commit depredations on the children and weak around, if the neighbourhood was aroused and pursued the aggressor, and found him constantly taking shelter in this neighbour's house so that we could not get at him; if we should rap at the door of that house, and say, "Sir, wont you cease to give shelter to this aggressor on our rights?" And suppose my friend (Mr. Y.) was in there, what would he say?—"This is interfering with family matters." Sir, I have no such delicacy, and I trust when my friend looks at the simple point before us, his delicacy will disappear.

WILLIAM BOULTBEE, Esq. (of Birmingham).—If it is intended that the interference of this Convention is to be of a dictatorial nature, I shall support the amendment. But I understood that there was a wish to urge upon the churches a recommendation to turn this crying iniquity out of their communities. If that be so, I see no objection at all to the adoption of the original motion, for I think that will be productive of vast benefit. But whether the original motion or the amendment be carried, I hope the discussion will be continued; not only that according to the wish of the gentleman opposite, the committee to be appointed should be put in possession of the opinions of the Convention, but because I am a great friend to order, and as I find that a great many things have been brought forward at different times, and dropped and resumed again, I think it will be better to dispose of this subject regularly. Besides this, there are many gentlemen now present who may not be present on another occasion.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—We are now debating in the dark; we are utterly unacquainted with the principle upon which Mr. YOUNG objects to the resolutions. I confess that I am myself unacquainted with his principle, and I do not see how we can get at the truth until we are made acquainted with it.

Rev. J. YOUNG.—I will state the principle in a very few words. First of all allow me to say that there is no hesitation in my mind in regard to the utter inconsistency between the support of slavery and Christianity. I do not belong to a church which would acknowledge among its members a slave-dealer or a slave-holder. I do not belong to a church in which the slave-holding interest has the smallest place, or would be tolerated for one moment. Therefore I quite agree with the opinion that has been uttered on various sides of the room, that slavery is a sin, and being a sin, is inconsistent

with church fellowship. But then while such is my individual opinion on the subject of Christian and church communion, it appears to me that this is not the place, and we are not the body to pronounce on the terms of church communion, and the rules of church discipline. I came here to pronounce on the question of slavery alone. I have my own views, as other gentlemen may have theirs, with respect to the terms of Christian fellowship, but I do not think it belongs to us as a Convention to pronounce upon them.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I wish to ask Mr. YOUNG if he interprets the resolutions now under discussion to imply dictation to the churches to alter their principles of communion ; or does he understand the resolutions only to apply to slavery as a sin to be taken cognizance of by the churches, and treated as other sins.

Rev. J. YOUNG.—I think the language of the resolutions goes much farther than a simple recommendation. We do in these resolutions pronounce our verdict as to the manner in which all churches should exercise discipline and regulate their fellowship, and secure the purity of their communion. This is no paltry or trifling question ; it is a momentous one. It lies at the very foundation of that harmony by which this Convention, I trust, will continue to be characterized, and which is most likely to be best promoted by adhering strictly to those matters which fall within our proper province. As an individual, and in connexion with the particular Christian society to which I belong, I go to the full extent of the principle contended for by Mr. STOVEL. But in this general Convention, made up of members of many different communions, I think we should be travelling beyond our sphere, were we to recommend the adoption of certain terms of fellowship by all Christian churches.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—My opinion is, that you should not adopt any resolutions now, but refer them to a committee who should investigate and inquire into them, and consider whether they should be proposed or not, or whether any others should be proposed to the Convention generally for their adoption.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—It really is not my intention to dictate to any church. I would not submit to the dictation of any other church ; my own denomination never would ; neither would we dictate to another church. But I declare a principle, and I ask others to consider whether upon that principle they ought not to judge so and so. I ask for their judgment, and I wish to press it upon their consciences to judge honestly.

Rev. J. YOUNG.—But in asking for their judgment you throw in your own. Now, I say this Convention is not the party to pronounce an opinion in that way.

Mr. BLAIR.—Though it was my intention during the sitting of the Convention to cautiously abstain from occupying your attention, I shall not give a silent vote on this occasion, because I consider that one of the most important and practical measures that has ever been proposed is before us. I have long been most desirous that such a resolution as this should be adopted ; and in a former Convention I have taken the liberty to throw out a suggestion similar to this, if not a recommendation of the same kind : for I have long been most deeply convinced that one of the main props and supports of slavery is the countenance given to it by the Christian church. A more effectual blow cannot be made at the atrocious, and unrighteous system than by recommending to Christian churches the exercise of Christian discipline in

the case of slave-holders and dealers ; as they would in the case of any other unrighteous offender against the laws of God and humanity. I hope, therefore, that in the name of God and of outraged humanity, this meeting will unanimously agree to the resolutions proposed.

Rev. N. COLVER.—Would it not be better, in order to save time, that the resolutions should go at once to the committee ?

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE suggested that the resolutions should be read at length, which was done.

Dr. GREVILLE.—I should not have risen, if I had not understood that the discussion should proceed, in order that the committee might be led into a knowledge of the general feelings of the Convention on this subject. I am decidedly of opinion, that every Christian church ought to exercise discipline in such a case as that which has been adverted to. The question is, whether we can make the language of the resolutions such as to induce us to adopt them unanimously. It appears, that the only difficulty lies in the Convention using language which would be thought dictatorial to the churches. I think that we may use language which, without the slightest compromise of principle, and without at all interfering with the discipline of the churches, would convey all that the reverend gentleman would convey. We may declare slavery to be inconsistent with Christianity, and we may communicate that resolution to others. If you please, you may enter into considerable detail, and recommend your opinions to the consideration of all Christian churches as churches ; you may word your resolution in such a way as to make it impossible for any one to take it in any other sense, than as a subject of church discipline ; and yet you may avoid using the terms "excommunication" and "church discipline." If this can be done, it ought to be done. We must not wound the feelings of Christian brethren ; at the same time, we must not compromise principle. Thus you will gain what you wish. I think it is because the Christian church has not done its duty that slavery exists in many parts of the world, particularly in the United States generally. Believing this, I think, I am not going too far, when I say, that what I have stated will have the sympathy of our American brethren present.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I will briefly reply to a question which has just now been put to me, and which is to be answered before the committee retires, to whom the subject, with which the question is connected, has been confided. "Is there any case in which the slave-holder, judging him by the law of God, is guiltless?"—is a question with which the abolitionists of America have been studiously met by their opponents, and one which they have been under the necessity of examining and deciding on with the utmost circumspection. It would be altogether out of my purpose to enter, at this time, on what is understood to be the *scriptural* view of the question. The abolitionists in America believe, that the servitude spoken of in the Old Testament, as prevailing among the Hebrews, and sanctioned by the laws of Moses, was not, either in form or substance, similar to that state of things known in more modern times, under the name of slavery. Wherever Hebrew masters converted the honourable and beneficial servitude of Moses' law into a scheme of oppression and wrong, at all approximating to modern slavery, they brought on themselves and their nation the displeasure of God. His displeasure against them for obstinately persisting in it, was signally mani-

fested in having permitted that people to be almost wholly destroyed, and the remnant themselves led away into captivity. The texts of the New Testament, which are so often pleaded by the slave-holders of the present day, in support of their system, are believed, when put to this use, to be misinterpreted and misapplied. For one man to compel another to labour for him all his life, without reward ; to scourge and punish him if he ask a cessation of the wrong, or attempt peacefully to escape from it ; to sell, and thus forcibly separate from him for ever, his wife or his children ; to shut him out systematically from the means of intellectual improvement, or of learning to read and understand the holy scriptures, and of purifying his spirit to prepare for the enjoyments of the life which is to come ; all this, and every part of it, is believed to be irreconcilable with the spirit of the New Testament ; *more* irreconcilable with that spirit, on the received principles of biblical interpretation, than the texts relied on by the scriptural advocates of slavery can be shown, on the same principles of interpretation, to be reconcilable with their system. Therefore, we believe, that the texts in question, to whatever system they may have had application at the time they were written, cannot properly be used to support such slavery as we have in America. To suppose that they authorize slave-holders to do, what they actually do daily, to such of their fellow-creatures as they have reduced under their power, is impiously to assert, that God has given us laws which He justifies us in transgressing. But, not to dwell longer on this mode of proving the slave-holder, *as such*, always guilty ; is not every *act* which he puts forth against his fellow-men, by virtue of his being a *slave-holder*, a violation of *natural justice* ? And is not a sacred observance of natural justice inculcated in the Bible ? A slave-holder would not hesitate for a moment to admit, that a refusal on his part to pay *me* for work which I had done for him, at his instance, would be a violation of the first principles of justice. And why ? Simply, because, as a free man, I still possess the right to enforce my claim. And why does he not consider it a violation of justice to refuse to pay the slave for his labour ? Is it not because the slave has been stript of his power to enforce his claim ? And is not this itself a violation of natural justice ? Surely it is. And who has perpetrated it ? The slave-holder. And shall he be permitted, in any civilized community, to acquit himself of the charge of violating the first principles of justice in one case, by pleading that he has violated them in another. Why does not the slave-holder sell the wife or the child of his white, instead of his coloured, neighbour ? Why does he load the latter with chains, immure him in dungeons, lacerate his body, and shrivel up his mind ? Why commit each of these wrongs against *him* ? It is because he has committed other wrongs against him. As well, sir, might the foulest outrager of female honour defend himself by pleading that he had first slain the natural protector of his victim, the husband or the father. I will not detain the Convention longer on this subject. Let the principle that I have applied in the several cases used for illustration, be made the test of *every* act, that is peculiarly a *slave-holding act*, and you will find that, without exception, they are acts which necessarily involve a violation of natural justice, and the plainest precepts of Christianity.

Rev. THOMAS SWAN, (of Birmingham).—I cannot allow myself to give a silent vote on this question. I not only approve of the principle, but I exceedingly rejoice that it has been proposed for our adoption ; and I consider

that this meeting, in acting upon the recommendation which has been so beautifully explained by the distinguished individual who has just spoken, will produce effect. I am truly happy to find that my brother STOVEL has risen to this point, and I am very glad to aid him in this measure. Our benevolent friend, Mr. STURGE, well knows that we have acted on this principle for some years in Birmingham, and we have suffered not a little animadversion for so doing. I, therefore, hope that the principle will be generally acted upon. It will only be in accordance with the sentiments expressed in such mellifluous eloquence yesterday by our venerable chairman ; it will only be in accordance, too, with the declarations of the member for all Ireland. He told us that we were not met to talk and display our talents for public speaking, but to work. I remember, too, that last year our brother STOVEL made an apt quotation about *facta non verba*. I am glad to find that we are going to do something. I believe it is competent for this meeting to pronounce a fair verdict on this subject. The churches in the Southern States of America are dens of iniquity as far as slavery is concerned. Look at the book, "The Thousand Witnesses." We must speak out, and, I trust, we shall speak out boldly. We do not wish to interfere with any of your churches in America ; but we may assemble, and pronounce, that a man continuing in a sin—a sin which includes all manner of iniquity—a sin which has almost every other sin attached to it—such a man ought not to be considered as a fit person to be a member of a Christian church. I am of opinion that the right hand of fellowship should be given to no American minister, be he who he may, or what he may, or whatever be his powers of eloquence, even if he have the powers and eloquence of an angel, except he is prepared to say, not only that he is an abolitionist in the abstract, but that he will not retain in Christian fellowship the man who remains in the sin of slavery. Can it be believed that, in New York, and in the other Northern States, men have actually been subjected to the discipline of the church, for being guilty of the sin of abolitionism ?

ISAAC CREWDSON, Esq., (of Manchester).—I am pleased with what has fallen from our American friend BIRNEY, and with the valuable information which has been given us ; but my object in rising is to say, that I think it is time to let this matter go to the committee. At present we are only losing time ; the committee will well consider the subject, and judge, I hope, for the best. I propose then that we at once send the matter to the committee.

The CHAIRMAN.—However desirous we may be to close this discussion, I believe, if gentlemen insist upon it, they must be heard ; but I hope they will be brief.

Rev. W. ROBINSON, (of Kettering).—I am sorry to say one word in opposition to what appears to be the general feeling of the meeting. I believe that these resolutions are intended to apply not merely to slavery in Jamaica and America, to both of which places, I believe them to be very applicable, but to all places, and to all times. Now, the gentleman from Gloucester (Mr. FRANCILLON) has made an historical allusion in connection with this subject, and I shall beg to make one more ; and, having made it, I shall leave it to your judgment. The Apostolic Paul, we find, confirms the fact that there were slaves and slave-holders in the early church ; for he says, "Ye slaves that have believing masters, count them as brethren." Are you not about to say, "Ye slaves that have believing masters, count them *not* as brethren ?" I beg to suggest that Mr. STOVEL should leave out that part of the proposition which

says, that these resolutions should be adopted by the committee as the basis of their proceedings. Would it not be better that the committee to be appointed should be left free to decide upon their own report, to be subsequently submitted to the Convention? In that case I beg to propose, that the name of Mr. YOUNG be added to the list of the committee.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—I am a Presbyterian minister, and as much attached to my Presbyterian principles, as, perhaps, it is necessary I should be; but I must say, that I see nothing in the recommendation at all inconsistent with Presbyterianism; and I think, from the representations which have been given of the different sections of the Christian community, every man in the commonwealth has a right to remonstrate, and recommend, and urge what he believes to be the truth, and true obedience to the law of God. The very fact that his brother bears the Christian name, gives him a right to tell him, if he is acting contrary to his conviction of Christian duty; but if I assume any undue authority over my brother, he has a right to tell me that "One is our master, even Christ;" and that I have no right to dictate to him on matters of conscience. With reference to the precept which St. Paul addressed to slaves, I would remind the gentleman who mentioned it, that there is nothing in the resolutions to be modified by the committee, which it is intended to address to slaves at all on the subject; but I would also remind him of another injunction which St. Paul gave to masters:—"Masters, render unto your servants the things that are equal." Are the slave-masters complying with this injunction?—No. Therefore, we send our advice to the churches, and we just say to them,—"See that the apostle's injunction be carried into practical execution." We tell them to call upon "masters to render unto their slaves the things that are equal," and then they will render them their liberty!

Rev. W. JAMES.—There can be no doubt that slavery is a heinous crime against the laws of God and man: all are agreed upon that. The question now is, whether we shall pronounce a distinct opinion upon the terms of church-fellowship, and send forth a resolution, worded as strongly as it can be worded, in order to produce the desired effects. I was present at the formation of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and I remember listening to Dr. LUSHINGTON, and hearing him declare, when a similar proposition to this was made,—"Gentlemen, you will injure your society materially, if, at its formation, you send out these opinions." The question now is, whether we shall not be issuing a recommendation against which a distinct opinion was then given, if we venture to declare upon the terms of church communion. I am not about to move another amendment; but I would suggest, whether it would not be better to have the whole subject referred to a select committee, who should decide whether any, and what, distinct proposition should be submitted to this Convention arising out of the statement made by Mr. GODWIN, and the resolutions read by Mr. STOVEL. The committee will then determine whether it is advisable to introduce the question regarding this principle; for I am sure we shall split upon it.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON.—The resolutions which were first put to this meeting to-day, had my very cordial approbation; and I am exceedingly desirous that they should be referred to a committee, with no understanding that they should fritter them down to meet particular cases; but to give honestly, and in the most straightforward manner, their opinions to the world,

and shew what the feeling of the Convention has been. We see where the shelter has been taken by those who, in America, consider themselves to be Christians; but I hold that no man who is decidedly and thoroughly a Christian, can hold his fellow man in bondage. For those who do consider themselves to be Christians, and yet commit this sin, we must not furnish any shelter by weakening the force of these resolutions. I hope they will go to the committee with the clear understanding that the language is not to be frittered down or shaped so as to cover any part of the iniquity.

The CHAIRMAN.—I am very reluctant to prevent any other gentleman from speaking; but I am rather inclined to think that we had better come to a vote upon the question at once.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I feel as jealous of the rights of Christian churches as any man. Still I do not think, that by a recommendation of the kind which has been suggested from all parts of the room, the rights of churches will be at all interfered with. I will not, however, now express my opinion on that point; but merely state to the Convention, what I think to be of very great importance, that whatever decision you now come to should be a decision upon the principle, so that when the report of the committee is brought up, the question of the principle should not again be opened. For I am persuaded, that if the discussion upon that point be renewed, we shall have an almost interminable debate. The subsequent discussion should merely be as to the details, and not upon the principle.

Mr. STANTON.—Then, if that be the course adopted, ought we not now to admit of a great latitude of discussion?

Rev. T. BINNEY.—I wish to ask what is meant by “the principle?” I merely wish to know what Mr. STURGE means by “the principle?” and whether he conceives that we are all agreed upon the principle?

The CHAIRMAN.—If our friends mean to go on with the discussion upon the principle I cannot with propriety hastily let the subject go to a committee. The question is, whether the committee, in bringing up their report, should embody in their resolutions this principle,—that when persons connected with any Christian church are either slave-owners, or do aid and encourage slavery in any way, they should be subjected to church discipline; or, that merely a recommendation should be made that such a course should be pursued.

Rev. T. BINNEY.—My own impression is, that it is a very short piece of logic. If you declare that a certain thing is a sin, a great sin, and a great violation of Christian principle, I cannot understand how you can help drawing the inference, that a person living in that sin must be subjected to church discipline. I think the argument and the logic of the question as clear, as distinct, and as short, as it possibly could be. But here is the difficulty which presents itself to my mind; there were slave-owners in the primitive church. I think, therefore, that the preamble of the resolutions is rather to be considered than the resolutions themselves, because it does not refer to the different character of the modern system of slavery from that of the slavery of the early Christian ages. Is there any gentleman who will stand up and deny that there were slave-holders among the members of the primitive Christian churches? Who can deny it?

A DELEGATE.—Not the present kind of slavery.

Rev. T. BINNEY.—That is the very point. Will any one stand up and say, that slavery was not known amongst the primitive Christians? I say

not, that the system was the same. But, I believe, that there were slaves and their masters, slaves and slave-owners, members of the church, under the eye of the apostles, and that the members, who were slave-owners, were not brought before the church, and subjected to church discipline for being so. The arguments of our friend from Gloucester, have rather gone to point out the effect of the gentle insinuation of Christian doctrines and principles among the institutions of society, than to prove the extinction of slavery by ecclesiastical discipline. The principles and doctrines of the gospel operated, as vegetation operates upon a wall, gradually and imperceptibly, till it brings down the whole fabric. I have no objection to the resolutions, if the preamble distinctly states the difference between modern slavery and that of the early Christian ages. And unless this distinction be clearly set forth, you will bring many minds into a state of perplexity and doubt upon the matter. The continuance of the modern abomination cannot be tolerated among Christians. Its horrors and atrocities make it a completely different thing, in my opinion, from what existed in the first churches.

WILLIAM DAWES, Esq., (delegate for Ohio, U. S.)—I anticipate great good as a result from the action of this Conference; and indulge a confidence that the question now before it, involving, as it does, principles and interests of the highest consideration to the cause of *truth and of humanity* will be faithfully and prayerfully examined, and disposed of without any temporising. It will be readily acknowledged, that should this enlightened and influential body, in the least degree give countenance, or admit the idea that the religion of Jesus authorised slavery, or justified any person in its practice, much and lasting injury will be done. If I am mistaken, and you are not prepared to coincide with the injunction, “hold no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness,” and to recommend others to do so, I have no hesitancy in declaring it as my belief, that evil rather than good will arise from the action of this body. My feelings will be better understood, when it is known that for many years I groped in the darkness of unbelief, scepticism, and infidelity; and that in my view, much of the infidelity which shews itself throughout Christendom, owes its origin and life to the fact, that a false, in the place of a righteous, holy, and unadulterated gospel, Christianity has been extensively manifested. There is much infidelity in my country—infidelity which stalks unblushingly abroad, and which is frequently so high and chaste in moral sentiment, as to declare that it is ashamed for those who make a high profession of godliness and sanctity, but whose practice is not only inconsistent with the common dictates of humanity, but revolting even to a sense of commercial justice. So far as the question before you relates to my country, it imposes the necessity of defining what Christianity is. If the spirit and precepts of Christianity do not authorise man to enslave his fellow-man, as many professed Christians in the United States maintain, then in my opinion, such a declaration should be emphatically and unequivocally made. A distinguished physician, both a slave-holder and infidel, was a few years since, taken by divine grace from that black and horrible pit. This change opened on his view the truth in respect to human rights, and he immediately gave freedom to his slaves; and forthwith proceeded to beseech others of his acquaintance to do the same,—to give freedom and the Bible to the coloured man—and especially did he plead with those professing Christianity. One of whom in reply, assured him that some of his gang were pious. That the master

might not hide himself under this plausible subterfuge, the most intelligent was questioned respecting his views of Christ. In reply, the slave indeed professed much love to Christ, but when pressed a little to give a more definite answer, said that he believed the Lord Jesus Christ to be the son of GOVERNOR DESHA, the man at that time the governor of the state. Of many others of their slaves, supposed to be pious, it is said that in prayer they frequently implore that God would make his appearance on a large white or black prancing horse ; language which shows at once their utter ignorance of God, and of course of themselves, or the worship he requires. Now, if a system which encloses all this, and even much more, equally absurd, iniquitous, and humiliating ; a system which in fact involves the commission of every crime, is inconsistent, and at variance with the principles and spirit of the gospel, then why not frankly and explicitly avow it ; and are we not, as Christians, solemnly bound to do it ? In one-half of the states in the American union the ministers and church members, with few exceptions, are either slave-holders themselves, or countenance the system. And even in the non-slave-holding states, such has hitherto been the course pursued by the great majority of the ministry and churches, that the vile system has been strengthened by their influence. Now, if pure and undefiled religion consists in visiting the widow and fatherless in their affliction, and is based upon the fundamental principle, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God, with all thy heart, and thy neighbour as thyself ;" then in the name of half a million of free coloured people of my country, who set apart the first day of the sitting of this Convention as one of humiliation and prayer, to be observed by them, that the Lord would guide us in all our deliberations ; and as one beseeching for the three millions there, who are this day in cruel relentless bondage ; and in bowels of compassion for the misguided infidels of our land, who have their eyes upon the false rather than the true witnesses for Christ, and who stumble by not giving due heed to that witness within, which would incline them to search the scriptures, which testify of Him, whose "law is perfect, converting the soul ;" and in pity to the slave-holder himself, who by persisting in his oppression puts in jeopardy his interests, both in the present life, and that which is to come ; and for Zion's best good—I have a right to ask, and to enjoin, that you should thus decide, and not temporise.

Rev. J. A. JAMES.—I hope we shall not come to a decision on this question without the fullest deliberation. We are now touching the mainspring of the whole subject. Our object is the extinction of the slave-trade, and in order to effect this, we must put an end to slavery in America ; and to put it down in America, we must put it out of the church in America ; and to put it out of the church in America, we must press and urge the strongest representation and remonstrance we can frame. The church, let the abettors of slavery say what they will, is the main prop of slavery in America. The demon of slavery finds his haunt, and shelter, and defence, not so much beneath the presidential, or indeed, the professional chair, as under the altar of the Lord in the house of our God. Therefore we must do something that shall tell upon the church. The influence of that sacred body in this matter is great. This is a moral question ; and we well know that the church professes to be based on moral grounds ; and that moral influence is going out from it, either good or bad, according as the church is following the precepts of the word of God. Therefore we must do something that shall

tell upon professors of religion. I do not know any thing more likely to tell upon them than a temperate, but firm and uncompromising declaration, such as is embodied in these resolutions. Though I will not take upon myself to say how they should be worded ; yet some such resolutions, I believe, are much wanted. And, belonging to a denomination, which is proverbially sensitive as to the rights of churches, which will allow of no innovation of those rights, and which would set at defiance this Convention itself, and ten times this Convention, if it affected to *impose* upon us any thing that should regulate our views touching the qualifications of our members, or what should be terms of communion ; I may say, that while we should resist with all our might such an attempt, I think we should stand prepared to listen to a representation, specially recommended, and coming to us, from such a body as this. But having mentioned this, I would still say, that the suggestion of Mr. BINNEY deserves the grave and serious consideration of the committee, when the subject shall be taken up by them. The slave-holder shelters himself under the scriptures, and tells you, there were slave-holders in communion with the primitive churches, and that these churches did not bring them to discipline for being so. I would, therefore, meet them on that ground, by shewing that modern slavery bears no analogy to the slavery of those times ; that, in fact, there were not then the light and discussion to reveal the enormity of the sin that there are now ; and that, therefore, modern slave-holders are altogether in a different position from that of the slave-holders of the days of the apostles. It would be wise to take up that suggestion in the preamble. We want to produce an effect on the public mind, both in America and at home. If we declare, and put forth, and make it to be felt both here and there, that modern slavery is incompatible with Christianity ; we do not thereby determine the question, whether the slavery of apostolic times was so or not, but we shall do something to conciliate public opinion towards us. While we thus put out with all firmness our resolution, that the churches should seriously consider whether they can retain slave-holders in their communion, we should at the same time intimate that modern slavery is that to which we particularly direct attention, leaving them, of course, to defend the ancient slavery if they can. Our object is to convince them, that slavery as it now is, is a sin ; and such a sin as to disqualify every one who lives in it for church-membership.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I scarcely know whether I ought to venture to assume the attitude of one who would break a lance with Mr. BINNEY, but I am disposed to make a remark or two on what he has advanced. Mr. BINNEY has placed before us this morning a fact, which has been often before urged on the attention of abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic : viz. that slavery existed in the time of the apostles. Another gentleman has quoted a specific direction to slaves in the early Christian churches, to obey their masters. I do not think that either of those observations should be permitted to escape notice in a meeting like the present, lest any individual who has not so much considered the subject as others may have been obliged to do, should depart without those helps by which they have been able to come to a satisfactory conclusion upon a difficult and oft-debated point. I grant that there were slaves in the church in the days of the apostles. I grant, with Mr. JAMES, that the character of the slavery of those days, in many important points, differed from the character of the slavery which we

denounce in our day. But there are other circumstances, of equal, if not of greater importance, to be taken into account. The first of these is this—that, if St. Paul did not denounce slavery specifically, if he did not authoritatively enjoin upon masters the liberation of their slaves, he was silent also upon many other subjects, respecting which there never has been a doubt from the time that sound morality has been propagated in the world. St. Paul did not come into the world an Anti-slavery lecturer; he was appointed to propagate a new religion—salvation by the cross of Christ. I think it is important for all of us to remember this. If St. Paul did not go about denouncing specific sins, and prescribing specific penalties for those sins, he nevertheless laid down great principles, according to which we may safely judge with respect to any particular act or line of conduct brought under our view. Sir Isaac Newton when he brought into existence his system of astronomy, did not at the same time go into a minute and particular refutation of all and every one of the errors and absurdities which priestcraft, superstition, ignorance, and fraud had palmed upon the world. No, he proposed his pure system of truth, by which he drove away all and every error that had perplexed and confused the intellects of men. I am prepared to preach to the slave, peace and forgiveness, and it is the practice of all abolitionists; rather than to talk of taking his rights by force; and I do not know in this day an abolitionist, either on this or on the other side of the water, who would not say, “Art thou called being a slave? Care not for it: but if thou mayest be made free, if thou canst beg or buy thy freedom, use it rather.” I think it an exceedingly beautiful and most admirable illustration of the peaceful character of Christianity that such precepts should have been given. But on the other hand, said he nothing to masters? While Paul addressed precepts to the slave, providing for the safety of property, aye, even for the safety of the slave as the property of the master, and for every other kind of property, yet he also addressed precepts to masters.

Mr. CLARKSON here left the meeting, and the speaker paused. Mr. STURGE having resumed the chair. Mr. THOMPSON continued,

I was about to find fault with modern practices on the other side of the Atlantic. I know that there are preachers in the south who are exceedingly fond of rummaging the precepts of St. Paul for props to slavery; and who are constantly enjoining peacefulness, thankfulness, obedience, and industry on the one side, but on the other forgetting all the rest of St. Paul's precepts. It was not so with St. Paul. Did he enjoin upon any slave existing in those days, the course which has been referred to to-day? What said he to the masters? I stand corrected, if a correction can be administered, should I err in my view of St. Paul's mind on this subject. What is involved in the words, “Masters give unto your servants that which is just and equal?” What in these, “The labourer is worthy of his reward?” What in these, “That no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter, because that the Lord is the avenger of all such?” What is involved in that grand rule according to which church-discipline was to be exercised against those drunkards and other vicious characters, including *extortioners*, who were to have no place in the Christian church, because there was a strict injunction to put away the evil person from amongst them? I argue, that if you act upon those principles, you are bound to break every yoke and to let the

oppressed go free. Having thus answered the point, started by Mr. BINNEY, that slavery existed in the earlier Christian churches; I come to the resolutions which contain a recommendation to the Christian churches on the other side of the Atlantic, to make slave-holding and slave-trading a matter of discipline. It is no novelty that the churches on the other side of the Atlantic, should receive a recommendation to exercise church discipline. They do exercise church discipline, and on many points, to my mind, by no means equal to slavery. For instance, in reference to those who distil or vend ardent spirits; and many, many are the churches in the United States that will not allow a man a place amongst them who is a distiller of those deleterious drinks, or a vendor of them. Neither will they allow a gambler to be a church-member; nor the man who digs up the dead body of a man, to sell it. Yet they will allow a man to sit in the church who runs away with the living man and sells him to another; and thus their respect for the inanimate and unconscious corpse, is infinitely superior to their regard for the conscious and intelligent living being who stands before them. It will be no new thing for the churches in America to receive such recommendations, for they have received many such already from other assemblies, though not as august in their character as this. When I was in the United States, there was a discussion with regard to the matter before us. In 1801, the Presbyterians of the United States agreed to put down slavery; more recently, all the free-will Baptists agreed to have nothing to do with the abomination; and I was the bearer from the Baptist churches here, of a recommendation signed by 180 ministers, that slavery should be made a matter of church-discipline in all the Baptist churches throughout that country. Since I left the United States, the cause has been winning its way down to the present time. The eyes of the churches in America are upon this meeting: the eyes of the slave-holder are upon us. Slavery has been denounced by thousands, and yet the slave-holders have continued to forge fetters, and rivet them on the limbs of those within their power. Let us quit then the world of abstraction, and come to plain practical terms and purposes. Let us cease to carry our discussions into those sublime regions, into which many cannot follow us. Let us not seem as if we would have nothing to do with the lower world. Let us stigmatize the act of holding slaves, or of obtaining slaves as one to be utterly denounced, and let us not ascend into the clouds of metaphysical reasonings, unless it be to draw thence a thunderbolt to smite the system and destroy it for ever. I could tell you many things about the theologians of America that are heart-rending; and many others, in connection with them, that are so ludicrous that they could scarcely be uttered without provoking your risibility. Christian ethics have, in the United States, been polluted at the very fountain head. Not only in the southern states of America, but even in the northern states, has this been done. And it has been done in the chairs of professors, and within the halls of universities. Brown University itself has not been free from the odium. Even in cases where the subject of slavery has been merely introduced in the form of an abstract question, and that in the course of an octavo volume, the lynx eye of a slave-holder has detected the abolition principle, and has immediately put the volume which contained it into the *index expurgatorius*, for there is such a thing, even in America—has denounced the university from which the book issued, and has represented the student coming from that university as unfit to be received into

any situation of responsibility and confidence in the south. But you must remember, brethren and fathers, that you have to do with the common people as well as with ministers and officers of Christian churches. The priest's lips *should* keep knowledge, and they *should* impart instruction to the people. But there are cases in which this knowledge and instruction is influenced by considerations which are by no means friendly to the advancement of your cause. Mr. A. or Mr. B. keeps slaves, and he exacts labour from them, and flogs them, ay, even females are flogged by his orders; and yet he goes forth and preaches, and preaches quite as well as any other man can possibly do. There are a variety of sects in the United States; but if you find all these sects of the same character; if you perceive that they think and speak alike upon this subject; if they read and expound alike the writings of the apostle Paul, not excepting his Epistle to Philemon;—it is surely necessary that you should call their attention to pure and impartial views of this question, and even if you fail to convince and to convert the ministers and officers of Christian churches, you will yet make a deep impression upon their people, and a powerful movement will be made in favour of your principles. But to refer again to St. Paul and his writings. He dealt with the subject in his day with a few general declarations and directions. But would he so deal with the subject in the present day? When the system of slavery has been so long established, and established as a regular system, would he now deal with it by a few general principles and regulations? No! he would lay judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; and thus he would shake the whole fabric of slavery to its very foundation. Sir, I do hold that what the committee may do on the principle of the resolution now under discussion, will very materially assist our great cause. Aim to make the fountain pure. State your principles plainly and firmly. This is a course well worthy your character—worthy your position—worthy your great object—worthy what you have already done. You will thus show the truth and the justice of your principles. You will make it evident what you consider you have a right to expect from those who profess the pure and generous principles of Christianity. You will thus deal as you ought with those who, while they have scrupulously *tithed mint, and anise, and cummin*, have yet neglected the weightier matters of the law, judgment, mercy, and faith. In thus fixing your principles you are exerting your legitimate influence, and exerting it in a manner alike becoming your character and your great cause. You will thus bring the teachers of religion to consider what is due to consistency, and you will make the pulpit,—what it ought ever to be,—the faithful herald of the Great Emancipator—of Him who came to break every fetter—to proclaim liberty to the captives, and the opening of the prison doors to those who are bound.

Rev. C. E. BIRT, (of Bristol).—Let me, in the first place, endeavour to set myself right with the meeting, that what I say may not be misunderstood. It is my intention to support the original resolution. I set out with an expression of my approbation of the principle of recommending all the Christian churches throughout the world to consider whether they can conscientiously hold their fellow-creatures in slavery, and also whether they can conscientiously regard as Christian brethren those who do so. Opinions have been expressed by different speakers as to the statement made by Mr. BRNNEY, in reference to the existence of slavery in the primitive churches, but his statement was

one of fact. Unquestionably in the primitive churches there were slaveholders ; but unquestionably, also, slavery in modern times is as different from the slavery in the apostles' day, as is the tiger from the dove. Unquestionably, too, the principles laid down by the apostle in his writings, would go to put down the whole system most fully. In this country, we have but little difference of opinion upon this subject in our churches. At Bristol, we have been so anxious to preserve ourselves pure upon this subject, that we have found it necessary to resort to tests, though hating tests in the abstract ; but since the intercourse with America has become so easy by means of steam navigation, we have found it necessary to form a resolution, that no minister from America should be allowed to preach in our pulpits who was not willing not only to profess his hatred to slavery in the abstract, but who was not also willing to make a good confession of his sense of Christian duty to exert himself to put down slavery in every possible form. But I do not think that this test is quite sufficient. Many declare their detestation of slavery in terms so strong, that our hearts are quite warmed towards them ; and yet, from what we have heard respecting some of them, we have been obliged to entertain doubts whether they are very diligent and efficient advocates of abolition. We wish to know plainly, whether in addition to the opinion they express as to slavery in general, they are determined to use all legitimate means of accomplishing this great and godlike object. We have been told by the mover of the amendment, that in the church, of which he is a member, a holder of slaves would not be recognized as a Christian brother ; and that he and they would at once repudiate all desire to hold friendly connexions with such persons ; and yet the mover of that amendment deprecates the sending forth to the Christian world the recommendation now proposed in the resolution. And can it be, that an assembly composed of persons of so many different denominations—Protestants and Catholics, Churchmen, Presbyterians, Dissenters and Friends—an assembly in which all are of one heart and of one mind, in which all alike declare their conviction of the injustice of slavery ; can it be, that an assembly can be conceived better calculated to send forth such a document ?—a document which declares that persons holding slaves are unworthy to be members of Christian churches. For my own part, I should feel no hesitation in saying from any pulpit in the denomination to which I belong,—“As you honour Him who in the fulness of time appeared in human flesh, honour that flesh in which He appeared ; and show your sincerity by putting away from you all those who traffic in human flesh, or who hold in slavery any human being.” And why may not we do that collectively which we conceive it our duty to do individually ? Let our opinion, then, be plainly and clearly stated, and let that opinion be sent forth to the Christian church. Yesterday, we elected our Vice-Presidents, and appointed our Secretaries ; and we fixed, as I believe, upon men whose services are likely to prove valuable and efficient. But the greater portion of our work must necessarily be done in committee. The most important labour must be performed by practical men. Let it be so performed, and let the benefit of their labours be reaped by the Convention at large. I approve most highly of the declaration more than once made, that we are come here to work, and not to talk. I felt my heart warmed when one of the most active and persevering labourers in this cause said, that if we did not labour in such a way as to *advance* the cause, we should in effect allow it to go back. Let us especially be

active while our energies are fresh ; before our health or our vigour has been at all impaired ; let our labours be such as shall prove advantageous to our great and holy cause. I conclude by supporting the resolution which recommends sending forth to the Christian world the opinion, that Christianity and slavery cannot co-exist. They could not co-exist in the West Indies ; they must not co-exist in America. Let this go forth to the whole world.

DAVID TURNBULL, Esq. (of Paris,) moved an adjournment until the afternoon.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—I think I can put the matter into such a form as may meet the views of the friends of the cause, without an adjournment.

Rev. T. BINNEY.—I do not expect that I shall be able to attend the afternoon sitting. If I were present, I should not vote for the amendment, but for the original motion, with a slight alteration in the preamble.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—Mr. BINNEY's objections would be fully met, if the words "modern slavery" were introduced in the preamble of the resolution.

Captain STUART.—I shall regret exceedingly such an alteration. The difference between our position and that of primitive Christians was, that they were subjects, and that we were legislators : they submitted to laws already existing, we were making laws. We had the mastery of society, as it were ; we made the slavery, and we were now making laws in reference to it.

Mr. ALEXANDER, observed that there was scarcely an instance of a person who had spoken in favour of the amendment. The time of the Convention had been well spent, but it was now time that the discussion came to a point.

The question of adjournment was then put, and negatived by a very considerable majority.

Mr. STOVEL expressed his willingness to forego his right of reply, and leave the resolutions in the hands of the committee.

Mr. G. THOMPSON suggested, that the whole question would come up when the report of the committee was presented.

WILLIAM BROOKS, Esq., (of Islington), said, there is not, in my mind, a doubt that it is a crime in a member of a Christian church to hold slaves, and that all who hold slaves are guilty of a gross dereliction of duty. But the question with me is, whether the present is just the body which should send forth a recommendation, such as that proposed by the resolution.

The resolution and the amendment were then distinctly read by one of the secretaries, and were severally put by the chairman. Four hands were held up for the amendment. The original resolution was carried *nem. con.*

The Convention then adjourned.

SECOND DAY'S SITTINGS, SATURDAY, JUNE 13, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in the Chair.

Professor ADAM read the following paper on SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE-TRADE IN BRITISH INDIA.

After the labour and sacrifices of the people of Great Britain for the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies, and for the protection of the coloured population of those colonies—labours and sacrifices by which it has been supposed by many, that the crime and curse of slavery had been for ever banished from the British dominions;—it may well excite astonishment and indignation to learn the fact of the existence of slavery under the British government in India.

1. *Extent of Slavery in British India.*—There has been no accurate census of the entire population of British India, much less an accurate registry of the slave population. Of the latter, various estimates have been formed. The lowest would make the slave population amount to not less than 500,000; another raises the number to 800,000, including Ceylon, a crown colony, and Coorg, Cochin, and Travancore, which are dependent principalities in the Peninsula of India, not subject to the government of the East India Company; a third estimate, unsupported by details, makes the whole number of slaves in British India about ten millions; and a fourth estimate, equally unsupported by details, makes the number amount to twenty millions. With the strongest desire to avoid exaggeration, it is believed that the number does not fall short of one million, and probably greatly exceeds that estimate.

2. *Origin and sources of Slavery in British India.*—With the exception of an unascertained proportion of slaves of Arab and African birth or descent, a very large majority of the slave population of India consists of children of the soil, and the origin of their slavery was probably conquest—the conquest and subjugation of the aboriginal race by the Hindus, and the subsequent conquest and subjugation of the Hindu race by the Mohammedans. Hindu law recognizes conquest as a principal and legitimate source of slavery. Mohammedan law recognizes it as the sole legitimate source of slavery. The second source of slavery in India, and up to the present day a prolific source, is the sale of free children by their parents, and of free orphans by those who happen to have possession of their persons—a sale often made, it may be hoped,

from the strength of natural affection on the part of the parents to preserve their offspring from starvation during the frequently recurring periods of famine, and often, there can be as little doubt, from the weakness and want of natural affection, to satisfy the cupidity of the parent or nominal guardian, and to subject the children to the degrading occupation of vice and prostitution. A third source of slavery existing and prevalent at the present day, is the sale of freemen by themselves, either for a sum of money, or in redemption of a debt previously incurred. This is strictly bondage—that is to say, servitude or slavery under a bond or money-obligation. Practically the bondage is for life, and involves that of the wife and children of the bond slave. A fourth source of slavery, has been the sale of criminals, outcasts, concubines, and illegitimate children. This practice existed under the native governments, and in the early days of the British government, but as a mode of punishment was subsequently disallowed and repealed. A fifth source of slavery, largely prevalent at the present day, is kidnapping, prohibited, of course, by the British government, but caused and cherished by the continued existence and maintenance of the institution of slavery. It is only by the abolition of slavery that kidnapping can be effectually prevented, by removing the temptation to the commission of the crime. A sixth source of slavery, is the importation of slaves by land and sea. The British territories in India are surrounded and intersected in all directions by native slave-holding states, from which slaves are clandestinely imported by land. The importation by sea is the source of slaves of Arabian and African birth or descent, found occasionally all over India, and existing to a considerable extent on the Malabar coast. The last source of slavery is descent from a slave parent or parents: in other words, slavery is hereditary, and descends from parent to child. This is the chief source of slavery in British India at the present day.

3. *Nature of Slavery in British India.*—Without reference to the origin and sources of slavery, but with reference solely to their occupations and treatment, slaves may be regarded either as prædial or domestic. Domestic slaves are either male or female; and male domestic slaves either are, or are not, eunuchs. Male domestic slaves who are not eunuchs, are in general, it is believed, treated with mildness and indulgence. They have free ingress and egress to and from their master's house, and uninterrupted access to the courts of justice, and

thus the opportunity of preferring complaints is a check against oppression and injustice, although it is admitted by the most respectable apologist for East India slavery, that examples of harsh, severe, and even cruel masters are not unknown. With regard to those male domestic slaves who are eunuchs, the name alone is a sufficient description of the unnatural and atrocious barbarity that has been practised on them. The number of eunuchs is considerable, particularly in wealthy and voluptuous Mohammedan families, being kept to guard the females of those families. In one family, that of the Nawab of Moorshedabad, it is known on official authority, that there were in 1837, sixty-three eunuchs. In one instance, in which 200 African boys were emasculated at Judda, only ten survived the operation; and in the same proportion, in order that sixty-three should survive, 1197 must have been sacrificed. The practice of emasculation is criminal, and punishable by the Mohammedan law as administered by the British Government in India. Female domestic slaves are kept almost universally for licentious purposes, or employed as attendants on the seraglios of Mohammedans of rank. They are secluded from all communication with others, and consequently from access to courts of justice, and thus have no redress for the injustice and cruelty with which they are often treated, amounting frequently to mutilation and murder. Prædial slaves, without distinction of sex, may be classed under three sub-divisions. In some places, the landholders have a claim to the servitude of thousands among the inhabitants of their estates, reputed to be descended from persons who were acknowledged slaves of their ancestors. They are to be considered as villains, attached to the glebe. They pay rent and other dues for the lands they till, and for the pastures on which they graze their herds; and the chief mark of slavery is a restriction on the right of removing at choice. The second sub-division, consists of bond slaves already described, by whom throughout some districts the labours of husbandry are chiefly executed. The third sub-division consists of the slaves of the free peasantry, and of the petty and large land-holders. In certain provinces, the masters or owners are themselves cultivators, and employ their slaves as herdsmen and ploughmen; but in certain other provinces particularly in the south of India, it is considered disgraceful for the Brahman master or owner to cultivate the ground with his own hands, and slave-labour alone is employed. In such provinces, the treatment of the slave is harsh, his labour severe, his food and clothing scanty, his

habitation wretched, and his family connexions liable to be severed at the will of his master. He has no access to courts of justice; and he is subject to compulsory and unrequited labour, not only for his master, but for the Hindu community, in dragging the idol cars; for the public servants and their establishments; for marching regiments and for travellers; and for the government of the country in stopping any sudden breach of the great works of irrigation, in making or repairing the high roads, and in carrying treasure-remittances, stolen property that has been recovered, and the Company's monopoly tobacco; on all which occasions, he is guarded by armed men to prevent his running away. The treatment of this class of the prædial slaves in India is such, that it is believed by competent observers, that they are at present the most degraded, stunted, and abject form of humanity to be found on the face of the earth.

4. *The Law of Slavery in British India.*—Slavery in India is nominally and formally founded, in the first place, on the Hindu law; in the second place, on Mohammedan law; and in the third place, on the adoption by the British government of India of both Hindu and Mohammedan slave law, with certain modifications. The modifications of Mohammedan and Hindu law are all in favour of the slave; for instance, by rendering the murder of a slave even by his own master a capital crime; by abolishing the practice of selling criminals and their offspring into slavery; and by making slaves capable of giving evidence in courts of justice; but these ameliorations of the law are practically inoperative, especially in those provinces in the south of India, where slavery exists in its most aggravated forms. The most important circumstance, however, connected with the law of slavery is, that the legalization of slavery has been effected, not by a positive, direct, and unequivocal enactment, which must have been submitted for the approval or disapproval of parliament, and which would probably have received the attention and called forth the opposition of the friends of the slave; but by a doubtful interpretation of the law, the spirit of which is supposed to embrace slavery, and the letter of which is acknowledged to be wholly silent on the subject. It is by means of this confessedly doubtful, and it is believed wholly erroneous, interpretation, that the entire system of East India slavery has been perpetuated under the British government. Even admitting the correctness of this disputed interpretation, it is acknowledged by the highest authorities,

that slavery practically exists of a kind that is wholly illegal. There is no principle more fixed and certain in Mohammedan law than this, that infidels made captive in war, *and they only*, with their descendants, can be held as slaves. But in Mohammedan families throughout India, there are thousands and tens of thousands of slaves who cannot be classed under this description; and who are consequently, held in hopeless, though unauthorized and illegal, bondage. Practically, slavery in India does not rest on law but custom, for it can be proved to be illegal, and this illegal custom has been invested by the British government in India, with the desecrated forms and sanctions of law and justice.

5. *Administration of Slave Law in British India*.—This is illustrated by cases detailed in the law books, published by the judicial servants of the East India Company in explanation of Hindu and Mohammedan law as administered in British courts of justice. Only two cases will here be quoted, and of these the first is thus described.—“A female slave, having been emancipated from servitude, suffered much for the want of the necessaries of life, and sold herself with her two daughters, one of them five and the other seven years of age, with her late master’s consent. In this case is the sale of daughters of such years available in law or not? Have the daughters an option, on attaining the age of maturity, to set aside the sale of their persons?” Such was the question tried in a British Indian court of justice, and put by a British judge to the Hindu law officers, whom the law obliges him to consult. This case occurred in 1819, in the district of Chittagong, one of the districts of Bengal. The decision in this case was, that the children of an emancipated slave-mother, sold as slaves by their mother with her late master’s sanction, are not entitled to their freedom on coming of age, and have no power to nullify the contract. What a picture of society and of law does this exhibit! What a depth of physical wretchedness or of moral obtuseness, or of both! A mother emancipated from slavery again selling herself for the necessaries of life; receiving the gift of her own daughters from her former master to be in like manner sold for the relief of her wants—sold at the age of five and seven by their own mother into perpetual slavery, perhaps to vice and infamy; and the perpetuity of the sale under such circumstances, when called in question by the daughters after the attainment of mature age, affirmed by Hindu law, and confirmed by the authority of a British court of justice. The

second case will probably be deemed still more flagrant. It is thus described.—“A person procures a contract of marriage to be entered into between his slave and the daughter of a free person, and subsequently sells his slave’s wife to another. In this case, had the master of the slave derived any right of proprietorship over the person of the slave’s wife by reason of her being subject to his slave, and is the sale of such woman allowable by law?” This case also occurred in 1819, in Chit-tagong; and the decision, according to Hindu law, was, that a free woman becoming the wife of a slave, becomes a slave to her husband’s master who has full power to alienate her by sale, and the sale is good and valid. This is another of those cases which, without the evidence of the law books from which it is taken, we should find it difficult to believe that the authority of the British government would be employed to enforce. A free woman, ignorant, most probably, of the law which affects such cases, is inveigled into marriage with a slave by a slave’s master, who subsequently sells her for his own profit, and this sale is pronounced good and valid by the organ of Hindu law, and recognized as such by the British government in India and its judicial officers.

6. *Ameliorations of the Law and Practice of Slavery in British India.*

—The first and most important of these, is a modification of the Mohammedan law of slavery. Under the Mohammedan law, the murderer of a slave is permitted to receive a free pardon from the slave’s master, or to compound by a pecuniary penalty for the life of the slave that has been murdered; but it has been expressly enacted by the British government, that the murderer of a slave, even if the master himself, must suffer the capital consequences of his act. The sale of criminals into slavery has been discontinued; the prohibition of the emasculation of young slaves is stated to be enforced; and the power of emancipation, denied to the ruling power by the Mohammedan law, has been assumed and exercised in cases of cruel treatment. The evidence of slaves in courts of justice has been made admissible, and the sale of slaves by government officers on account of arrears of revenue due by their masters to the government, has been prohibited in Malabar. But it is to be remarked, that these ameliorations are to be found chiefly in the letter of the law, and illustrate rather the wishes of the administrators than the actual practice of slavery; for notwithstanding these regulations, the best evidence shows that cases of slave

murder unpunished are frequent; that female domestic slaves and prædial slaves, both male and female, have no access to courts of justice; —and that the number of eunuch slaves throughout the country is great.

7. *Ameliorations of the Law and Practice of Slavery in British India recommended but not adopted.*—One important recommendation has been to adopt the Mohammedan law of slavery exclusively, which would in effect amount to a total abrogation of slavery, for such a rule would annul Hindu slavery by recognizing Mohammedan slavery alone; while Mohammedan slavery, according to the strict letter of the law, does not now exist. Another recommendation has been the prohibition of the sale of children by their parents or others, that being the chief source of existing slavery. A registry of slaves has been suggested by the Indian government itself, but it has allowed its own suggestion, as well as the preceding recommendations to fall to the ground. It has been recommended also with a particular reference to the prædial slaves of the Madras territories, by express enactment, to restrain their owners from selling them out of the country of their birth, and from separating members of the same family, and to render it compulsory on them to make a suitable provision in food, clothes, and habitation for their slaves; but no such regulations have been enacted, nor any to protect the slaves from compulsory labour for government and the community. It has been further proposed to declare the purchase of free children as slaves illegal, to declare the children of all slaves born after a certain date free; to declare voluntary contracts to labour obligatory only on the individual, not on his wife and children; to make slaves competent to possess and dispose of property; to subject to special penalties the purchase of children to be brought up as prostitutes; to transfer the power of corporal punishment from the masters of slaves to the local civil officers; to give slaves the power of purchasing their liberty; to free all slaves attached to lands or estates escheating to government; and to give slaves when ill-treated the right to claim to be sold to another master; ALL WHICH RECOMMENDATIONS HAVE BEEN WHOLLY NEGLECTED.

8. The only effectual remedy for the evils of slavery, is the IMMEDIATE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY. This has been recommended by men of extensive experience and observation in India, but its highest recommendation is its conformity to sound policy, to equal justice, and to an

enlightened humanity. It would be safe for the government, for all experience shows that danger to the government has arisen only from innovations introduced for the increase of revenue, while no danger can be shown to have ever arisen from innovations, such as this would be, plainly tending to, and designed for, the welfare of the people. It is demanded by law as well as by justice, for much of the slavery that exists is confessedly illegal, and what is legal, if there is any such, is unjust; and its extinction will be supported by the moral sense of the whole European and native communities. It is dictated by an enlightened humanity; for free and unshackled industry, a state of things in which every man shall enjoy the fruits of his own labour, is at the foundation of every measure which can be suggested or devised for the elevation and improvement of the people of India, and such a state of things can never exist where slavery is found.

THE SLAVE-TRADE IN AND WITH BRITISH INDIA.

The slave-trade in and with British India is either internal or external, that is, carried on either by land or by sea. The internal trade is carried on either in the British territories, or to and from the surrounding and contiguous countries under native governments. The external trade is carried on either by importation or exportation.

1. *Internal Trade in the British Territories.*—This trade consists in the sale of children by their parents; in the sale of persons by themselves; in the voluntary subjection of persons with their families nominally to temporary, really to perpetual, slavery for debt; in the sale of slaves by their masters to pay the arrears of revenue due to government; and in the sale of slaves by the officers of the government to satisfy the judicial decrees. Independent of the general demoralizing effect of slavery and the slave-trade, the sale of children by their parents is often made expressly for the purpose of vice and prostitution; and the sale of slaves for revenue arrears and in satisfaction of judicial decrees, separates parents from their children, husbands from wives, brothers from sisters, and breaks up all the relations of life. These sales of slaves, and of free persons into slavery, are legal under the British government in India, provided the persons to be sold are not to be removed from one place to another for purposes of traffic; *i. e.* they may be bought and sold at the places where the parents or masters are

found to be, but they cannot be removed by their parents or masters for the purpose of being sold; although being sold, they may of course be removed by their new masters. The extent of this traffic in slaves, particularly by the sale and purchase of children in times of famine, is believed to be very considerable.

2. *Internal Trade to and from the surrounding and contiguous countries under native governments.*—This trade is illegal and clandestine, but there are grounds for believing that it has not wholly ceased. In 1811 and 1812, a traffic in slaves from Cochin and Travancore to Malabar, was detected, and a competent authority pronounced that it was only by increasing vigilance that its renewal could be prevented. In 1821, the importation of slaves from foreign states into the southern Mahratta country, conquered by the British, was prohibited, but the prohibition was declared by a high official authority to have increased the price without putting a stop to the traffic. A high authority also stated in 1823, that slaves continued to be imported from Cachar, Gentiah, and other territories beyond the limits of the British jurisdiction, into Silhet, one of the eastern districts of Bengal. In 1834 and 1835, repeated cases brought before the judicial tribunals have occurred of slaves imported into the Bombay territory, from Nagpore, Malwa, and Mewar. Until slavery itself is abolished the trade will continue.

3. *External Import Trade in Slaves.*—There exists in India comparatively a small, but in itself a considerable, number of slaves of African and Arab birth and descent. They are found as eunuch-slaves in wealthy Mohammedan families throughout the whole of India, and in greatest number in all the principal towns throughout Malabar and Canara. They have been and are imported either by Arabs or Portuguese; by Arabs as personal attendants of their masters, or as sailors employed in navigating the Arab Mopilla or Lubbce vessels, and by Portuguese to be sold at Goa, Damaun, and Diu, to supply the demand for slaves in Portuguese families at those places, and the remainder to be distributed over the north-western coasts of India, and smuggled into the British territories adjoining the Portuguese settlements. In 1824, it was publicly alleged that 150 eunuchs had been landed from the Arab ships that had arrived at Calcutta that season; and in 1826, it is known that three slave-girls were imported. This slave-trade is of course illegal, but adequate means are not employed to enforce the law.

4. *External Export Trade in Slaves.*—At one period, from the middle to the close of the last century, this traffic was very actively carried on, and it had largely increased under the British government, and was prosecuted by the French and Dutch. About the close of the century it was prohibited and suppressed, when it assumed the form of a system of kidnapping, which it retained until the trade in Hill Coolies arose, which is merely another form of the same traffic. That trade has been prohibited, and it is now sought to legalize it, in which case the system of kidnapping and selling into slavery, which has been in constant activity in India, will receive a fresh impulse and encouragement, and the trade in the persons of the natives of India will be carried on with renewed vigour.

THE CHAIRMAN observed, that the document to which they had listened, was rendered more interesting by the fact, that the Professor had himself resided many years in British India.

Professor ADAM.—I wish to suggest two or three remarks on the general bearing of the subject. The English have visited India; the English have taken possession of India—by what means I will not now say—but they have taken possession; and they have subjected to themselves a vast amount of the population of India. And what is the condition of that population? As to religion, their state is the most degrading; as it regards their general condition, we see from the document which has been read, upon the truth of which you may depend, that they are also in a state of deep degradation. The English found the population in that condition. But was it to be expected that the English government, of all the nations in the world would have legalized the two systems of slavery which they found in existence? Was it to be expected that Hindu slavery, which had ceased legally to exist under the Mohammedan government, should have been again called into existence, have been reduced to form, have been legalized by the British government? Was this to be expected from our countrymen—from those who had carried their conquests, who had conveyed their science, their religion, to India? Surely such a course was not to be expected; and other countries, and after ages, will, at least, declare that it was highly inconsistent, especially considering their loud boasts of freedom. But not only did the British government legalize Hindu slavery, they have also retained in chains those whom they found in chains, imposed upon them by successive conquerors! Does it not become us who are now assembled from all parts of the world, to declare our belief that such a system should no longer be tolerated? Is it not true that we, as a Christian, slavery-hating people, should express our determination that such a system shall no longer exist; a system of slavery established by Hindus and Mohammedans? Surely you will do so. You will cause your voice to be heard; and it will be heard, it will go forth not only to the ends of this island, but to the very ends of the earth; and the results will be, that we shall no longer be disgraced by the system. Nor

is this all. The British government is already pledged to do this ; it has been so pledged for several years, but it has not redeemed its pledge. In the act of 1833, it was determined that slavery in India should be abolished ; it was also provided that inquiry should be made as to the real condition of the slaves, and that such measures should be adopted as would lead to the extinction of slavery. The East India Company was desired to send home from time to time such laws and regulations as would lead to the abolition of slavery. The directions and provisions contained in the act of 1833, have hitherto proved a dead letter. Nothing has been done to mitigate the condition of the slaves, or to lead to the extinction of slavery. You have, therefore, strong, clear, defined ground upon which to proceed ; and I earnestly hope that you will proceed, notwithstanding the obstacles which may be presented in your course.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I have been informed, on authority upon which I can rely, that an act was passed some years since in the House of Commons, which, had it been acted upon, would have caused slavery long ago to have ceased to exist in the East Indies ; but that on its being carried up to the House of Lords, a clause was struck out, at the suggestion of the DUKE of WELLINGTON, which rendered the bill comparatively null and void, so far as slavery was concerned. That omission, it seems, was not noticed by T. F. BUXTON, and hence he made no attempt to supply the deficiency. Perhaps some friend present could confirm that statement.

JOSEPH PEASE, Esq., (of Darlington).—I believe that such a clause was omitted in the way just stated. That slavery exists in British India, and that it exists to a considerable extent, and under very painful circumstances, there can be no doubt whatever. We have abundant evidence to prove that fact. But what is the remedy ? We have long talked of the evil, but what have we done to remove it ? And why have we not accomplished all we wished ? One plain reason may be assigned, namely, that the government of this country has profited by the continuance of the system. Something more must be done. DANIEL O'CONNELL is about to bring forward a motion in reference to slavery in British India. It is a fact that one-third of the land in British India is in the possession of wild beasts ; a portion of which, if cultivated, would yield a sufficient quantity of food for the supply of the people's wants. The Governor-General of India has admitted this fact. Sufficient evidence upon the subject was taken in the committee of the House of Commons ; it was proved that the land-tax was most oppressive, leading to want and starvation, and compelling millions to become slaves for a long series of years. I have stated these things before the Directors of the East India Company, and now hope that the statements made will go forth to the country, and that abundance of petitions will be sent in to Parliament, praying that one-third of the land, which is now in the possession of wild beasts, may be brought into cultivation, that the wants of the human population may meet an adequate supply.

Rev. J. H. JOHNSON.—I have been much struck with the accounts which I have recently heard as to East Indian Slavery. I am anxious that the whole question should be brought fairly before us, that we may furnish our constituents with the true state of the case when we return home. In order to promote the abolition of slavery, I have been in the habit of inducing persons to abstain from the use of all articles which are produced by the labour of slaves. Such advice was very galling to those who were concerned in upholding slavery ; and I have reason to believe that it told much upon the

system. I took no sugar at all myself; but to those of my friends who took it, I recommended the practice of taking only sugar which came from the East Indies, because I thought that the East India sugar was the produce of the labour of freemen. Now, if it should go forth to the world, that the larger portion of the labourers in the East Indies are under slavery, would not I, and those who acted as I did, appear as traducers? Was the sugar which was said to be the produce of free labour, really so? or was it the product of slave-labour? I hope that some gentleman present will be able to explain that point.

MR. G. THOMPSON.—I believe it will be found upon inquiry, that the sugar in question was not the result of slave-labour. If the sugar really came from Bengal, it was not the produce of forced labour.

PROFESSOR ADAM.—As far as my observation has extended, the sugar sent from the East Indies to this country, is produced chiefly in Bengal and by free labourers. The principal portion of prædial and agrestic slavery in India, is in the southern part of that Country.

CAPTAIN STUART.—All my experience, and the evidence which I have obtained, goes to prove the correctness of the statements made by PROFESSOR ADAM, and by GEORGE THOMPSON. The evidence which was given before the Houses of Lords and Commons was complete to me, as proving that the sugar sent to this country from the East Indies, is not sugar obtained by agrestic slavery, but by free labour.

JOSEPH EATON, Esq., (of Bristol).—There is a publication which may easily be obtained, a letter addressed by W. WHITMORE to our late esteemed friend ZACHARY MACAULEY, from which it will appear, that the sugar sent from India to this country is the produce of free labour.

R. R. R. MOORE, Esq., (of Dublin).—In reference to what has fallen from Mr. ALEXANDER, I will read an extract from a work recently published by the Rev. Mr. PEGGS, formerly a missionary in India. He says, "On the renewal of the East India charter, in 1833, it was proposed by the King's ministers to abolish slavery in British India, on or before April 12th, 1837; but this was over-ruled in the House of Lords; on which occasion the DUKE of WELLINGTON said, 'I insist upon it, that there exists no necessity for framing any laws or regulations with regard to slavery in the East Indies. I have served in that country, and lived among the people, and I never knew an instance of cruelty being practised towards the slaves, if slaves they ought to be called.' I will not make any comment upon that. We do not ground our efforts for the abolition of slavery upon the fact of their being treated cruelly or kindly; we believe that slavery ought not to exist. But instead of this clause for the total abolition of slavery in the East Indies there was substituted the following:—'Be it further enacted, that the said Governor-General in Council shall, and he is hereby required forthwith to take into consideration the means of mitigating the state of slavery, and of ameliorating the condition of slaves, and of extinguishing slavery throughout the said territories so soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe; and from time to time to prepare and transmit to the said Court of Directors drafts of laws and regulations for the purposes aforesaid.'" PROFESSOR ADAM has given us much light on this subject; he has settled the question for us, and shewn that the DUKE of WELLINGTON was utterly and entirely wrong. He has proved that this recommendation to the Governor-General has not produced any beneficial effect, that the Governor has not advanced one step towards the abolition of slavery. I have always

thought, and I believe that slavery in British India furnishes us with a proof, that gradual measures for doing away with the evil, by giving us an idea that the evil is being removed, only rivet the fetters more strongly on the slave. I have now to move,—

That a committee consisting of the following gentlemen be appointed to take into consideration the paper now read by PROFESSOR ADAM, and report to the Convention a resolution or resolutions founded thereon; PROFESSOR ADAM, CAPTAIN STUART, JOSEPH EATON, J. T. PRICE, R. R. R. MOORE, GEORGE THOMPSON, JOHN SCOBLE, JOSEPH PEASE, and JOHN CROPPER.

I am sure that we all see and feel the importance of the subject. I have no doubt that we shall set to work with all the energy which we displayed in reference to the abolition of slavery in the West, and that we shall not desist until not a slave remains in the East.

MR. G. THOMPSON.—I beg to second the resolution. The debate takes me rather by surprise. It is a subject of peculiar interest, and if the matter be submitted to a committee, I should like to reserve what I have to say until the report is brought up. It is a topic on which we possess less information than on many other points connected with the business of the Convention.

RICHARD PEEK, Esq.—Allow me to state a conversation which took place on my journey to town, when I met with a gentleman who had been in the East India Company's service thirty-four years. Being ignorant of the nature of slavery in the East Indies, I inquired whether it really existed there? He admitted that it did, and that to a considerable extent. Further conversation ensued, in which he referred to Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON—stated that he had read his lectures, and that there were many things in them which were not correct. He instanced the assertion, that they were taking no steps to abolish slavery. He met it by stating, that a committee had been sitting for the last two or three years, that they would, perhaps, take a few years longer; and when they had sufficient information before them, a plan for the gradual abolition of slavery would be introduced. He also stated that one great source of slavery in the East Indies was, parents selling their own children; and that, during the last famine, which occurred two years ago, thousands of children were sold to preserve them from starvation. The parents were placed in this predicament, the children must either be starved or sold for slaves; and many, he said, acting from motives of humanity, purchased them. In one of the districts, the Governor prohibited parents from selling their children, and thousands of lives were sacrificed: they were starved to death. That might have been obviated, if their parents had been allowed to sell them for slaves. That is a state of things which ought not to exist, and I think that the committee would do well to inquire into it.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I hope that when the committee take this subject into consideration, they will not limit their thoughts to the simple existence of slavery, as resulting from the various causes stated by PROFESSOR ADAM; but that they will expressly turn their attention to that grinding oppression of the inhabitants of India, which compels them to sell their children in order to preserve them from starvation.

JOSEPH SAMS, Esq., (of Darlington).—I have been much interested by the appointment of this committee. I consider that it may be productive of very great service in reference to the objects of the Convention. I do hope, as our worthy friend has just remarked, that the committee will not confine themselves simply to the report made by PROFESSOR ADAM, but that they will turn their attention minutely to the state of British India. I could also wish that attention should be given to the subject of free labour, abundantly persuaded as I am, that if this were properly attended to, and we as a nation, were to use only free labour produce, it would be one of the severest blows which could possibly be given to slavery. Our fellow-subjects, the natives of British India are exceedingly oppressed; and I think measures might be adopted by the Convention, which, while they went even to destroy slavery, would tend very materially to their benefit.

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE.—The committee are confined to the evidence on PROFESSOR ADAM's paper, and resolutions founded on it. Free labour will come in under another head. We shall gain nothing by mixing up the subjects.

Mr. G. THOMPSON concurred in the views of Mr. MOORE.

The resolution was then put and agreed to unanimously.

The Rev. W. BEVAN read the following paper

ON THE MORAL INFLUENCE OF SLAVERY.

The success of unrighteous schemes opens abundant sources of moral injury. They contain within themselves the elements of re-active retribution. The perpetrator and the victim of injustice alike suffer. Such are the results of the system of slavery; results which find their origin in no contingent or occasional circumstances, but which arise from the essential and invariable principles on which the system is based.

I.—The man-stealer, the man-seller, the man-buyer, rests under the malediction of Jehovah. He breathes a polluted air. He struggles against an ever-present invisible agency, which his own sin has called into being. The curse is in the field;—the labour he exacts is less productive, the capital he invests is less secure, than that which stands free from the prohibited traffic. The curse is on his soul;—a blight settles on his personal character, his social affections, his domestic circle, his religious fellowship.

1. The tendency of the system is opposed to that sense of justice, the preservation of which is the safeguard of individual integrity and social order. Before enslaving men, it denies to them the attributes of humanity. It permits not their claim to intellectual and moral qualities. It converts their unintelligent physical powers into mere machines. It

does violence to the responsible relation of men to God, and invades his prerogative, by prohibiting the exercise of the will in an accountable agent. Its arbitrary power reduces the *equal* to the condition of an abject *inferior*. It ordains the sole supremacy of the enslaver, with which no other will may interfere. It leaves his selfish passion uncontrolled. It destroys all sense of reciprocal obligation. It denudes the victim of the rights of man, for it removes him from the distinguishing rank of man. It proclaims that he can suffer no wrong, for he can possess no right.

The demand of exorbitant labour permits no equitable return. The labourer is *not* worthy of his hire. The master commands the sole advantage, the slave can have none, from his ceaseless toil. The stimulant of coercive violence is substituted for that of personal interest and lawful wages. When tasked beyond his strength, when exhausted and dispirited, the slave finds no vestige of a sense of justice to which he can appeal.

Hence, also, that recklessness of human life, by which the system has ever been disgraced. It is unchecked by considerations of humanity or equity, and is counteracted only by mercenary calculations. The shortening or lengthening of slave life, is in proportion to the severity or leniency with which the system is worked. This is regulated by nicely adjusted estimates of the profit which, in either alternative, is likely to be realized. The slave is the helpless engine by which that profit is to be secured. He can appeal to none. He has no right to his own life.

The first step, then, in the progress of the system, tends to the destruction of the sense of justice. None can become implicated in it, without receiving the taint. None can pursue it, without that moral injury to themselves which ever results from the oft repeated violation of human rights, and of the principles of divine equity.

2. Moreover, the system of slavery sets at defiance the sympathies of humanity. The position in which the slave is placed, removes him from the exercise of those affections that constitute the beauty and glory of human nature, and that mitigate the ills to which flesh is heir. He is refused the place—he is robbed of the properties of a man. Intellectual and spiritual excellence is denied him. He is declared to possess nothing that can harmonize with benevolent emotions or sanctifying graces. As though the power of love could find no entrance into

his breast, he is abandoned to that of coercion and terror. The bonds of the great brotherhood of the family of earth are snapt asunder. The spirit of tyranny rises to the throne, and banishes "peace and good-will." It gathers strength from exercise, and increases its appetite with increase of prey. Tenderness of spirit gives way to ferocity. Humanity shudders at the transformation.

The helpless infant is left to pine and perish; or only reared that it may be torn away, as a thing of merchandize, from its mother's breast. The modesty and innocence of woman are no defence; but are recklessly outraged, as a valueless possession to the slave. The most sacred bonds of family and connubial relation and happiness are annihilated, to gratify the lust of the impure. With the fruits of infamy, the markets of human flesh are glutted. The wages of unrighteousness are gathered from lawless and licentious passion.

The virgin in her chastity,—the mother in her agony,—the weak in their debility,—the aged in their decrepitude,—the dying in their extremity, find the door of the heart barred against them. Despoiled of their title to humanity, they must endure unpitied the vengeance they have not deserved.

To yield to the moral influence of this system is to defile the source of purity, to freeze up the fountains of benevolence.

3. Nor is the system less antagonist to the sacred influences and claims of religion. It repudiates the second table of the ancient law, which is comprehended in these words;—"Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself." It provides an agency for the violation of the law of Christ; "All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them." It stands in direct opposition to the great end of the moral government of God, and that universal love which He sent his Son to teach, and which He gives his Holy Spirit to promote.

Like the pestilence walking in darkness, it stealthily, but effectually, diffuses its poison through the entire constitution of society. It fosters impurity and violence. It endangers personal security and social order. The ferocity of slave-holders to each other, the unchasteness of mind and conversation, from which their wives and daughters are not free, the daring and indiscriminating attacks on life, which, while they issue fatally, are tolerated in silence, present a picture of appalling colours. THE RIGHT REV. B. B. SMITH, bishop of the episcopal diocese of Kentucky, in allusion to this fierce

and dangerous spirit, says, "The victims are not by any means the most worthless of our population. It too often happens that the enlightened citizen, the elevated lawyer, the affectionate husband, and precious father, are thus instantaneously taken from their useful stations on earth, and hurried, unprepared, to their final account. * * * * What can have brought about and perpetuated this shocking state of things?" The bishop subsequently refers to a prevailing cause, as existing in the system of slavery: "Are not some of the indirect influences of a system, the existence of which amongst us can never be sufficiently deplored, discoverable in these affrays? Are not our young men more heady, violent, and imperious, in consequence of their early habits of command? Are not our taverns and other public places of resort much more crowded with an inflammable material, than if young men were brought up in the staid and frugal habits of those who are constrained to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow?"

4. The baneful influence of the system is exerted upon the characters of professing Christians, as well as upon those who fear not God. It can only be adopted at the expense of the fundamental principles of the Gospel. It is as the letting out of water, swelling into a torrent, and bearing away every barrier, till it overspreads and defiles every heart with its turbulent and polluted tide. Christian professors become its apologists; they drink into its spirit; they fall into its snares; they partake of its sins. That power of delusion must be gigantic which stifles within their breasts convictions of solemn and imperative duty, and which blinds them to the mischiefs and injustice they perpetrate. That mystery of iniquity must be fearful which allures to its defence, the ministers of peace and mercy; while it stops their lips from remonstrating with the guilty, and puts into their hands the weapons of the cruel.

The toleration of slavery in connexion with the church is a daring and flagrant insult to the Prince of Peace, who is ordained to "break every yoke." Its practice by professing Christians is a deliberate contravention of the design of His truth, which maketh "free indeed."

II.—The moral influence of the system on the character of the slave is injurious to the last degree.

1. It denies him the nature and the rights of man, without possessing the power so to embrate him, as to destroy the consciousness that he is a man. Hence, he more sensitively feels his degradation. It prostrates

him in the dust, and forbids him to rise. He finds that he has no power to ameliorate his condition, that no effort can rescue him from his squalid wretchedness and subjection. In the midst of ceaseless struggles for human liberties he can take no share. Every right of a citizen and a free agent is unconditionally, and perpetually torn from him. The quickness of his perception, the indestructibility of his consciousness of right, render him the more reckless, till, abandoning himself to despair, and becoming as wicked as he has been made abject, he outrages, in himself, the dignity of his noble nature.

2. The system of slavery cramps all that is expansive in the intellect, and generous in the heart. It removes all incentive to improvement. It denies the slave the right to amend even his physical condition, as it prevents his possession of property. It prohibits the culture of mind, and to the utmost of its power, the exercise of independent thought. It dooms him to mental bondage and darkness, and declares the penalty of the law against his instructor. He feels that he has powers that he must not employ—resources that he must not use—a principle within him that he must not develope. He sinks under the pressure of the system, until it makes him as ignoble as it declares him to be.

3. In a condition so dark and oppressive, shut out from the knowledge of rectitude and the protection of law, the sense of moral right is destroyed within the slave. Without law, he becomes lawless. Plundered of his right of property in himself, he apprehends no wrong in plundering a portion of his master's accidental property around him. Reared in the midst of deception and fraud, he knows neither the sanctions of truth, nor the iniquity of a lie. Taxed in his toil, stinted in his food, defrauded of his hire, he perceives no dishonesty in withholding his labour, and, by stealth, supplying the cravings of nature. There is no sense of justice to impel him to his work. He is moved only by fear, which hath torment. The cruelties he endures goad him to desperation. The turbulence to which he is driven finds no restraint in any conviction of moral obligation ; for this he is not taught to regard.

4. Hence it reduces him to the dominion of restless, unrestrained, unguided passion. His mind is uninstructed, his conscience seared, his judgment prostrated, his emotions perverted. He wants but the opportunity to gratify that which can only be repressed by force. He knows of nothing wrong in giving way to the lower appetites, when that restraint is removed. He has no higher ambition. The patterns

of lust, with which he is familiar, in his educated and polite superiors, he is not slow to imitate. Opportunities, incentives, and provocatives are ever at hand. The honour of man, the delicacy of woman, alike yield to brutal sensuality. Their promiscuous lodging, their defective clothing, the denial of marriage, destroy every feeling of propriety. In the race of mixed colour they see a living apology for their passion. The licentiousness of the master excuses and fosters the licentiousness of the slave. The only true corrective is withheld, because it is the charter of his liberties. The truth that sanctifies, he is not permitted to read, because "the truth maketh free."

The slave feels that his labour is a degradation. On this account the white population despise it. The terms by which he and his toil are designated are terms of indignity. His familiarity with them augments the bitterness of his sufferings, destroys his self-respect, exasperates him to madness, or sinks him into stubborn indifference.

5. The system of slavery robs him of the proper benefit of religion. He is not to receive its full proclamation; it announces liberty to the captives. He is not to feel its motives; it destroys slavish fear, and implants the constraining influence of love. He is not to breathe its spirit; it is the spirit of glorious liberty to the children of God. He is not to learn its fundamental law; it is the law of moral and spiritual equality, of universal and reciprocal charity. This anti-christian system deprives him of the peace, the hope, and the joy, of which godliness hath the promise in this life. It suffers him not to read the wonderful truths of God. It refuses the key of knowledge. It presents him with a mutilated gospel, a defective religion. In him, therefore, it does violence to God's means of grace, weakens the energy of the spiritual life, stunts the growth of the immortal nature, and impairs the beauty of the Divine image in his soul.

III.—A system so founded in injustice, so reared in irreligion, so consummated in enormity, opposes a fearful barrier to the progress of civilization, education, and Christianity. In every operation on the character of the enslaver and the enslaved, it accelerates the downward movement of depravity and misery.

The Christian church is brought to the conviction, that only in the diffusion of the blessings of education and religion, will true civilization advance, and these are withheld. To retain the slave as a chattel, a mere animated machine, the intelligent principle

within him must be crippled and fettered. It can never be destroyed. Hence, the restrictions on means of instruction, and the penal sanctions by which they are enforced. Above all, the spirit of Christianity is restrained. Slavery decrees that the word of the Lord shall *not* have free course. The two cannot walk through the land together, for they are not agreed. If the gospel be triumphant, slavery must fall. That slavery may continue in despotic night, the truth of God must be bound. They are diametrically and unalterably opposed. Slavery consorts with the demon of pollution; the gospel breathes the spirit of purity. Slavery seeks an asylum in the thick darkness; the gospel is the emanation of pure and heavenly light. Slavery denies to man the prerogatives of reason and conscience; the gospel illuminates his mind, purifies the conscience, and sets it free. Slavery debases and curses his being; the gospel ennobles and blesses him with a renewed and celestial nature. Slavery plunges him into unmitigated distress and despair; the gospel elevates him to joy and hope. Slavery draws a veil over the revelation of life and immortality; the gospel confers the free and glorious title to the life everlasting.

The outbreaks of the evil genius of the system, have ever been characterised by unrelenting animosity to the religion of Jesus. It has razed the Christian sanctuary; it has committed to the flames the oracles of God, it has satiated its fury with the blood of the saints. To gather the broken in heart to the ministry of consolation, is rebellion against its majesty: to announce the opening of the prison to them that are bound, is to move the wretched captives to sedition: to read the messages of sovereign grace, is to utter treason against its state.

The question which the church of Christ has to determine, is, whether the gospel shall be hidden, or this monster tyrant be overthrown. To its determination she must proceed. Considerations of policy and expediency must be banished from her counsels, when high and sacred duty summons her to action. The testimony of her solemn assemblies must go forth, the remonstrance of her consecrated ministers must be heard abroad. Her silence must be broken: the trumpet of battle must be sounded against the abomination, which retains the uncivilized in their degradation, in the midst of the enlightened and the free; which endangers the peace, the stability, the prosperity, the happiness of mighty nations; which resists the progress of the heralds of

salvation; which hinders the descent of Divine benediction; which is twice accursed, which curseth in time and in eternity, both him that enslaves, and him that is enslaved.

Mr. W. MORGAN read the following letter from Dr. CHANNING of Boston, Massachusetts, addressed to J. G. BIRNEY, Esq.

Boston, April 26, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR.—You request me in your letter to make some communication which may be laid before the Anti-Slavery Convention at London. I cannot do this for want of sufficiently precise knowledge of the state of things at home and abroad. I have projects enough in my mind, but objections would probably be started to them, which a man conversant with passing events would easily anticipate. I can, therefore, prepare no formal document, but I will give my views more distinctly on some points; you can put my letter, if you see fit, into the hands of any who may think them worth attention.

I would reiterate what I said to you of the great importance of the Convention. If I mistake not, this is the first instance of the meeting of the friends of humanity from different countries, for purely philanthropic purposes. I see in it the sign of a new era. I hope it is the opening of better times. Good men have long enough left the world to be governed by the selfish. Great men, as they are called, have seldom been moved by a higher impulse, than a narrow, unjust patriotism. It is time, that the principles of universal justice and love should be recognized as the lawful sovereigns of the world; that the Christian doctrine of human brotherhood should cease to be a theme of declamation, should be embodied in conspicuous action. There are men enough of a large heart to give an impulse to society, if they could but understand one another; not that I should expect much from extensive organizations. I want nothing but free communication and sympathy, giving new strength and knowledge, and leaving each man free to act in his own way. The Convention, I doubt not, will be a stirring one; it must be more than stirring. I trust, it will inspire reverence and confidence, by its calm, lofty *wisdom*. It is hardly worth the while to cross the ocean, to bring together men from different countries, merely to give utterance to fervent feeling, however generous. At present, we need light even more than heat.

I spoke to you of two points in this part of the world, to which I

hope the attention of the Convention will be turned. The first is, emancipation in Cuba. It is of vast importance, on account of the market which that island furnishes for slaves, and the great impulse thus given to the slave-trade; on account of the singular horrors and cruelties of the sugar culture in Cuba; and on account of the influence which would be exerted on our southern states by abolition in that near and extensive region. Can any thing be done to hasten this measure? Undoubtedly, the mother country would emancipate Cuba immediately, if she could hope in this way to get more revenue; but would not the first result be a diminution of revenue? If it be true, as we are sometimes told, that an American interest is gaining strength in Cuba, and that the people are looking with growing desire to union with this country, then abolition would be the true policy of Spain, as it would sever one strong bond of union, and remove an important ground of sympathy between the two countries. I trust, that this island will not achieve its independence before emancipation, an event to which some seem to look; for, I fear, that if left to itself, it would cling to slavery as obstinately as our own slave-states.

The next great object of attention in this quarter, and far more interesting, is Mexico. There is nothing in the condition of Mexico to prevent its provinces from being over-run by this country; nothing to prevent slavery from being carried to the Isthmus of Darien. The motives which led to the seizure of Texas, as you well know, have lost nothing of their force. A country so disorganized and demoralized as Mexico, is an easy prey to a powerful neighbour. It has been suggested, that our inroads might be checked by colonies of free coloured people in the frontier provinces of Mexico. But would our slave-holders endure the presence of settlements, which would invite and harbour fugitive slaves; and would furnish, by the example of their freedom, perpetual motives to revolt? The unbounded rage, cupidity and alarm of the slave-states would stimulate fierce assaults, inexcitable by the coloured man. I should hope much more from European emigrants, if the climate were more favourable. Can the European powers, who have possessions in the Gulf of Mexico, be brought to guarantee the integrity of the Mexican state? It is hard indeed to uphold a state sinking under the weight of its own corruption; but this matter is too solemn to be given up in despair.

There is one method of acting on slavery, which seems to me worthy

of the consideration of the Convention. I refer to what has often been discussed here, abstinence from the products of slave-labour. This, could it be extensive, would have great efficacy, and it has some peculiar advantages. It is a mode of action within every man's reach, be he rich or poor, and of constant recurrence; it must bring the great subject before the individual daily, in almost every purchase he makes, at his meals, in selecting his dress, &c. It would be a better bond of union than any association, and would require none of the exacting processes now in use. Through this abstinence, a man would act on slavery *himself, immediately*, and not through an organized body, in which he is of little moment. He would feel, that every day he was doing something towards his object. The friends of abolition, united in this mode of action through the world, would produce great effect. But I am aware that there are great obstacles to its adoption. In this country, little can be hoped from it for a considerable time. Slavery, you know, has mixed itself up with almost our whole industry. The manufactories and carrying trade of the north, in which a vast capital is invested, and which are sources of immense profit, owe their being very much to the staple of the slave states. You know how largely *cotton* enters into our domestic and foreign commerce. We all wear its fabrics, which, by their cheapness, contribute essentially to the comfort and decent appearance of the labouring classes. In a thousand other ways, exchanges go on between the south and north. Great numbers of our mechanics work for the southern market. In truth, it is hardly possible to live here without coming in contact with slavery. It is also true, that the commercial and manufacturing interests of England, by which millions subsist, have at present many and intimate connexions with slave labour. I see all these difficulties. Nothing can be done immediately. But, it may be useful to inquire, if no preparation can be made for future efficient action. May not this method of testifying against the greatest of all infractions of human rights, be silently and gradually spread through the Christian world, and would it not do much to strengthen the principles of justice and humanity?

It has sometimes been said, that *governments* should be solicited to exclude slave-products. But BUONAPARTE's continental system shows us the weakness of such expedients. No reliance can be placed on custom-houses, &c. Infinite fraud and smuggling would grow out of such restrictions. Our dependence must be mainly on moral and religious

principle, on the sense of justice and the spirit of freedom. I can conceive of hardly any thing more disastrous, than an attempt on the part of the English government to put down slavery here. Such effort would identify slavery with our national pride, and would rouse, I fear, a national spirit for its support. Perhaps, England, in fulfilling her duty to India, may render herself less dependent on slave-labour. Every motive of policy and humanity seems to require her to direct her energies and influence, as she never has done, to her vast possessions in the East.

I have no other topics to suggest. Allow me to express my hope, that the delegates from this country will carry to the Convention, a just, kind, and candid spirit. I expect them to speak the truth of our country, of our deplorable insensibility to the wrongs of the slave, and our unfaithfulness to the principles of freedom. But, I trust, they will speak of these things in sorrow, not anger; that they will rise above all the irritations which local events have awakened. It is natural that distance should strengthen our filial attachment to our native land; and this sentiment, if joined with universal good-will, not only meets indulgence, but honour, from strangers.

Again, I implore for you and your fellow-labourers, the blessing of God. May his Spirit, the Spirit of wisdom and love, be your strength and guide. Perhaps, I hope more from the Convention than can be accomplished in this stage of the enterprise; but, in one thing it cannot fail, except through its own fault. It *can* and *must* bind more closely together the friends of the oppressed, and spread more and more through the Christian world the solemn, unconquerable purpose of putting an end to slavery.

Very sincerely your friend,

WILLIAM E. CHANNING.

Mr. ALEXANDER on the call of the Convention, made the following statement on the subject of slavery in the Danish West India Colonies:—

Although, in the autumn of last year, I undertook a voyage to Denmark, the facts in my possession relative to the slave-colonies of that country, are by no means extensive. I will, however, before proceeding to state what I have learned, just observe, that it appeared to be the duty of the friends of the negro in England, after having done so much, through the Divine blessing, to effect the emancipation of the slaves in our West Indian colonies, to attempt to do something, in order to place those degraded and wretched beings who are suffering the same ills under other governments, in the rank of freemen. Entertaining these sentiments, and having no reason to suppose

that the subject of the abolition of slavery had been much considered in Denmark, or that any organization for promoting negro emancipation existed in that country, I proceeded to Copenhagen, at the time already alluded to, and while there, had an opportunity of conferring with several individuals possessed of information relative to the state of the Danish West India colonies. While at Copenhagen, I also met with a small volume, written by SYLVESTER HOOVER, of the United States, which throws some light upon the circumstances of slavery in St. Croix, the principal island belonging to Denmark, in the West Indies. In this island, during twenty-six years, terminating in 1836, the servile population had diminished from 26,000 to 19,000; being a decrease of 7000 in twenty-six years. This fact alone is of importance; it confirms the painful truth, not unknown to English abolitionists, that the cultivation of sugar by slaves is fearfully destructive of human existence. In the island of St. Thomas, there are about 5000 slaves, and it is a frequent resort of slave-traders. The mention of this circumstance leads me to observe, that one of the great evils arising from the existence of slavery, is the perpetual shelter and support which it affords to the traffic in human beings—a traffic which has lately called forth the rebuke of many men, who had not distinguished themselves in past time by their zeal in behalf of the negro. In the island of St. John, the smallest of the Danish West India islands, the slave population is about 2000, respecting these I have nothing particular to communicate. It is said that slavery in the Danish colonies is administered in the mildest manner; but, when one thinks of that fearful loss of human life to which reference has been made, and reflects also on what must be the essential character of a system of unpaid and coerced labour, wherever it exists, it must be regarded as a most frightful evil in the Danish colonies. With respect to the state of education, morality, and religion there, I am sorry to say they form no exception to that which is found in other countries where slavery prevails. All these means of human improvement and happiness, are, to a very great extent, neglected; and this, notwithstanding a circumstance of deep and peculiar interest connected with these islands; I refer to the fact, that more than a century since, some missionaries, connected with the Moravian Brethren, visited them, for the purpose of preaching the gospel to the negroes; and with the noble determination, that were it necessary, in order to effect this object to become slaves themselves, they would forego their own liberty. The mission has continued up to the present day, but has produced little fruit, a circumstance owing, doubtless, in no small degree, to the deteriorating influence of slavery on the whole population, and the various and peculiar obstacles which it is ever found to offer to the promulgation of the gospel. I trust the day is hastening, when this evil shall cease to prevent the full influence of the religion of Christ being felt among these islands. I will not make any lengthened remarks on the circumstances which occurred during my stay in Denmark, but may mention one occurrence. In a conversation with the governor of the Danish West India islands, who was at that time at Copenhagen, he told me, that when liberty was proclaimed in the English West India islands, he felt that it would be necessary to promote the better treatment of their own slaves, in order to prevent their escape. He stated, that he found it more easy than he otherwise would have done to persuade the planters to adopt his recommendations, because they felt with him, that if they did not comply with them, they would be unable to retain their slaves, closely situated as the Danish islands

are to those of England. However interesting this circumstance is, as proving that English liberty has procured some benefit for the Danish slaves ; yet, on the other hand, the danger of their escaping to the English islands, may lead, in some instances, to the adoption of severe measures for its prevention. During my residence in Denmark, the first Anti-Slavery Society was established in that country. It was formed of a few individuals, but they are persons who, from their character, and the situation in which they stand, are capable of serving, in no unimportant degree, the cause in which they are enlisted. While at Copenhagen, I was informed that certain measures were under the consideration of the government for benefiting the condition of the slave. In connexion with these projected improvements, it had, however, been proposed to those in authority, to guarantee the system of slavery for twenty years. It will, therefore, be clearly seen, that it is desirable to interest the friends of humanity and religion in Denmark in the situation of the slave, in order to prevent the perpetuation of an evil which is necessarily attended with a large amount of injustice and cruelty. While at Copenhagen, I felt it to be my duty to write an address to the late KING OF DENMARK. Particular circumstances prevented me from presenting that address in person, but by the kind assistance of one of the members of the committee there, I had an opportunity of placing it in the hands of the then PRINCESS, and now QUEEN OF DENMARK. I am happy to say, that this distinguished individual is eminently likely to take a deep interest in negro emancipation. I do not think, that among the QUEENS OF EUROPE there is one, from whose character more may be hoped in favour of this great question of humanity. An opportunity also occurred of conversing with PRINCE CHRISTIAN, the present KING OF DENMARK. I endeavoured to point out to the PRINCE, the results of abolition in our West India colonies, which had been incorrectly represented to him in very unfavourable colours. Some documents were forwarded to this exalted person, illustrative of the conduct of the enfranchised population in our colonies, including the first number in the series relative to this subject, published by direction of the House of Commons. On my way to Sweden, very recently, I called on EDWARD BIRCH, an Englishman, who manifested a lively interest in the question. He kindly offered to invite some of his friends to meet me for the purpose of receiving information on the subject of slavery, should I return by way of Kiel. I trust, that there will be persons who will profit by such an opportunity, of which I was not able to avail myself. I also made a short stay at Elsinore, where it was gratifying to learn that an interest in the abolition of slavery was gaining ground in Denmark. These are the principal facts which occur to me to mention, connected with the subject of slavery in the Danish West India islands. They appear additionally interesting, as bearing upon that great plan in which the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society has embarked, for promoting the universal abolition of slavery. Whether slavery exists in any particular country, to a greater or less extent, we feel it our duty to lend our assistance to the friends of humanity and religion, in advancing this great work. There is one circumstance which makes the abolition of slavery in Denmark more hopeful than in any other country, viz., that it was the first European nation that abolished the slave-trade.

MR. TURNBULL.—I have little to add to that which has been advanced by Mr. ALEXANDER. But as I have visited the three Danish islands within the last eighteen months, I may as well state what, in my opinion, is the

character of that mild slavery in which Mr. ALEXANDER does not believe, although it is so considered in Denmark. I have compared it with what I have seen in the United States, in the Spanish, and in the English islands, and I believe that it is worse than in the United States. Our American friends will, however, be able to form some idea of what that is. But I believe it to be the mildest slavery in the islands of the West Indies. I consider the slavery in the United States, bad as it is, really the least bad of all the systems now in operation. I should be sorry to call it the best—I call it the least bad. That is my opinion. I have visited the several countries I have referred to and examined them with some minuteness. To compare slavery in the Danish with that in the French West India islands, I shall give this instance. St. John's is only one mile from Tortola, a negro can swim across, and obtain his freedom, but no one has yet made his escape. The case is different in the French islands, for some thousands have made their escape from Guadaloupe and Martinique, the distance being fifteen miles in the one case, and twenty in the other. One-third of those who have endeavoured to escape, have been drowned in the attempt. During the prevalence of the slave-trade the disproportion between the sexes was so great, that there were generally three men to one woman. The falling off in the population, therefore, does not always arise from that extreme cruelty which you might suppose; a great deal of it is owing to the fact, that the deaths have not been re-placed by a proportionate number of births. But there is an island in the immediate neighbourhood of St. Thomas and St. Croix, called by foreigners Vieques, and by Englishmen Crab island, which being claimed by Denmark, Spain, and England, may be said to be no man's land, and to have become a resort for pirates and slave-traders. It would be better that it should belong to Spain than to no one. It would be better for it to belong to Denmark than to Spain; but better still that it should be defined to be the property of England. Crab island is not so contemptible in size, or so worthless in point of fertility, as is generally imagined. It is much larger than St. Thomas, and more fertile than Santa Cruz. But St. Thomas itself deserves to be signalized as the most notorious resort in the western world for the outfit of the illicit traders to the coast of Africa. The Portuguese have no lawful trade in these seas, and yet at the time of my visit to St. Thomas there were not less than seven Portuguese vessels in the harbour; but none of them entered in the official registers of the captain of the port.

Mr. PRESCOD.—I would merely state, in confirmation of Mr. TURNBULL's remark, what I learnt concerning that island, in a visit I paid in the early part of this year to the Windward and Leeward islands. In a conversation with Sir WILLIAM COLEBROOKE, at Antigua, I learned that Crab island is the resort of slavers. It contains a population of about 1000 slaves. They are under the dominion of a man who is a sort of despot in the island; he claims the sovereignty of it, makes what laws he pleases, and imposes upon vessels what impost he pleases, and calls the island his own. But when any thing is said about it by England, it is then said to belong to Spain, and when Spain makes a claim, it is said to belong to England. Sir WILLIAM COLEBROOKE ascertained that the produce of the island had, at one time, been brought to St. Kitt's to be cleared, and thence exported as the produce of a British island. He considers that fact to be evidence of the proprietorship of England. I understand that he has made a representation on the subject to the British government, and when I left St. Kitt's, which was

late in March, it was then expected that the British government would take some steps, at an early period, to regain possession of the island. The Lientenant-Governor of St. Kitt's expressed a hope, that in a few weeks' time, some British men-of-war would be authorised to take possession of the island, and remove the slaves to St. Kitt's.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I agree in the sentiment that there is a greater mortality than there would otherwise be, from the abolition of the slave-trade; but this is not sufficient to account for the actual decrease in the population, which has taken place on the present nearly stationary number of the slaves. Persons who reflect on these circumstances, must see that they are of a very unsatisfactory character. Some reference has been made to a single island belonging to Sweden. I purposely omitted alluding to this country as well as to the colonies belonging to Holland at the present time. To the latter subject I attribute much importance, on account of the number of the slaves in the Dutch possessions, and the improper treatment which they receive. I hope to have an opportunity on a future occasion, to speak of the circumstances of Dutch slavery, and the prospects of the abolition cause in Holland.

Mr. EATON.—The decrease in St. Croix was stated to be 7000, out of a population of 26,000. Had not the negroes been subjected to the horrors of slavery, they ought in twenty-six years to have increased to 40,000, so that the actual decrease ought to be estimated at 21,000.

Mr. ALEXANDER moved, Mr. TURNBULL seconded, and it was carried unanimously,—That WILLIAM FORSTER, GEORGE STACEY, and the mover and seconder be appointed a committee to take into consideration the facts stated by Mr. ALEXANDER and others, in regard to the Danish Islands, and report thereon.

Mr. MORGAN moved, Mr. PHILLIPS seconded, and it was carried unanimously,—That a committee consisting of Messrs. BIRNEY, BRADBURN, COLVER, and FULLER, with the Secretaries, be appointed to draft resolutions on the subject of the present aspect of the Anti-Slavery enterprise in North America, and to report on Monday.

THIRD DAY'S SITTINGS, MONDAY, JUNE 15TH, 1840.

(MORNING).

Dr. GREVILLE in the Chair.

The CHAIRMAN rose and said,

Dear and respected friends, in consequence of a suggestion made on Saturday, a number of delegates have already met, in order to implore the divine blessing upon the proceedings of this day. At the same time, a number of individuals have not been able to join that meeting, and I think you will agree with me that any irregularity in the manner of opening the public sittings of

the Convention would be attended with considerable inconvenience ; and as the suggestion that we should spend a few moments in reverential silence before we commence was favourably received, we ought to continue the practice. We will now, therefore, if you please, implore the divine blessing in silence upon all our efforts, and sayings and doings, this day.

A pause devoted to the solemn purpose recommended by the chairman then ensued.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

MR. BOULTBEE.—It has been my most anxious desire, during the whole sitting of this Convention, to carry into effect the suggestion of our worthy and zealous friend, Mr. O'CONNELL, that we should endeavour to make all our efforts result in some practical movement. Now, there are many ways in which this suggestion may be carried into effect ; but it strikes me upon very serious and careful consideration, that the most practical way is to show that slavery in its effects is prejudicial to the planters as well as to others ; or in other words, that free labour is far more beneficial to everybody than slave labour. I believe it would not be at all difficult to prove, from the evidence and communications received from many gentlemen, both from the West Indies and from America, that the planters would be pecuniary gainers by free labour. But I shall now content myself by moving the resolution which has been put into my hand :—

That a committee consisting of Messrs. JOHN CROPPER, JOSIAH CONDER, and JOHN STURGE, be appointed to collect and arrange facts on the advantages of free over slave labour, and to report thereon. Such report to detail the most effectual means for securing the adoption of free labour.

When the committee have made their report, I will venture to express my opinion upon it. At present I will not detain the meeting further.

WILLIAM KAY, Esq., (of Liverpool), seconded the motion which was carried unanimously.

SAMUEL BOWLY, Esq. (of Gloucester), moved, Mr. EATON, seconded, and it was carried unanimously,—

That a committee be appointed, consisting of W. KNIBB, S. J. PRESCOD, W. W. ANDERSON, W. MORGAN, and CAPTAIN STUART, with power to add, to their number, to obtain and arrange evidence on the results of emancipation in the British Colonies, and that they report a resolution thereon ; also, that they consider and report the measures now necessary for securing and rendering permanent freedom in the said colonies.

Mr. BIRNEY, on the call of the Convention, made the following observations :—

I understand this day is to be given up to the consideration of AMERICAN SLAVERY. The time allowed not having been sufficient to enable the committee to present the subject in the most compact and manageable form of which it is susceptible, they have decided on bringing before you, although it may be without entire regard to consequential connexion, those points which are deemed essential to an adequate understanding of it. In prosecution of this plan of the committee, I will occupy a few moments to explain, as succinctly as the case will permit, some of the relations of the American governments, and the condition of slavery as it exists under them. I am the more desirous of doing this, because I have noticed in the Anti-slavery and other publications of this country, much of perplexity and misapprehension arising out of, what must appear to strangers, our complicated governmental machinery. The American Colonies, (in 1778) soon after they had declared themselves independent of the mother country, established a general form of government, known as the Articles of Confederation. This continued during the remainder of the revolutionary struggle, and till the adoption of the present constitution. The Articles of Confederation conferred no power on the *Confederation* to abolish slavery, or to interfere with it in any way. Slavery remained wholly under the control of the several *state* governments, under the sanction of which it existed. Under the confederation, the general government possessed no territory over which it had an exclusive authority. The confederation, as it seemed to the most judicious of our statesmen, did not possess power enough to bring the country into *united* action on any of the great objects of government. It gave way in 1787 to the present constitution. The powers of the general government are those, and only those which have been specifically conferred by the people who, by their representatives instituted it; and such as are necessary and proper to carry out the specific grants of power. Other powers have been conferred by the people on their respective *state* governments. If then, there are powers (such as are exercised by governments generally) not conferred on either the general governments or the state governments, they are considered as still reserved by the people, the source of all governmental authority. There was no power granted to Congress (the national legislature) to legislate in any way for the abolition of slavery *within the states*. The power to abolish slavery within the states is either possessed by the state legislature, or the people have reserved it to themselves. Where the latter is the case, as for instance, in the State of Kentucky, it would be necessary, in order to abolish slavery, that the people should authorise the holding of a Convention (of which they themselves would be the immediate constituents) with a view to the exercise of that power by the Convention itself, or to the conferring of the power on the ordinary legislative body. Congress, however, *now* possesses powers in relation to slavery which it did not possess under the confederation. It has "power to exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatever over such district as may by cession of particular states become the *seat of government* of the United States." This "cession" was made by Maryland and Virginia, and the "district" of Columbia has "become the seat of government of the United States." Congress possessed no power at the time of the "cession" to permit the *continuance* of slavery in the ceded district. Indeed, it had no power under the constitution to authorize the continuance of slavery for a moment after the district came under its control. No such power was *granted* to it, nor is slavery *necessary or proper* for carrying into effect any of the specific grants of power; indeed, it is in direct opposition to the great object and principles of the union. To ESTABLISH

“justice” was one of these objects: Slavery is a violation of justice. Congress now has the power, as every one will see, of immediately abolishing slavery in the district of Columbia. That it does not exercise this power for the enlargement of the six thousand slaves at the door of the capitol is the standing disgrace of my country. Again: Congress has “power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory belonging to the United States.” Congress had, and still has, immense territories under its control. Louisiana was purchased from France. Slavery existed in Louisiana when the purchase was made. Its continuance was provided for by the treaty of cession; thus, by a side-wind, setting aside the constitution of the United States, which gives to Congress no such power. The States of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri, carved out of this *territory* are slave holding states. Congress had the power to abolish slavery within them whilst they had only a *territorial* existence and relation to the general government. It had also the power to refuse them admission to the union as *states*, when they made application, with their slavery-tainted constitutions in their hand. Congress, also, possesses “power to regulate commerce among the several states.” Under this power, Congress has not put a stop to the large traffic that is carried on from one part of the country to another in human beings. The slave-holders say it is not authorized to do this, under the provision just mentioned, because the power to “regulate” is not the power to *abolish*. This is true, as an abstract proposition; but is the prohibition of a particular article of commerce—even allowing that human beings can justly be considered such an article—the abolition of commerce? Large as is the trade carried on in slaves, they constitute but a small item, when the proceeds from the sale of them are compared with the avails of the numberless other articles which unite to make up *commerce* among the states. The conclusion to which these cases lead us, is, that Congress has, in some instances, gone beyond its constitutional powers, and established slavery; but that it has wholly failed to exert the powers conferred upon it for the abolition in any way of slavery, or the domestic slave-trade. Let not the fathers of our constitution be indiscriminately charged with desiring to continue slavery to the present time. There are, it is true, several provisions of the constitution which have relation to slavery; but none of them are *inconsistent* with emancipation in any form, either gradual, prospective, or immediate. The guilt of not having acted must rest on our legislators, because of their want of will, not of power, to do what was called for by the spirit of the constitution, the dictates of natural justice, and the expectation of the civilized world; WASHINGTON and FRANKLIN, and the most venerable of our constitutional fathers, were in favour of the abolition, the total abolition, of negro slavery. They erred, however, in preferring *union* to its abolition. It was the wish of a majority of the Convention which framed the constitution, that negro slavery should eventually disappear from the United States. It was with this view, that they conferred on Congress the power to put an end to the African slave-trade at the end of twenty years. It would not have been further tolerated at all, had it not been for the opposition made by the states of South Carolina and Georgia, to its immediate abolition. These states refused to become members of the union, if the African slave-trade should be at once cut off. The term for which it was tolerated was allowed on their account. Fatal allowance! We are now reaping the bitter fruits of it—of what must have seemed, at that time, a very small sacrifice of principle to expediency. But it was thought that this would not

much interfere with the eventual abolition of slavery. There was no great staple cultivated exclusively by slaves to make them and their labour valuable. Cotton was hardly known at this time as an article of exportation. Rice and Indigo were comparatively of small importance. The ordinary products of slave-labour, were also produced by the free labour of some of the adjoining states. This competition would soon have rendered slave-labour too expensive to be permanently maintained. Beside this, the spirit of emancipation had begun to show itself in several of the northern and middle states. Principles utterly at war with slavery, were acknowledged and incorporated in their written forms of government, and they were beginning to be acted on in many instances, in good faith. It might reasonably enough have been anticipated, from the combined influences of the small value of slaves; of there being no staple to increase their value; of the cessation of the African slave-trade; of the recognition of the principles of freedom in the several state constitutions; and of what had already been done in the way of actual emancipation, that slavery would not very long be continued in the United States. But all these causes of hope seem to have been nullified by the invention of the cotton gin, by which the labour heretofore performed by a thousand hands in preparing the cotton for use and for the market, was performed by *one*. From that time (1793) slavery has been on the advance in the United States; and in proportion as the cultivation of cotton has increased, the prospect of its abolition has seemed to become more and more obscured, so far as the action of the government is concerned. It is true that for the last twenty years, the slave-holding interest in the United States has succeeded in bringing almost exclusively within its control the administration of the general government. But that interest does not include the *people* of the United States. The people of the free states want but knowledge of the principles and measures of the abolitionists to put an end to its reign. The prejudice which the slave-holders in the southern states, aided by their friends in the northern states, were enabled to excite against the abolitionists, is beginning to give place to a better feeling. The design of the slave-holders to perpetuate slavery, and to sue the government of the country for that nefarious purpose is, at last, beginning to be seen by the people of the free states. They are beginning again to look on the odious features of slavery anew presented to them, and to dread the interest that would fasten the system on the country, as the most pernicious that can be entrusted with power. They are it is true, only *beginning* thus to feel. But the slave-holder is alarmed even at these faint beginnings of adverse signs. He begins to writhe, and in his torment to cry out that the literature of the world, the public opinion of the world, and all the moral influences of the world, are against him and the iniquitous system which he seems determined to maintain though the heavens should fall. In his desperation, he is striving to sustain himself by remedies suited to the nature of his case. He is now attempting so to act on the government of the United States, that it shall commit itself before the world on broad principles, to the maintenance of southern slavery. With this view the following resolution was passed by the senate of the United States. "That if any ship or vessel is forced by stress of weather or other unavoidable cause, into the port, and under the jurisdiction of any friendly power, she, her cargo, the persons on board, with their property, *and all the rights belonging to their personal relations, as established by the laws of the state to which they belong, should be placed under the protection which the laws*

of nations, under such circumstances, extend to the unfortunate." The facts which gave rise to this resolution are simply, that three American vessels, freighted with slaves, and sailing from certain ports in the United States, to certain ports within the same, were driven by stress of weather into the Bermudas and Bahama islands, in two of the cases, before emancipation had taken place in the British colonies ; in the third, after that event ; and all the slaves had been set free by force of English law. The United States' government, (although the slave-holders say it has no right to interfere in any way on the subject of slavery), demanded of this government either that the slaves should be delivered up to their masters, or satisfaction made for them in money. The British government refused wholly to deliver up the slaves, but paid the value of the two cargoes set free before the emancipation act had taken effect, declining to pay for the third, on the ground that the British government no longer recognized *property in man*. The resolution just read proves that the slave-interest in the United States does not intend to remain quiet under the course taken by the ministry here. There was entire unanimity, too, in passing the resolution ; out of the thirty-two senators present, not one being found to oppose it. Unanimous as they were, they certainly did not expect to prevail on the civilized nations of the world, just at the time when a general movement is making toward the extermination of slavery, to engraft a recognition of its *rights* (!) on the law by which their intercourse is regulated ; the thing that they have avoided attempting when slavery was in its "palmy state." No : they wish as much as in them lies to commit the government *at home*, so that it may be kept back as much as possible from falling in with the sentiment of the other nations of the world. The committee think, that this resolution of the senate of the United States, ought to be made as public as our proceedings can make it ; that all Europe ought to be admonished of the attempt. In pursuance of this opinion, I now ask leave to submit the following preamble and resolutions—

Whereas, in the year 1835, a certain cargo of slaves was shipped from one of the ports of the United States to another port within the same ; and, whereas, the ship whilst performing the voyage was providentially driven on one of the British West India islands, and the said slaves, of course, by the operation of British law, made free ; and, whereas, the American government, on behalf of the persons claiming said slaves as their property, demanded of the British government, either that said slaves should be delivered up, or that remuneration should be made to their pretended owners ; and, whereas, the British government refused to comply with the requisition for the delivery up of said slaves, or with its alternative, and this on the ground that the British government had ceased, on any part of its territory, to recognize the right of one man to hold property in the person of another ; and, whereas, the slave-holding interest in the United States is attempting, in the Congress of the United States, to stir up the American government to

resist the principle on which such remuneration was refused ; and, whereas, in the prosecution of this attempt, a resolution was recently received in the House of Representatives of the United States, urging that government to insist on an arrangement with the British government, by which slaves escaping from their masters in the United States into the British dependencies on the American continent, should either be delivered up to their masters, or a full indemnity paid for them ; and, whereas, in the further prosecution of the said unjust object, the senate of the United States, by a resolution passed in April last, declared in effect, that if an American ship or vessel carrying on the slave-trade between any of the ports in the United States, should be forced by stress of weather, or any other unavoidable cause into the port, and under the jurisdiction of a friendly power, she and her cargo, and the persons on board with their property, and the rights belonging to their personal relations, as established by the laws of the state to which they belong, ought to be placed under the protection which the laws of nations extend to the unfortunate, under such circumstances :—Wherefore, it is resolved,—as the sense of this Convention, that the proposition embodied in said resolutions, to wit, to sustain by the sanctions of public law, which are founded on the principles of natural justice and right, the pretensions of the slave-system which exists only by disregarding justice and annihilating right, is not only unchristian and absurd, but disrespectful to the common sense of mankind :—that this the first attempt known in the history of nations, to convert the pretensions of slave-holders into rights, and as such to engraft them on the system of public law, by which the intercourse of nations is regulated, ought never to have emanated from the senate of a people, who, from a period of time coeval with their independent national existence, have asserted before the whole world, and in the most solemn manner, that all men are created equal, are entitled to their liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness :—that to allow such a proposition, would be not less inconsistent with the honour and dignity of Great Britain, and of such of the other nations of the world as have either abolished slavery within their respective limits, or are in good faith proceeding so to do, and is hostile to the avowed principles of that people among whom it has originated, and to the cause of humanity, with which, under God, all governments are solemnly charged.

I proceed to show the actual condition of the slaves of the United States. They are wholly at the mercy of their masters. They cannot testify in courts of justice in any case, civil or criminal, where a white is a party; neither can a *free* coloured person. And this disability is not confined to the slave states, it is the law in the *free* states of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. The slaves derive no rights from marriage. Even the mere *form* of marriage is seldom observed in their case. The master can sell the wife and the husband from each other at any moment, and the children from both. They are denied all literary instruction. In most of the states, instructing slaves or coloured people (even such as are free), in letters, is a penal offence. The power of punishment on the part of the master is unlimited. The *law* does not authorize this *directly*; but as the slave cannot testify against the master, and the latter has full power over the body of the slave, he may remove him or her to a private place where no white person could see them, and perpetrate on the body of the slave whatever his passion or malice prompts him to do. The slave has no civil rights. He can possess nothing as property, being property himself. He cannot sue for any trespass committed on his person by any white. His master may sue, but would not generally recover enough to carry the costs of the suit, unless he could make it appear that his slave was disabled from performing his usual amount of labour. Their religious instruction is almost wholly neglected. They have been declared by the religious bodies, among whom they were, to be heathen, and in some respects, heathen of the worst description. The slave-trade is carried on in the United States to an enormous extent, and under circumstances of great cruelty. The men are driven through the country, chained in double rows—the principal chain running between them. To this they are fastened by lateral chains when they start from the place at which they are brought together, after the number intended to be purchased is made up. They are kept confined in this manner day and night, till they reach the market at which they are to be sold. Here they are offered, in lots or single, to the person, no matter who he is, or where he may reside, who will give the highest price for them. The most disgusting scenes are said to take place at these marts, when the slaves are subjected to personal examination, to ascertain whether or not they are *sound* in every respect. Medical men are said sometimes to lend themselves to this brutal work. In the United States we need every influence that can properly be used, both external and internal, to bring this system to an end. I fear if we cannot be brought under the former, our case is a hopeless one; with it, success is certain. Let Great Britain see that justice is done to the emancipated in the West Indies, let them be seen to prosper, as there is no doubt they will, if they be fairly dealt by; let her continue to hold out to the world the noble example of refusing to recognize as an independent power the Texans, as long as they persist in their warfare against the peace and repose of the coloured race. Let France thus be encouraged to imitate the example of this country. Spain cannot but soon follow; so also the other states who uphold slavery in the West Indies. The two millions of coloured people in the West Indies being made free, protected by equal laws, encouraged in improvement by just and paternal governments, seen to be prosperous and happy; the three millions in the United States will soon be enabled to swell the chorus, and join in the jubilee of freedom.

Sir EARDLEY WILMOT, Bart., M.P.—I rise to second these resolutions

with the highest pleasure and satisfaction ; and if I had wanted anything to induce me to assent to the request of the honourable gentleman near me, to second them; it would be that most satisfactory feeling of being an Englishman to second an American, on an American question. I shall not detain you by a speech, or by entering into subjects which will be treated so much better by an honourable member who is to rise just after me. I may say, however, that I think slavery a most grievous wrong, and that I am as anxious as you all to put an end to it. Allow me to speak on an insignificant subject—that is myself. During the period I have been in Parliament, from the time when I opposed the apprenticeship system, to the time when I placed the government in a minority of three on the Jamaica bill ; and, the yet more recent time, when I resisted them on the Hill Coolie question, I have been hearty in your cause, and shall deem it my greatest honour to be a participator in your holy struggle. I shall always consider those occasions the proudest periods of my life, when I am able to aid you in the noble object you have in view.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—I beg respectfully to offer two excuses for intruding myself upon the meeting. The first consists in what has fallen from the honourable baronet, than whom a more sincere or zealous friend to the cause of abolition never existed, nor a more useful one. He said he was glad, as an Englishman, to second the motion of an American. I wish to intrude an Irishman upon you. The second excuse is, that the mover of the question, the honourable gentleman who has just sat down, has stated that it involves principles of universal and international law, both being commingled. Give me leave, then, as a lawyer of some experience, as my experience may compensate for my want of talent, to say something. I entirely agree with him, that the proposition of the American senate is inadmissible. It is an outrage on common sense ; it is a violation of public honesty. They claim a *property in man* ! Why, that is inconsistent with not only all constitutional law, and their own constitution ; but above all, with the eternal principles of justice. How would they like that the blacks should do unto them as they delight to do unto the blacks ? I have not the heart to wish any man a slave, but really I am tempted almost to do it for once, and wish CALHOUN a slave. It would not, perhaps, be an inappropriate retribution for his infamous disposition to act with injustice, iniquity, and inhumanity, to subject him to the lash which he would inflict on others. Oh ! how indignantly and pathetically he would plead on behalf of his outraged nature ! Why, some of you may recollect the case of the American ADAMS, who having been lost in Africa, the dark swarthy natives said he was only fit for a slave ; he was evidently inferior to their race ; the whites were good for nothing but slavery, to which he was consigned for four years, amongst the Moors. He was ransomed for a small sum, so little did the Africans think a white man to be worth. He could scarcely speak English, and had acquired a kind of gibberish. So you see how the rule would work if equally applied. The proposition of CALHOUN is untenable, even as an American proposition. The resolutions of our friend set forth its inconsistency with the first clause of the American Charter of Independence, which declares that all men are born equal : But there is a stronger word ; it declares that all men have the same *inalienable* right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Yes, *inalienable*, that is the word ! That is the solemn compact by which the then thirteen, and I believe, now, twenty-six states bound

themselves together. Each state was to have a separate government, with the power of taxing, and making laws, binding as to life and death. They were bound together by one great confederation, one ruling power over the entire, having particular functions given to it. That great charter (the declaration of American independence) commences by declaring emphatically, that all men are born equal, and all have an inalienable right to life, to liberty, and to happiness. It is not confined to the white man, to the mulatto, or to the black, or to any particular order. It is not, of course, limited to any sect or creed, to any caste or nation ; but it is a solemn declaration, that all are born equal, and that all are alike entitled inalienably to life and liberty. There is the sacred basis of the American constitution. And from this spot, I wish to rouse all the high and lofty pride of the American mind. Republicanism necessarily gives a higher and prouder tone to the human mind than any other form of government. I am not comparing it with anything else at present ; but all history shows there is a pride about republicanism, which, perhaps, is a consolation to the republican for any privations he may suffer, and a compensation for many things in which he may possibly be inferior ; but from this spot, I repeat, I wish to rouse all the honesty and pride of American youth and manhood ; and would that the voice of civilized Europe would aid me in the appeal, and swell my feeble voice to one shout of honest indignation, and when these Americans point to their boasted declaration of independence, exclaim, "*Look at your PRACTICE !*" Can there be faith in man, or reliance placed in human beings, who thus contrast their actions with their declarations ? That was the first phrase of their boasted declaration of independence. What was the last ?—"To these principles we solemnly pledge our lives," (invoking the name of the great God, and calling for his aid) "we solemnly pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour." It has the solemnity without the profaneness of an oath ; it speaks in the presence of the living God ; it pledges life, fortune, and sacred honour to the principles they assert. How can they lay any claim to "sacred honour," with this dark, emphatic, and diabolical violation of their principles staring them in the face ? No ; America must know that all Europe is looking at her, and that her senate, in declaring that there is a property in human beings, has violated her oath to God, and "sacred honour" to men. Will the American come down upon me then with his republicanism ? I will meet him with the taunt, that he has mingled perjury with personal disgrace and dishonour, and inflicted both with a double barb into the character of any man who claims property in any human being. France, and even England, might possibly adopt such a resolution without violating their national honour, because they have made no such declarations in their constitutions as America, and therefore she is doubly dyed in disgrace by the course she has taken, in open opposition to her own charter of independence. But there would have been the same violation of principle in England, had she acceded to the resolution of the American Congress. I feel proud to say, that they may pass and adopt as many such resolutions, and press them as long as they please, and the entire fifty-two senators may vote for them too ; but they will be all idle, all useless, all inefficient, because the British government has no power to acquiesce in any one of them. The British government has no funds out of which to grant compensation. And, I believe, no party in the state would ever propose a grant for such a purpose ; neither the party with whom I have the honour to

vote, nor the party supported by the honourable baronet. The resolution is, therefore, perfectly idle. England has nobly paid twenty millions for the purpose of redeeming the slave from bondage ; and, now, wherever the flag of our gracious QUEEN floats upon the breeze, there is glorious freedom, there all men are free. The moment the foot of a bondsman touches the shore of England, or any of her dependencies, his slavery vanishes. There is now no such thing known to the British law, as that one man may have a property in his fellow-man : there is an act of Parliament against such a crime. It has often been laid down, that an act of Parliament which is notoriously against justice and humanity, is void. I am afraid, however, that in practice that maxim is not always cared for. But no man, not one of any party whatever, would dare to come down to the House of Commons and propose a grant for the purpose of making compensation to the American slaveholders. If one could be found of any party whatever to do it, he would be shouted down and scouted from society. The British minister could no more enter into a bargain with the American senate for that purpose, than he could transfer one of the English counties over to the AMERICAN PRESIDENT, and give him jurisdiction over Yorkshire or Kent. It is impossible ; it cannot be done, because it is totally inconsistent with our law, and with international law too. For almost all the states of Europe have now admitted slavery to be a crime. It has been admitted in France, and the cause of abolition is deeply indebted to the exertions of the gentlemen now with us from that country, and whose presence I look upon as a pledge, that the question of negro emancipation shall not remain where it is. (Mr. O'CONNELL here alluded to MOXSIEUR ISAMBERT, member of the Chamber of Deputies, and others who were present as a deputation to the Convention). That cause is in progress, and I trust, that the French will realize the proudest expectations that can be entertained of their chivalrous love of honour and glory, in this enterprize of humanity and philanthropy ; I think the French will not suffer themselves to be inferior to any other nation in this cause. I wish to see no rivalry between us, except rivalry to do good ; it is a glorious rivalry, and although we may now good-humoredly taunt them, and say, "You have not gone so far in the glorious work as we ;" I trust the day is not far distant, when our French neighbours may return the taunt, and say, "We have gone before you now, and done better." Well then, the government have not the power to pay the compensation, unless indeed they agree to do so out of their own pockets, by a club of their salaries,—a thing that is not very likely. How, then, is it to be paid ? There is one way in which it can be done, that is, by a vote of the House of Commons. I should like to see the minister who made the proposition. Never would any proposition get such a scout as that ! The senate of America have, in their excessive desire to put forward a wicked principle, an abominable claim, a horrible injustice, overshot their mark, and defeated their own purpose. Nothing will they get but dishonour and detestation ; for it is utterly impossible that their proposition can be carried into effect. No man shudders at the thought of war more than I do. You hate a robber ; you hate a murderer ; but war, in its best form, is accompanied by thousands of robberies and murders. If anything could justify a Christian man in going to war, it would be to oppose such an unjust principle as this ; and those who do not feel so strong a moral detestation of war as I do, would, perhaps, go so

far in resisting such horrible injustice ; but I hope that we shall be spared any necessity for an appeal to physical force. I rejoice to hear the present agitation is striking terror into the hearts of the slave-mongers, whose selfish interests, vile passions, and predominant pride, with all that is bad and unworthy commingled, make them willing to retain their hold of human property, and to work with the bones and blood of their fellow-creatures ; whilst a species of democratic aristocracy, the filthiest aristocracy that ever entered into civilized society, is set up in the several states, an aristocracy that wishes to have property without the trouble and toil of earning it, and to set themselves above men, only to plunder them of their natural rights, and to live solely upon their labour. Thus, the gratification of every bad passion, and every base emotion of the human mind, is enlisted in defence of the slave-holder's right. When we turn our eyes upon America, we see in her haughty declaration of independence, the display of the democratic elements of popular feeling against every thing like tyranny or oppression. But when I come to the district of Columbia, there I see in the capitol and temple of freedom, the negro chained to his toil, and writhing beneath the lash of his task-master, and the negress doomed to all the horrors of slavery. There I see their infant, yet unable to understand what it is that tortures its father, or distracts its mother ; while that mother is cursing its existence, because it is not a man, but a slave ; and almost wishing—oh ! what a wringing thought to a mother's heart—that the child might sink into an early grave, rather than become the property of an excruciating tyrant, and the instrument of wealth to others, without being able to procure comfort and happiness for itself. That is America ; that is the land of the free ; these are the illustrations of the glorious principles laid down in the declaration of American independence ! These evils, inflicted as they are by the democratic aristocracy of the states, are worse than ever were inflicted by the most kingly aristocracy, or the most despotic tyranny. I do not mean any thing offensive to our American friends present, but I do say, there is written in letters of blood upon the American escutcheon, ROBBERY AND MURDER, AND PLUNDER OF HUMAN BEINGS. I recognize no American as a fellow-man, except those who belong to Anti-Slavery Societies. Those who uphold slavery are not men as we are, they are not honest as we are ; and I look upon a slave-holder as upon a pick-pocket, who violates the common laws of property and honesty. They say, that by their Constitution they are prevented from emancipating the slaves in the slave-holding states ; but I look in the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of 1787, and I defy them to find a single word about slavery, or any provision for holding property in man. No man can deny the personal courage of the American people. With the recollection of the battles of Bunker's-hill, and Saratoga, of which, indeed, I might be reminded by the portrait which hangs opposite to me, of one of the officers who took an active part in those conflicts (the EARL of MOIRA), with the recollection, I say, of those battles, it would be disgraceful and dishonest to deny to the American people, personal courage and bravery. There exists not a braver people upon the face of the earth. But amongst all those who composed the Convention of 1787, there was not one man who had the moral courage—I was about to say, the *immoral* courage—to insert the word SLAVERY in the declaration. No ! they did not dare pronounce the word ; and if they did not dare to use the word slavery, are they to be allowed to adopt *the thing* ? Is America to shake her star-spangled banner in the breeze, and boast of liberty, while she is

conscious that that banner floats over the heads of slaves? Oh, but they call it "persons held to labour," that is the phrase they use in their documents; but dare any one say that slavery is implied in those words? The term applies to any person who enters into a contract to labour, for a given period, as by the month or year, or for an equivalent; but his doing so, does not constitute him a slave, surely; the very term is disgraceful to nature, and an affront to nature's God. No wonder the word was not in their declaration; you would not look to find words of injustice and cruelty in a declaration of honesty and humanity. I repeat it, they have not used the word. They *meant* slavery: they intended to have slaves, but they dared not employ the word; and "persons held to labour;" was as near as they dared approach to it. As then there is no mention of slavery in the declaration of independence, or in the constitution of 1787, they must admit that slavery is not acknowledged in their constitution. Can you conceive of a deeper crime than slavery? A crime which includes in it injustice and cruelty, which multiplies robberies and murders! Aye, there is one thing worse than even this, and that is hypocrisy added to it. Let hypocrisy be superinduced on injustice and cruelty, and you have, indeed, a character fit to mingle with the murky powers of darkness; and the Americans (I speak not of them all, there are many noble exceptions), have added hypocrisy to their other accomplishments. I hesitate not to fling the taunt of this predicament upon proud America. They say they have *no power* to emancipate the slaves; is that the real reason? It may be, that they have not power to do so in some particular states; but then what shall be said of COLUMBIA? There they have full power, Columbia is not bound by any constitution; yet in Columbia there are slaves, and there they furnish further proof of their hypocrisy. O, say they, we are the finest gentlemen, the wisest statesmen, the most profound legislators in the world. We are ardent lovers of liberty, we detest slavery, and we lament that we have not the power to make all free: then I whisper, Columbia! Columbia! you have the power there, you have the authority there, to remove this foul blot; you have the means and opportunities; you have, in short, everything but *the will*; the will alone is wanting; and, with all your professions, you are hypocrites. But I will now turn to a subject of congratulation: I mean the Anti-slavery Societies of America; those noble-hearted men and women, who, through difficulties and dangers, have proved how hearty they are in the cause of abolition. I hail them all as my friends, and wish them to regard me as a brother. I wish for no higher station in the world; but I do covet the honour of being a brother with these American abolitionists. In this country the abolitionists are in perfect safety: here we have fame and honour; we are lauded and encouraged by the good; we are smiled upon and cheered by the fair; we are bound together by godlike truth and charity; and though we have our differences as to points of faith, we have no differences as to this point, and we proceed in our useful career esteemed and honoured; but it is not so with our anti-slavery friends in America; there they are vilified, there they are insulted. Why, did not very lately a body of men—of *gentlemen* so called—of persons who would be angry if you denied them that cognomen, and would even be ready to call you out to share a rifle and a ball—did not such "gentlemen" break in upon an Anti-slavery Society in America; aye, upon a ladies' Anti-slavery Society, and assault them in a most cowardly manner? And did they not denounce the members of that society? And where did

this happen?—Why, in Boston—in enlightened Boston, the capital of a non-slave-holding state. In this country, the abolitionists have nothing to complain of; but in America they are met with the bowie knife and Lynch law! Yes! in America you have had martyrs; your cause has been stained with blood; the voice of your brethren's blood crieth from the ground, and riseth high, not, I trust, for vengeance, but for mercy upon those who have thus treated them. But you ought not to be discouraged, or relax in your efforts. Here you have honour. A human being cannot be placed in a more glorious position than to take up such a cause under such circumstances. I am delighted to be one of a Convention in which are so many of such great and good men. I trust that their reception will be such as that their zeal may be greatly strengthened to continue their noble struggle. I have reason to hope, that in this assembly a voice will be raised which will roll back in thunder to America, which will mingle with her mighty waves, and which will cause one universal shout of liberty to be heard throughout the world. O there is not a delegate from the Anti-slavery Societies of America but ought to have his name, *aye*, and *her* name, written in characters of immortality. The habits of this country have forbidden us from receiving female delegates, because of the ridicule which some ignorant persons might have thrown upon our proceedings; but though we have not received them as delegates, are they the less respected, or the less esteemed on that account? and, at my time of life I may say, are they to be less loved? Who does not remember ANGELINA GRIMKE? and which of us does not owe her a deep debt of gratitude for her exertions in the cause of abolition? The Anti-slavery Societies in America are deeply persecuted, and are deserving of every encouragement which we can possibly give them. I would that I had the eloquence to depict their character aright; but my tongue falters, and my powers fail, while I attempt to describe them. They are the true friends of humanity, and would that I had a tongue to describe aright the mighty majesty of their great undertaking! I love and honour America and the Americans. I respect their great principles; their untiring industry; their lofty genius; their social institutions; their morals, such morals as can exist with slavery—God knows they cannot be many—but I respect all in them or about them that is good. But, at the same time, I denounce and anathematize them as slave-holders, and hold them up to the scorn of all civilized Europe. Why, even the American minister sent to our English court is a slave-holder: whether he is not also a slave-breeder is a disputed point, and one into which I shall not now enter. I would that the Government of this country would determine to have no dealings with him, and to tell the United States of America that they must send no more slave-holding negotiators here! I will tell you a little anecdote. Last year I was accosted with great civility by a well-dressed, gentleman-like person in the lobby of the House of Commons. He stated that he was from America, and was anxious to be admitted to the House. "From what state do you come?" "From Alabama." "A slave-holder, perhaps?" "Yes." "Then," said I, "I beg to be excused;" and so I bowed and left him. Now, that is an example which I wish to be followed. Have no intercourse with a slave-holder. You may, perhaps, deal with him as a man of business, but even then you must act with caution, as you would with a pickpocket and a robber. You ought to be very scant of courtesy towards him, at least till he has cleared himself of the foul imputation. Let us beware of too much familiarity with such men; and

let us plainly and honestly tell them, as a Convention, what we think about them. I am not for the employment of force ; no—let all be done by the statement of indisputable facts, by the diffusion of information ; by the union of benevolent minds, by our bold determination to expose tyranny and cruelty ; by proclaiming to the slave-holders that so long as they have any connexion with the accursed traffic in human beings, we hold them to be a different race. Why should it not be so ? Why should not we shrink from them, as we would with shuddering, from the approach of the vilest reptiles ? The declaration of such views and feelings from such a body of men as are now before me, will make the slave-holders tremble. I know the bravery of the American nation ; I honour the men who have struggled for their liberty, and hail them as the most glorious brotherhood of man ; but with respect to the slave-holding portion of them, we should condemn them as a degradation to man, and as worthy only of contempt and scorn. My voice is feeble : but I have no doubt that what I say will reach them, and that it will have some influence upon them. They must feel that they cannot much longer hold the sway. One of the great objects of my hope is to affright the Americans by laying hold upon their pride, their vanity, their self-esteem, by commending what is excellent in them, and by showing how very far they come short in those properties upon which they boast themselves. I would have this Convention avail themselves of all such aids, and to urge them by every possible argument to abandon the horrid vice by which their character is so foully disfigured. The honourable and learned gentleman (Mr. BIRNEY), who has this morning addressed you, and who has himself set such a noble example of independence to the slave-holding world, has called our attention to Texas. A few days ago I was favoured with a Texan newspaper. It most cordially abused me. Yes, I was as well abused in it as ever I had been in any paper in this country. I read with delight in it the statement, that “that monster O’CONNELL had been the means of preventing the English Government from acknowledging the Texans.” On reading that declaration I took off my hat, and made a low bow, and said, “you do me too much honour, Mr. Texan.” I would most cheerfully submit to any such attacks in so noble a cause. No party in England, call it what you will, would dare to acknowledge such a set of plundering knaves. Yes, they actually stole the land, their rightful possession of which, they wished us to acknowledge, and then they said it was likely to be lost, and so they took it ; just as a countryman of mine, who possessed himself fraudulently of an estate, said, that he found the estate going astray. This Texan banditti put in the same plea. They actually stole the land, and their first act was to introduce slavery, which had been abolished by the Mexican Congress ; and then they made a law by which it is impossible for any one to stir the question of abolition for a certain number of years ; and when those years expire, no person can do so, unless he has the authority of three-fourths of the people. This puts me in mind of a story which is said to have happened in the days of chivalry. A certain knight was sentenced to be placed on the top of a church, where he was to remain for seven years. On the opposite end to him was placed a sheaf of wheat, and in the middle a needle ; and he was to be fed with all the wheat which the wind blew through the eye of the needle. This man had as much chance of getting fat as any person has of obtaining the consent of three-fourths of the Texans to concur in the abolition of slavery. The first

acts of the robbers were to murder systematically all the Indians, and to enslave all the Africans. Only lately, seven chiefs were induced by some means to enter their towns, and they were all of them barbarously murdered. They have deprived the Indian of his inheritance, and they have made a law that no man who has Indian blood shall be possessed of any territory upon pain of death. They may call me "monster," as long as they please; but while I have a tongue I shall call them foul robbers and murderers, and I will never vote with any ministry for the purpose of recognizing them. I believe that this Convention will do immense good by assisting to expose such men. I think that the attempt to raise a Texan loan in this country will be scouted by all the friends of humanity, whether Christians or Jews. The Texans will have but little chance of raising money in our markets, after we have thus exposed them; after we have shown how their pretensions are based upon cruelty and blood. I feel deeply grateful for the attention with which you have listened to me. We have proof this day that there are those who love the cause of freedom in every part of the globe. And why should it not be so? Why should not all unite in such a glorious cause? We are all formed by the same Creator; we are alike the objects of the same watchful Providence; we are all the purchase of the same redeeming blood; we have one common Saviour; and our hearts beat high with the same immortal hopes. And why should any portion of the human race be shut out from our affection and regard? If any of them bow not before the throne of the same God, and trust not in the same Redeemer, and are not cheered by the influence of the same hopes, the fault is ours who have kept their bodies in bondage, and their minds in the darkness of ignorance and superstition. But that it should be so in America, where religion seems so greatly to prevail! O let a word go forth from this place that we do not deem them Christians,—by whatever name they are called, whether Episcopalians, or Baptists, or Independents, or Methodists, or whatever other name,—that we regard them not as Christians at all, unless they cordially unite with us in this great work. We honour all that is really good in America, and would have it all on our side in this glorious struggle—in this holy cause. Let us unite and persevere, and, by the blessing of God, and the aid of good men, freedom will, ere long, wave her triumphant banner over emancipated America, and we shall unite with the whole world to rejoice in the result.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—All present must, I think, be sensible that every American minister, and every American citizen in this Convention, is placed, at this moment, in very peculiar and responsible circumstances; and that he needs all that moral courage which has been so highly commended by the honourable member of Parliament who has just taken his seat. I trust, that I shall not be found deficient in that essential qualification; but I know not, when my vote shall be known in America, but that I shall be charged with high treason. I speak not thus, because I regret that God has placed me in such responsible circumstances, nor because I feel any reluctance to meet the consequences which may result from my vote, be they what they may. But I wish this Convention, I wish the friends of humanity and justice in this country, to know precisely upon what principle I ground a vote, for giving which I may be traduced as a recreant and traitorous citizen in my own country. This Convention must be aware, that the resolution reflects most seriously upon the Government of

my country; and I hail it with the more pleasure upon that account; because I think that the censure is deserved, and I hope that by your unanimous vote it will be justly, amply, and effectually inflicted. For a minister of the gospel to take a position contrary to that of the government of his own country, may be deemed by some of the logicians of that country to be extremely indecorous and presumptuous; but I wish it to be known, that the principles upon which I act are of higher obligation and paramount to all others. I am called to act as I intend to do, by the dictates of my own moral nature; by principles sanctioned by the revealed will of God, and written, as I trust, upon the inmost table of my heart. As a minister whose business it is to teach the precepts of Christianity, I hold it to be high treason against the majesty of heaven, for any man, and especially for any Christian, to unite in any act, or in any compact, which contravenes the principles of justice and humanity. I hold, that as an American citizen, I am not called upon to be a party to the violation of those immutable principles. A pledge is given me in our great national charter, that those sacred principles shall be carried out; and I love that charter upon that account. But when I find the administrators of the government proving recreant to those principles; when I find them violating that charter, I feel bound to go back to the principles themselves, and, that I may remain firm to those principles, I am willing even to be *charged* with treason against that government, that I may not be *guilty* of treason against my God. I throw myself therefore upon the justice of *this* country, to which I trace back the principles upon which the government of *my* country is founded. I speak not now of civil power, but of the great moral principles which moved the hearts and souls of those great men who first founded the American colonies, and planted there the tree of liberty, the germ of which they brought with them from this land; the embryo of which had been nourished by British blood. It is to these principles that I cling; it is by these principles that I justify my vote. These are the principles which are recognized in the sacred book, which says, "Honour the King," which may, I suppose, by a liberal construction, be rendered, "honour the Queen;" and when the principles of the Queen's subjects are conformable to the dictates of God's word, I feel bound to honour both the people and the Queen of the land, at the same time that I honour the King of heaven.

The resolution having been put from the Chair, it was carried unanimously.

MR. STANTON.—Having had some experience in addressing public Conventions, and having found that as they approached the period of adjournment, they are, like myself at present, much fatigued in body and in mind, I feel somewhat embarrassed in bringing forward any subject at the present stage of your proceedings. I feel embarrassed also on account of the great importance of the resolution I hold in my hand, involving in it so much which has to do with the extinction of slavery in America. I feel my embarrassment increased, too, in bringing forward this resolution after you have listened to the peerless eloquence of the honourable and learned member from the Emerald Isle. I have great pleasure in stating that the thunder of his eloquent denunciations has crossed the Atlantic, careering against the blast as thunder goes, and has rolled along the sides of the Alleghany mountains, and sunk down into the valleys of the Mississippi, where men sell their kind. Permit me to say to you, in the

language of one of your own poets, "hear me for my cause, and be silent that you may hear;" adding to it, if not poetically, yet sincerely,—that you may believe. The resolution is as follows :—

That while the literature of Great Britain exercises so vast an influence over the public opinion of America, we deem it the duty of British abolitionists, individually, as well as collectively, to make systematic efforts to secure a frequent, clear, and full expression of the sentiments of the nation, through its leading religious, political, and literary periodicals, on the subject of slavery, and the Anti-slavery enterprise in the United States; to fix the attention of the world on the successful results of the West India emancipation; and to spread before the American public, evidence of the deep indignation of the civilized world, against a slave-holding republic.

I wish, before I say any thing further, to add a remark or two in reference to what has been said upon Mr. BIRNEY's resolution, and the bearing of the American constitution in reference to slavery. We admit that at the outset our forefathers sinned, in the construction of our constitution; and we admit that we, their sons, have sinned also, in carrying out its provisions. I will make an exposition of one or two principles of the United States' constitution, as they bear upon slavery, and I shall take a different course to that pursued by Mr. BIRNEY, and shall show you what the government *can* do, and what it ought to do directly and indirectly, for the extinction of slavery. The honourable member for Dublin has alluded to the district of Columbia. It is true, that the Congress of the United States has not the power to abolish slavery throughout all the states, but they have the power to do it in that district. It may be asked what is the use of extinguishing slavery in a district which is only about ten miles square, with but 7000 slaves? I answer, the result would be very important in its bearings. In the first place, before it could occur, the whole question of slavery must be discussed, and all the various objections of the slave-holders to emancipation must be met, and would be met, and completely answered. In my country, as in this, it is the habit to report the speeches of our national legislators at length; these reports are carried into every part of the slave-holding states, where an Anti-Slavery advocate cannot venture without the certain prospect of destruction by Lynch law, or the more summary jurisdiction of the bowie knife. Let a discussion of this subject be had in Congress, and all the reasons for immediate abolition would thus be clearly stated; arguments and facts would be brought home to the planter's bosom, and, sooner or later, might operate upon his heart. Again, with regard to the district of Columbia, not only would abolition be the subject of discussion by the highest legislative body in the nation; but by the abolition of slavery in that district, that body would, in fact, say to the nation, that it was a system which was not fit to live. It would be a declaration by the highest authority in the land, that slavery ought to be extinguished in every part of the states. It was with this result in his eye, that SENATOR PRESTON of South Carolina, who strongly resembles the honourable member for Dublin, not only in personal appearance, but also in his use of the *argumentum ad hominem*, said, "We must resist the abolition of slavery in Columbia;" and

why? "Because it is the gateway to the very citadel of American slavery." On this ground, the American Congress has refused even to receive petitions on the subject, in defiance of the right to petition; in defence of which right, when it was refused by the British crown, our fathers went into a seven years' battle and to death, and thus, (I am an American, gentlemen, and you will pardon me for saying so), wrung from it that independence which they regarded as their birth-right. And yet this same free people, for five successive sessions, have denied to the abolitionists this very right. It is admitted, that Congress has power to exterminate this system in Columbia, and its abolition there would tend powerfully to wash out that stain which now tarnishes the American flag. Yes!

" While every flap of England's flag
Proclaims that all around are free,
From farthest Ind' to each blue crag,
That beetles o'er the western sea;
And yet, we scoff at Europe's kings,
While Freedom's fire is dim with us ;
And round our country's altar clings
The damning shade of slavery's curse."

And, again, Congress has the power, not only to abolish slavery in Columbia, but indirectly to exterminate it in the several states of the union, by abolishing what is called the internal slave-trade among the states. It is admitted generally, that Congress has the power to destroy this, the main pillar of American slavery. I have called it the main pillar, but, if you will permit me, I will vary the figure, and call it the jugular vein of the system, without which it would cease to live. The northern states are the slave-breeding states, while the southern states are the slave-consumers. The northern states rear slaves, whom the southern states work into premature graves. The north are the Congos and the Guineas of the extreme southern states. In raising corn, hemp, and tobacco at home, the northern states do not need slave-labour; slavery, therefore, is made profitable there by raising men and women for sale: and I will say in passing, with regard to our ambassador in this country, that while he is a slave-holder, if he does not also traffic in human flesh, and is not a breeder of slaves, he is an exception to the great mass of Virginian slave-holders, and, I think it is incumbent upon him, to prove that he comes within the exception, instead of the general rule.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—He denied that there is any such practice in America as slave-breeding.

Mr. STANTON.—Then, I say, he is either too ignorant to represent the American people in this country, or too dishonest! Why, there lies now before me a document from the press of his native state, which says, that in the year 1835 or 1836, twenty millions of dollars' worth of slaves were sold from Virginia to the other states. What! Virginia not a slave-breeding state! Why, she only raises a little hemp, and Indian corn, and scarcely more tobacco than her slaves require to chew; and how could she prosper, were it not for her breed of human flesh? Now, what will be the effect of the extermination of this internal slave-trade? Slavery is only made profitable in the extreme southern slave-states, in the cultivation of cotton, sugar, and molasses, by driving the negroes to labour beyond what human nature can bear, by that brutal motive, the lash. The labour in the cotton plantations is so

excessive, that the slaves are, on an average, worked into their graves in seven years after they enter the field ; a system, which, if extended to all the nations of the earth, would depopulate the world in a century. And how are these dreadful vacancies in the ranks of humanity supplied ? By recruits of slaves from Virginia and the other breeding states. I will mention a fact, by way of illustrating this, which was told me by a Baptist minister in the United States. He said, that he had asked a slave-holder in Virginia, a member of a Baptist congregation, whether he was not apprehensive that the slaves would rise in insurrection against their masters and subdue them ? The answer was, that they did sometimes apprehend such a thing, but that God, in his providence, had opened for them a safety valve in the extreme southern states, which purchased their surplus slaves, and worked them off, once in seven years, and thus prevented an explosion. I hesitate not, therefore, to assert, that if Congress would take up the sword of constitutional power, and cut this jugular vein, slavery would turn pale and die. It would fall by famine at the southern end, and die of apoplexy at the northern end of the union. But there is another way in which this may be accomplished ; namely, by the admission of what are called free states to the union. At the period of passing that renowned declaration, that all men are created equal, and are entitled to equal rights, there were thirteen states in the union, of whom six were free states, or just on the point of being free, and seven were slave-states. Since the American confederacy was formed, thirteen other states have been admitted to the union, eight of which were slave, and five free states. Thus the slave-holders have swelled their partisans in congress, both as to senators and representatives. The original free states might have prevented this. Yes ! like him of old, they have sold their birth-right, but, like him, they have not obtained for it even a mess of pottage, for now those slave states rule the nation with a rod of iron. But there is hope for freedom even yet. In the north-western section of the republic, there is a splendid country now rapidly filling up with the free population of the New England states. This forms what is called the north-west territory, the land of which is fertilized by majestic rivers, which steamers traverse for thousands of miles, and which abounds in towns and cities. The emigrating population of the New England states flows over, not into the slave-states, but into this district ; and now there are two territories, Wisconsin and Iowa, ready for admission to the union. Other free states will soon be prepared for admission, and this territory may, by and by, give the anti-slavery interest the preponderance ; for the south has nothing wherewith to counteract it, but Florida, a land of swamps and Indians. While we thus introduce new free states, they have no other slave-states to introduce ; and, therefore it is, that Texas, urged on by their influence, wishes for admission to the union. These far north-western regions are rapidly populating, and, unless Texas is admitted to the union, the slave-holding states may soon lose the balance of power. It may be said ; is this your situation in America ? I answer, it is even so. Our case is one of great difficulty. The general government has no power to abolish slavery, but in the way of which I have spoken ; and, in some senses of the word, our case is hopeless. We have the power to alter the constitution, in order to abolish slavery, but to accomplish that will require the assent of two-thirds of the states. Hence we find it necessary to rely much upon moral power ; and when I speak of moral power, I do not mean to exclude political action ; those political movements, especially, which may be considered as moral.

Hence, the importance of the resolution which I have the honour to submit to you. We rely much upon external influences. The civilized world must erect a wall of fire around America, which may melt down the hard heart of the slave-holder. The abolitionists are feeble in numbers, but strong in moral power; and, thank God, we are growing in both these respects. Therefore it is that we fall back for assistance upon the enlightened sentiments of the civilized world. One influence, which we desire to bring to bear for this purpose, is the literature of the world. We are, in America, a reading people. It may not be paying a very great compliment to this country, when I say that we read a great deal more than the English. I have travelled from Torquay to London, and have scarcely seen a newspaper: while in America I should have seen a thousand in that space. Every body reads there; every American is a politician; all have titles to nobility; every body is heir-apparent to the throne. We are, therefore, politicians, almost from necessity. Every mechanic, has his "summary," and every gentleman his "broad sheet:" the summary is to be seen in every workshop—the broad sheet in all the saloons of our aristocracy; for we have our aristocracy, even in America. I take pleasure in saying, that the fountain-head of our literature is Great Britain. It is from the land of SHAKESPEARE and of MILTON, of LOCKE and of NEWTON, of POPE and of SCOTT, of ROBERTSON and MACKINTOSH, that we gather many of the gems which sparkle in our literary diadem. We come to England, and say, give us an anti-slavery literature. I have already spoken of the effect of British literature generally upon America. Such is also the case with our theology. Our theology is that of HOWE and BAXTER, of TAYLOR and TILLOTSON, of WESLEY and DODDRIDGE: we get it from you, take heed, therefore, that it be pure. Our law is derived from that of your COKE and BLACKSTONE, and others, down to MANSFIELD, who made judicially the glorious decision, that the moment a slave sets his foot upon British ground, that moment he is free. Our histories, also, are from England, from HUME to MACKINTOSH. Thus, of every branch of literature and science. But we find it necessary to set up an expurgatorial inquisition, and to re-publish, so as to suit our pro-slavery habits and prejudices. Doubtless you have all heard of TYLER's history. In re-publishing it in America, it was found necessary, in consequence of some unpleasant reminiscences concerning liberty and revolutions, which it awakened in the minds of slave-holders, to get up an expurgated edition of it. An edition of TYLER, *tabooed* and expurgated, was published, and it sold well. Again, the Rev. J. H. HINTON published a history of the United States of America; an edition of this was re-published in America by a firm, which the moment a work from England arrives, puts it into the hands of their compositors, and sends the sheets flying over the whole of the United States. Well, over came this history of Mr. HINTON's, which was circulated by these publishers in the usual manner. But it was not long before these gentlemen found letters upon their counters from their customers in the southern states, informing them that they must expect less of their custom if they sent to them such works as that. The reason was, because HINTON's work states the fact, that two millions and a half of human beings are unjustly held in bondage in America. An edition therefore was got up, expurgated from all those faults. The politics and the oratory of America are derived from England. It is upon those great principles which, previous to the revolution, had struck so deep, and risen so high, which are to be deduced from the writings and speeches of your CHATHAM, and those other

distinguished men who then enlightened the British senate, and which had made the hearts of Americans burn within them, that the politics of America were founded. From the days of HAMPDEN to those of BURKE, the eloquence of the British senate has found attentive listeners in America. The noble denunciation of the Indian scalping knife, by CHATHAM, has not only thundered in the British senate, but in every city and hamlet in America. And, even now, in Boston, the denunciations of American slavery by O'CONNELL, are repeated with enthusiastic plaudits. British eloquence, therefore, is the eloquence of America. But the exclusion and expurgation of which I have spoken, is not confined to, what may be called, the higher departments of literature. A book was published in this country, entitled "*Woods and Fields*," by HOWITT, a pretty little unpretending volume; but even that was *tabooed* in America, because it contained some lines declaring that man was not born to be a slave. You have all, no doubt, read POLLOCK's "*Course of Time*," that volume also was condemned, because it was found to contain certain sentiments in favour of freedom, and, therefore, would never do to sell in the southern market. The new play of "*Love*," was performed at New York, and in other theatres of the states; but because in the course of that play, SHERIDAN KNOWLES impliedly denounced slavery, it was expurgated; for they could not bear even a mimic representation of freedom. Dr. BOWRING's "*Minor Morals*" shared the same fate, the chapter on slavery being omitted. But there is another portion of your literature, by which you may reach the public mind in America, and which is not likely to be expurgated; I mean your *English Reviews*. The Westminster, the Edinburgh, the Quarterly, and other Reviews published in this country, are read by thousands in the United States. There is one house in America which has ten or twelve thousand subscribers for such Reviews, and the subscribers stipulate that they shall be printed entire. An article in one of them, by Miss MARTINEAU—the Martyr Age—excited so great a sensation there, that the publishers were obliged to apologize for its insertion; still, the article was read, and read in the southern states. In those states a man must run the gauntlet, if he be suspected of entertaining anti-slavery principles. Such a man if he goes into the south, professing the sentiments of RUSH, of JAY, of FRANKLIN, and even of WASHINGTON, and attempting to speak of their application to things as they are, must almost take his winding sheet with him. But it is not so with books and periodicals; these publications will be read. The slave-holder may feel disturbed in his mind while reading, and may put the book down; but he thinks, Why, it is only a book; he feels some shame at being disconcerted, and he takes it up again and reads it through. Thus our principles may strike into their hearts. Thus the root groweth downwards, the branch springeth upwards, and spreadeth wide, and glorious fruit is borne. We call upon you, therefore, in behalf of the American abolitionists, to saturate your literature with anti-slavery principles. Let the conductors of your religious periodicals bear this in mind. And we ask the newspaper press also, which, though of less importance, is read in America, to assist in this great work. If this be done, if Great Britain will unite her literary with her moral and political power, we shall have a three-fold cord around the odious system, and with "a long pull, a strong pull, and a pull all together," down will come slavery in America, as, by the application of similar means, it was brought to destruction in the West Indies. You have heard that the Americans are a combative nation. True, they are a brave, a courageous people, they can resist tyranny and oppression, but moral power

they cannot resist; and they will not be able to resist the combined influence of the literature and religion of this country. This is our last hope. I speak as one who has stood up against slavery amidst strife and opposition, in company with brave men who have bared their bosoms to the storm in defence of their principles. We fall back for assistance upon British sentiment, upon English literature, and our common Christianity. Send forth your publications—send out your anti-slavery delegates. I have longed to take by the hand, your O'CONNELL, your BUXTON, your JAMES, your CLARKSON, and your other noble men, and I now call upon such to reach forth their hands in our support, and to cheer us on. To be an abolitionist in England and in America are very different things; and, if I may be permitted to say so, but few of your abolitionists have stood fire on our side of the Atlantic. I do not wish to speak invidiously! I see one before me who did stand fire, (pointing to Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON)—who stood fire bravely. But we have had visits from men of high pretensions, and of loud-sounding titles, of whom we have been compelled to say, “save me from my friends!” Send us not so much, *great men*, as *bold men* and *true*; and, I add, send us a purified, a vivifying literature; a literature instinct with the principles of freedom. Let it come in your magazines, your reviews, your newspapers, your books:—let all speak of freedom. Thus shall we reach the ears of men whom the voice of the American abolitionist cannot reach. Thus shall we convince their judgments, until they shall acknowledge the truth of our principles, and unite with us in their dissemination, and then slavery shall cease.

On the motion of Mr. PHILLIPS, the Convention adjourned.

THIRD DAY'S SITTINGS, MONDAY, JUNE 15, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

Dr. GREVILLE in the Chair.

Mr. PHILLIPS, on being called upon by the Chairman, observed:—In seconding the resolution proposed by Mr. STANTON, previously to the adjournment, I have but a fact or two to add to the statements which have been made by Mr. STANTON, and, as he has gone through the ground so thoroughly, it is not necessary to detain the Convention any length of time. What I wish to call the attention of those present more particularly to, is, the fact of the southern portion of the union being shut against all the efforts of the abolition press; and the north itself has also laid an embargo upon all anti-slavery proceedings. If any thing issues from the anti-slavery society of New York, what becomes of it? Why it dies there. They could not even persuade any of the great leading newspapers of the north to insert their publications, or the facts they stated with respect to the West India experiment; and it is utterly impossible for many of those present to imagine the ignorance that pervades the northern public with respect to the question of slavery; and in spite of that ignorance they will not be instructed. Though there is no room in any portion of the American press for the advocacy of the slavery abolitionists, or the statements of their proceedings, yet full latitude is given to the distorted calumnies of the Jamaica press. There is, in act, no attention paid to anti-slavery publications in the United States, with the exception of some of the slave-holding portion of the community, who

occasionally allude to them, because their feelings are harrowed up by them, and they are told truths which they do not like and cannot deny. Now, in order to show the manner in which anti-slavery publications are treated, I will mention a case which occurred in Boston. Mrs. CHILD, who must be known to all present by her literary productions, told me that her anti-slavery works were refused a place in one of the public libraries of that city. The permission also, before kindly afforded her, to make use of that public institution, after the publication by her of a few volumes on abolition, was withdrawn. Her volumes have been thrown from the window by one high in office in Massachusetts. Several similar cases have taken place in other parts of the United States, and the fact is, that unless some different course is adopted, the Anti-Slavery Society may just as well bottle up their publications, and place them under the corner stones of the great buildings in America, as attempt to give them circulation through the whole community of the United States. Their voice is only a whisper, which is drowned in the discussion of parties. Mr. O'CONNELL this morning alluded to England's flag floating in every sea, and to her influence being felt in the remotest parts of the world. I agree with that honourable gentleman in all that he has stated, upon this important subject; and, I trust, that this country will make its voice heard in America, in behalf of those who are in bondage there. I wish England to express her approbation of the manner in which the cause has been carried on in America. We are often asked there, why we have not agitated the anti-slavery question in America, as WILBERFORCE did in England? We are doing so, and all we wish is, that the English people, through the press, should state that we are doing so, as that will effectually silence the malice of those who call the advocates of the abolition of slavery, fanatics. When I return to America, and tell them that I have seen the white man and the black man walk arm in arm, I shall not be believed. Why? Because I am an abolitionist. I wish to have it recorded by the British press, that the coloured man is to be received in the same manner as the white; that they are to be considered as brothers, deriving life and health from the same beneficent Creator. That is the principle, and the true principle of the abolitionist, the man who is so despised and so little heeded in America. All the publications of the Anti-slavery Society are discarded in America; and I will venture to say, that even the tract of Mr. WELD will not be read by one in a thousand persons in America. But if these things are only noticed in the *Edinburgh*, and some of the other publications of this country, they will be read in America with the greatest avidity. Allusion has been made to the East India question, and it has been said that we should strike off the shackles of the slaves, by appealing to the slave-owners' pockets. That may be all very well, but there is something more required than that. There must be an appeal to his conscience; he must be persuaded that the slave is a brother, and that his duty towards his God, his duty towards man, forbid him to deal in human blood and flesh. The object is not merely to compel him to throw off the slave as a burden, but to make him recognise the rights of humanity, to welcome that slave to his side, to civilization and Christianity as a brother beloved. Such is the object of the Anti-slavery Society; such is the object of those who advocate its principles. Their wish is to raise the slave to a level with his fellow-man. They wish to do this by education, and also by exciting the sympathy of Christians in his behalf. This is only to be effected by the expression of the public sentiment: the religious public sentiments of England in their behalf. To show again the

spirit which exists in America against those who advocate the abolition of slavery, I may just mention that the *Emancipator*, a publication, the object of which is to be known from its name, has frequently been returned from the south to the north, because the post-master would not send it forward ; and such is the height to which prejudice is carried on this subject in America, that if they are told in the pages of the *Emancipator* that such and such is the case, they will not believe it, but will say, it is an anti-slavery lie. But if the same things are only told them by a portion of the British press, they will believe every word of it. The fact is, although we have declared independence of Queens and Parliaments, that we are yet in contented vassalage to the genius of the mother country. The anti-slavery cause has eloquent and devoted men among its champions, but their countrymen will not listen. England alone, by her religion and literature, can draw round the conscience of every slave-holder who boasts, "that CHATHAM's language is his native tongue ;" a magic circle like the Roman herald of old, and say to him, "thence thou shalt not pass, till the spell be broken by the shout of emancipated men."

Mr. STANTON.—Before the question is put from the Chair, I wish to state two or three facts, to show the palpable ignorance which exists in America, as to the proceedings of those who are aiming to abolish slavery, and as to the movements which have been made in the West India colonies. It might naturally be supposed, that we should select our most enlightened and intelligent men for senators and national legislators ; but in one instance, a senator of Connecticut of high character in the Congress, stated to a friend of mine, that he did not know that Great Britain had emancipated the slaves in her colonies. Another member of Congress, from the state of Ohio, declared that he did not know that slavery had been abolished in the West Indies. Another gentleman, in the state of New York, a gentleman who habitually read the newspapers of the day, and was so wealthy that he kept a splendid carriage, and would scarce be seen walking even from his house to an adjacent hotel, stated, while you were labouring to abolish the apprenticeship system, that the real question was, the experiment of emancipation having proved a total failure in the West Indies, you were now considering the propriety of restoring the former order of things. I referred this morning in my remarks on the literature of Great Britain, to the writings of HUME and of others, who are supposed to have been latitudinarian in their religious principles. I alluded to them, not as approving of all their principles, but as men, who in their writings have recognised the principles of freedom, and whose works are extensively read in America ; and we say, let your literature, be its religious character what it may, let it all be imbued with anti-slavery principles. The writings of LORD BROUGHAM on the question of general education have spread far and wide in our land ; let such publications recognise our principles, and thus ignorance will be removed from the minds of thousands. As things now are, the American people are very ignorant of British public sentiment. We have men who will argue cogently, and fight to the very hilt, on our frontier in Maine, about a few pine logs, who are totally ignorant of that glorious experiment which is exciting the admiration of Europe, the emancipation of the negroes in the West Indies. Some natives of the United States, two or three years since, visited the West Indies for the benefit of their health ; and when they witnessed the results of emancipation, and the numerous advantages connected with free labour, they felt

invigorated in their inner man, as well as in their physical powers; they noted down all they saw and heard, and when they returned they published them. They were all incontrovertible facts—facts as palpable as the peak of Teneriffe—but they were not received because they were regarded as anti-slavery fictions. Give us, then, the declarations of your DUKES or SUSSEX, and the writings of your LORDS BROUGHAM, and they will be received. Though we are a nation of democrats, yet we are very fond of titles, and we have our D. D.'s, and our LL. D.'s, our Honorables, and our Excellencies, and opinions endorsed by great names and high sounding titles, will greatly influence even republican America.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I agree with my friend who has preceded me, that great ignorance prevails in America as to the proceedings and sentiments of those in this country, who advocate the abolition of the slave-trade and of slavery. I doubt, however, if real ignorance on these points is so general as he has given you reason to suppose. Many know the truth well enough, but are not willing to acknowledge it. They also know their duty in the premises, but are not willing to do it. There are others, and it is not a small class either, on our side of the water,—who have heard of, but have not remembered, the doctrines and doings of the British abolitionists. They have heard them explained often enough, and for the time being were well enough satisfied of their soundness, but have straightway forgotten all about the matter. They are much like a good old woman, with whom a metaphysical friend of mine was wont to converse on the philosophy of sugar. He used to tell her that sugar of itself was not sweet; that that quality in it, which we call sweetness, was but a certain sensation produced by the action of certain particles of matter, peculiarly organized, upon the nerves of feeling. This explanation, when given, was always quite clear to the good woman; yet the very next time of meeting my friend, she would always exclaim, "Well, I believe sugar is sweet, after all." To persons of this sort, the facts and opinions in relation to the anti-slavery enterprise, must needs be often repeated, to be fully impressed on their understandings. And in no way can this be more effectually done, whether in respect of this, or of any other class of persons opposed to our cause through ignorance or otherwise, than by the constant iteration and reiteration of those facts and opinions through the medium of the numerous periodical and other publications of Great Britain. It has been said, that in America we are very fond of titles, and that we have a vast number of D. D.'s. Perhaps it is so, and the prevalence of the latter may possibly be accounted for, from a simple fact. The theology of America—I mean of the slave-holding part of the country—is made to sanction slavery, to teach, that slavery is an ordinance of God. And need it be said, that a system of divinity which sanctions such a complication of abominations as that of American slavery, must needs be sick, and therefore in need of doctors? There are certain points on which it strikes me, if I may throw out the suggestion here, that the able Reviews of this country might enlarge with great profit to the cause in which we are engaged. I refer to the gross inconsistencies in which slavery involves Americans. Let their practices be tried by their avowed theory; the theory which is blazoned forth to the world in the preamble of our declaration of Independence. That theory has been alluded to more than once here to-day. Professedly, ours is a republican government. And what is the great idea of a republic? Is it not this, that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the

governed," and that they should be administered for the benefit of the whole people? Wherein does this differ from the idea of an autocracy? Is it not chiefly in this, that the head of an autocracy professes to derive his power to govern, not from the consent of the governed, but directly from the Almighty? The autocrat, not less than the republican, owns that government should be administered for the good of the public. I undertake to say, that the autocracy of Russia, in its practical operation, is not wider of the true idea of a republic, than is the government of our country. Is it not, indeed, a mockery, to call that a republic, in which one-sixth of the population are held in chains? We have declared to the world, that "all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these, are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." This is our theory. What is our practice? We tread on the necks of nearly three millions of men, and buy and sell them like brute beasts in the shambles. I have been told, that this horrible inconsistency was felt so forcibly by one of our 4th of July orators, that on reading the declaration, he attempted to get rid of it by a certain interpolation. "All men," said he, "are created equal, *except niggers*." And this is probably the meaning attached to the instrument by thousands who do not choose, like this 4th of July orator, to express the exception. Take another of our inconsistencies, we have declared in the constitution of the United States, that there shall be no abridgment of the freedom of the press. Yet we have not, practically, as you have been told to-day, freedom of the press in America. Even in the national legislature, a law was proposed, and passed one branch of it, to prevent the circulation through the public mails, of all documents containing the "self-evident truths" of our own declaration of independence. The law proposed to give power to postmasters, to rifle the mail bags, and commit such documents to the flames. And not only has the circulation of the productions of the press in many parts of our country been prevented, and the prevention attempted to be enforced by a law of Congress; but presses themselves have been broken up with impunity, at an expense too, in one instance at least, of human life. In such a state of things, what folly to pretend there is, or can be, "liberty of the press." Ours is claimed to be the only, or almost the only country, in which perfect freedom of religious opinion is enjoyed. We boast, that the pilgrim fathers of our land braved the dangers of the broad Atlantic, and the still greater dangers of the then savage wilderness of the western world, that they might establish, and transmit, unimpaired to their posterity, this inestimable blessing. Yet we have no religious liberty in America. For what is religious liberty? It is not simply the liberty to think: for the greatest tyrant that ever breathed could not prevent a solitary individual from thinking, if he chose to think. It implies something more. It implies liberty of expression. This liberty we do not possess in America. The grand object, therefore, in the pursuit of which our fathers abandoned the shores of Old England, and incurred so many hazards and hardships, has not yet been accomplished. A man may not, in one-half of America, utter his religious convictions on the subject of slavery, unless, forsooth, those convictions chance to be, that that institution is a "patriarchal" one. And yet we are boasting constantly of our religious liberty, and of our liberty of the press. Was there ever a greater inconsistency? In the constitution of the United States, it is solemnly guaranteed, that "the citizens of each state shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several states." Yet, notwithstanding this solemn

provision of the constitution, the citizen of a free state, having a coloured skin, no sooner sets his foot on the soil of a slave state, than he is robbed of all his "privileges and immunities," and reduced to the condition of an article of merchandize! As I have remarked, on a former occasion, thousands of robberies of this description are perpetrated annually in the slave states of America; and they are sanctioned by legal enactments of the legislatures of those states. A friend of mine, some two or three years since, in walking the streets of New Orleans, fell in with six or eight free coloured persons, some of whom had been in his own employment in the state of New York. They were in chain gangs—that is, gangs of persons employed on the public roads, each with a ball chained to his leg. They were to be continued in that situation for twelve months from the time of entering it, and if not previously able to *prove*, by the testimony of a white man, that they were not brutes, that they were freemen, to be sold into perpetual bondage. My friend, being a liberal man, obtained their release, but it was at considerable expense. This is but a single instance of thousands of cases, which, I have already said, occur in my own country annually. And these terrible outrages upon the rights of our free coloured citizens, sanctioned by slave holding statutes, are in palpable violation of the letter of the constitution of the United States. But these kidnapping statutes of the slave states in general, atrocious as they are, are exceeded in atrocity by one enacted a little more than a year since by the legislature of the state of Alabama, and which, I believe, has been referred to by Mr. BIRNEY. By the former, the coloured man, who had proved his freedom by the requisite evidence, and paid the expenses of his arrest was permitted to return to his family; but by the latter, even from the first moment of its enactment, any scoundrel within the limits of Alabama might seize upon a free person of colour found there, and reduce him to irremedial and perpetual slavery. They will not allow him the wretched privilege of proving his freedom, paying the charges, and taking his own body away. When the fact of the passing of this law was communicated to me, I chanced to be addressing the legislature of my own native state. I did not hesitate to say, in my place, that if all the demons of perdition had been let loose upon the earth, and formed into a legislature, it would have been impossible for them to have perpetrated so great an outrage upon the inalienable rights of humanity; for, according to the doctrines of demonology, devils even are not permitted to lay violent hands upon innocent men. But, in addition to all this legal kidnapping—made legal by slave-holding legislators, but *il*-legal by the paramount law, the constitution of the land—there is not a little carried on, which, with what some will perhaps deem a strange inconsistency, is condemned by the laws of slave-holding states themselves. The slave-holding power, legal or illegal, stretches its long claws even into the free states, and clutches children from the very hearthstones of their free parents, hurries them off clandestinely to the slave states, and sells them into everlasting bondage. And the cases of this illegal stealing of children, for the slave shambles of the south, are neither few nor far between. Such are a few of the enormous, wicked inconsistencies in which slavery involves the republicans of North America. Let them be seized and treated as they deserve to be, by the literary men and women of Great Britain. Let them be held up in your newspapers, in your great reviews, and other publications, to the hatred of all Europe, aye, to the execration of the civilized world. And while you spare not these or any other such abominable inconsistencies, I would beseech you to be

merciful as you can to their pseudo-republican authors. I hope that the periodicals of Great Britain will also take some pains to hold up in their true light certain persons in America, who call themselves abolitionists, but who never *do* anything for the cause, except to find fault with its active friends. In the free states almost every man now will say, that he is an abolitionist; but many, who say so, will at the same time take great care to condemn our measures, if not our doctrines, and all or nearly all, who are *doing* anything for the cause; and are in fact, among the worst enemies against whom we have to do. They *call* themselves abolitionists, and profess to feel deeply for the perishing bondman, because they do not wish to avow themselves so utterly hostile to liberty and humanity, as a direct acknowledgment of the fact would proclaim them to be. But a few days before I came to this country, on meeting one of this sort of abolitionists, I said to him, "Sir, did you ever hear the story of the boy and the calf? I will tell it to you. An intelligent boy was looking at a calf, in the presence of his father. 'Father,' inquired the lad, 'calling the tail one, how many legs would the calf have?' 'Why, my son,' replied the father, 'that is a very simple question; it would have five, to be sure.' 'Not at all,' rejoined the lad, 'not at all, father, *calling* the tail a leg, would not *make* it one.'" So, my friends, let us say to this sort of abolitionists; calling yourselves abolitionists, will not make you such. [Some in the audience not understanding the anecdote, requested Mr. B. to repeat it, Mr. B. said] I dislike to repeat an anecdote to the same audience. But I will give you another, equally applicable, perhaps, to the same sort of persons. They remind me of the good old woman's son, John, "My son, John," she said, "is the most tender-hearted boy I ever knew, ask him to pick up a basket of chips, and he'll cry." The abolitionists in question are also very tender-hearted; they feel deeply for the poor slave, and are especially concerned lest his cause should be injured by the overwrought zeal and earnestness of its principal advocates; but the moment you ask one of them to *do* something himself for the cause, why, like John, he begins to complain, begins to "cry." We call on Englishmen to "come over and help us," convert these tender-hearted abolitionists to a sense of the importance of *doing* something for the slave's deliverance. We do not urge you to come in person, but come to us in the columns of your daily press, in the pages of your books, of your novels and romances even, in your poetry, and in your noble reviews, which are read and revered in every town and village throughout the length and breadth of our whole land. But you will be told by slave-holders and their apologists, that America, as a nation, has nothing to do with the subject of slavery, not even in the district of Columbia; that when that district was ceded to the general government by the states of Maryland and Virginia, it was done in the confident expectation that that government would not abolish slavery in that district. Thus, they say, Congress is under an "implied faith," not to interfere with it. But there are certain important facts in relation to this matter, which ought never to be lost sight of. At the time of the adoption of the American constitution, it was universally expected, both in the slave and non-slave states, that half a century would not elapse, before every state in the Union would put an end to slavery within its own limits. But for this universal expectation, that instrument never would have received the sanction of a majority of the states. This is very evident, I think, as well from the general history of the times in which the constitution was formed and adopted, as from the debates in the conventions of the

several states acceding to it. So that upon the same principles of reasoning adopted by those who urge this objection, does it not clearly follow, that every slave state in the Union is now under "an implied faith," a solemn obligation to put an end to slavery within its own limits? Certainly, this is the legitimate, the necessary inference. And if the several states would redeem this implied pledge, then, according to the showing of these objectors, Congress might terminate it in the district of Columbia also. This is the way in which I deem it proper to treat this matter of "an implied faith;" though it were a sufficient reply, to say, that the constitution itself, in express words, gives to Congress "exclusive jurisdiction in all cases whatsoever" over that district, and of course, over slavery. I desire especially that our British friends will labour to produce such an impression on the clergy of our country, as will induce them to act in behalf of humanity. We often have British clergymen visiting our country. These, though good abolitionists here, have usually, it grieves me to say, left their abolitionism at home on going to America; or have been induced by their brethren on the other side of the water, to keep quiet on the subject; so that our pro-slavery enemies have quoted them against us, and they have really supported the atrocious system of slavery, by withholding their testimony against it. The inference usually drawn from their course among us, is this, that there, the British clergy, are no more than the American, in favour of emancipation; for if they were, it has been said, they would unite with the abolitionists, and lift up their voice against slavery. You cannot therefore, I am sorry to say, boast that the hands of your own clergy are free from the stain of slavery. Let it be so no longer. And I beseech you to send forth by your own clergy, crossing the water, the voice of earnest, affectionate remonstrance, both against slavery, and against the awful silence respecting it by the clergy of America. If we could only get the 17,000 ministers in our land—to say nothing of their churches—right upon this subject, it would give the monster slavery a blow, that would send him staggering to his own place.

Mr. I. CREWDSON.—Do you confine those remarks to clergymen of the Church of England?

Mr. BRADBURN.—I do not. I know not that the ministers of any sect, not excepting that of Friends, are exempt from all application of my remarks. But if they will come and speak out in behalf of the inalienable rights of human nature, they will do us good. They will do something to rescue Christianity from the deep disgrace into which the different sects both of England and of America have sunk it, in withholding their denunciation of the sin of slavery. It has been asserted even by some who call themselves abolitionists, that the New Testament sanctions slavery; but I, for one, utterly deny that it affords the least pretext for slavery, according to the definition of that term in America—namely, the holding of property in man. Are you not aware that divines and philosophers are not only apologizing for slavery in our country, but have united, to an alarming extent, to maintain that it is a good institution, lying at the very basis of republicanism, and must, in order to rescue the country from perdition, become universal? Such is the fact, and I have here extracts from the observations of various distinguished personages in America to prove it. J. C. CALHOUN, who has been faithfully described by your illustrious O'CONNELL, says, that this condition of slavery is but an universal condition, and that slaves are in a condition every way preferable to that of the labouring men in any other country. In the college of William

and Mary, founded by JEFFERSON, who was an abolitionist in sentiment, though he held slaves, and who exhorted one of your own Doctors of Divinity to visit America, and do what GEORGE THOMPSON came to do, that is, to attack the system of slavery, and endeavour to persuade the people to abandon it, a professor in that College tells us, "the hirelings who perform all the menial offices of life, cannot and will not be treated as equals by their employers. How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plough, that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in labours, and whose talk is of bullocks." Here is a professor in one of our first Colleges, teaching doctrines diametrically opposite to all the principles on which our free institutions are professedly based. I should have supposed, from the ideas thrown out by some of the members of the Convention, that there was nothing of this kind, that slavery was generally admitted to be an evil; but GEORGE MC. DUFFIE has said, that "domestic slavery is the corner stone of our republican edifice," the only thing which can supersede the necessity of an established order of nobility, and save the country from perdition; and he invokes God, that none of his children may ever live where the noble institution of domestic slavery does not exist. These are the doctrines taught in our country, by some of our distinguished men. There was a time, when men in America would have been ashamed to utter such doctrines, when a man uttering them would have been scoffed at, even as some are now scoffed at for uttering the self-evident and glorious truths of the declaration of independence. What has occasioned this change? It seems to me it is to be accounted for in this way. Formerly, there seemed to certain slave-holders, to be no hope of emancipation, or at least, that no one would urge it on them as a duty; and then they said, that slavery was a great evil, that they would gladly get rid of it, if they could, but that being impossible at present, they must endure it with what patient resignation they might. But since the partial working out of the grand experiment in the West India islands, they find themselves robbed of this excuse; you have proved to them that emancipation is practicable, and not only practicable, but entirely safe also. They must now either acknowledge themselves to be scoundrels, or give up their hold on this human property, or maintain that slavery is right, that it is a good and a Christian institution. They choose to do the last, and by that decision let them abide if they can. It is the position taken in the extracts which I have read; and many other such extracts I might read, were it necessary or desirable. But I have occupied more time than I intended; and thanking the audience for the kind indulgence with which they have listened to my remarks, I will now take my seat.

Rev. Dr. HOBY.—I rise to make an inquiry. I do so, from a deep solicitude that no statements should be made in this room, especially by sound abolitionists from America, which should neutralize their influence on the other side of the water. I am greatly afraid, that notwithstanding all the eloquence and all the pathos with which the last speaker has addressed us, some of his remarks will neutralize the whole of his address. I will speak of myself personally, and I will appeal to Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, who will be authority here, whether there was a single instance of a gentleman, as far south as I travelled, who on any occasion entertained a suspicion that I was not an abolitionist. The gentleman who spoke last says, that they suffered from my not being an abolitionist, or being indifferent about the cause. If that goes forth across the Atlantic, there are so many who knew me and my opinions so well, that I am persuaded it will greatly enfeeble the statement

he has made. I wish to know whether he abides by the statement, that I was supposed not to be an abolitionist, or that I was indifferent to the cause of abolition. He made the statement, and I wish for an explanation.

Mr. BRADBURN.—Let me say, Mr. CHAIRMAN, that in the remarks I have made, I have had no reference to any particular person or persons. I was not aware, at the time of making them, that the Rev. Doctor who has just sat down, was in the Hall, or indeed, that there were present any clergymen who had visited America. They were general, and applicable, in my opinion, to all, or nearly all clergymen who have been to our country from Great Britain. But since Dr. HOBY has alluded to his visit to America, I will take the liberty to state, that I have a brother in America, who is a Baptist, and who at the time Dr. HOBY was there, was not an abolitionist. I conversed with him on the course which Dr. HOBY had seen fit to take in relation to this subject, while in our country. It was the opinion of my brother, that Dr. HOBY regarded the anti-slavery movement in America as a political affair, and therefore deemed it improper for himself, a foreigner, to interfere with it; or, that his taking an active interest in it, might destroy or diminish his means of usefulness, in the denomination of Christians to which he and his colleague had been deputed; or, in fine, that although Dr. HOBY might be a very good abolitionist in the abstract, as most of our enemies profess to be, yet he was not much of one in the concrete, that is, in practice. This, I say, was the impression of my brother, whom, at the time, I was anxious to engage in the cause of immediate emancipation. I could wish it proved that he was wrong in that impression.

COLONEL MILLER.—I should not rise at this late hour did I not feel it to be a solemn duty. Without entering into any personalities, I wish to state to this assembly, that the various bodies of professing Christians in America are owners of slaves. The Baptists hold 100,000; the religious sect to which I have the honour to belong, the Wesleyan Methodists, hold 90,000. The Presbyterians hold 80,000, and so on. With the exception of one or two sects, there are slaves held by all professing Christians, and by them are liable to be bought and sold every day. It has been well said on this floor to-day, that our sects of religionists have been derived from those of Great Britain, with the exception of two, which have originated on the other side of the Atlantic. To mark the influence which British Christians have exerted on America, I call attention to JOHN WESLEY, the founder of Methodism. He laid down the rule that no dealer in slaves should have communion in the Methodist Episcopal church. But this barrier has been thrown down and ridden over triumphantly. I beg to call your attention to a statement made by a distinguished Methodist minister in our country at the present day. I allude to the Rev. Mr. WIMANS, of Mississippi, who in the general conference of the Methodist Episcopal church, in 1836, said, that not only stewards, and class leaders, and preachers, but even bishops in that church ought to be slave-holders. And he strongly urged, that the conference should elect, at that very session, one or more slave-holding bishops. This was done for the express purpose of bolstering up the institution, and bidding defiance to the influence of abolitionists. You talk to professed Christians on the inconsistency of holding slaves, and they immediately refer you to PAUL's letter to PHILEMON, in which, speaking of ONESIMUS, he calls him "a brother beloved;" and then call your attention to the commentator SCOTT, who says that ONESIMUS was a run-away slave, and that PAUL

returned him to his master. I am sorry to say, that there is not one of these commentators who strikes directly at the root of slavery. If men would but take the Bible as the rule and guide of their faith, it would lead to universal piety and freedom. If ministers from this country should again visit America, and they are champions in the cause of abolition, I beg of them to show it. Let it be known, that we have a great and important battle to fight. In former days, when the standard of the revolutionary fathers floated in the breeze, sentiments of liberty rang from pulpit to pulpit, and were uttered by the best and the noblest divines. Some persons have given them no credit for it, alleging that they were placed between two fires. Their conduct, however, showed that it was a spirit emanating from that God, whose precepts and commands they taught to their fellow-men. I will give you an instance of that spirit in New England. There was an eminent divine of the name of HOPKINS, a doctor of divinity. He felt that he could not pray for the blessing of God on the American arms, unless he liberated his slaves, and he did it. A gentleman inquired, whether he had manumitted his slaves. He replied, "all but one; he is so happy, so contented, that I could not get him to have his freedom." "How do you know?" "He is one of the oddest fellows you ever saw." "Would you give him his liberty if it would increase his happiness?" "Yes." "Call him in." "Do you love your master, and mistress, and family?" "Yes, I have everything I want." "But should you be more happy if you had your liberty?" "I should." "Take it then." This led to the foundation of the manumission which took place in seven states of the union. Unfortunately we began at the wrong end—we began pulling the coat by the tail. We went for gradual manumission, and the slave-holders stole our birthright. Taking advantage of the rise in the price of cotton, he gradually insinuated his principles that slavery was an institution of God. He advanced step by step, with that insidiousness with which an enemy enters a citadel, till in 1833, amid the pestilence of the green mountains, we found that our churches and ministers were opposed to abolition. We were told that if immediate abolition were granted, the slave would cut his master's throat. We watched the progress of abolition in the West India islands. We knew how you advanced in that cause, and we fondly hoped that the moment slavery was destroyed there, it would cease with us. But mark the progress. One gentleman said to a slave-holder, "Do you see how freedom in the West Indies operates? instead of shedding blood, the negroes on the 1st of August, 1834, fall down on their knees and bless God for their deliverance." "Oh! it is doubtful—I doubt it," was the reply. "But cannot you read the accounts?" "Oh, they are very apt to overdraw these things. Depend upon it, Great Britain has some design upon us; she has emancipated her slaves for the purpose of destroying our liberties." This was the effect, and it will be the effect. I say it here, and I know there would not be a dissenting voice to it on the shores of America; that could the clergy who stand now like pillars under the institutions of slavery, be brought to acknowledge that slavery is a sin before God, the mighty fabric would come down more speedily than the temple under which Samson put his shoulders, and from which he pulled away the pillars. It is all in vain to talk to the slave-owner. It is the northern Christians who support slavery. A minister from the southern states, writes to a friend in the north, "My dear Sir, I shall visit you on the third Sabbath. On Saturday night I shall, with the leave of Providence, be in your city."

He arrives at the appointed time, and what says his friend? "I am happy to see you. How is your family? How is your dear wife? How are the children?" He never asks a word about the slaves. "I hope you will give us a discourse: our people were so pleased with you the last time you were here." What was the subject of the discourse? On the necessity of infant baptism, or some topic of that description; not a word about the sin of the men who hold property in the state to the amount of many thousand dollars secured on slaves. But in our churches we have begun to inquire, "My dear Sir, how is your wife? How are your children? How are those human beings whom you formerly called goods and chattels? I trust you have cut the cord asunder; that they stand in the relation of men and of hired servants. I would invite you to my pulpit, but my people have made up their mind, that he who robs his fellow-men of their liberty, cannot have access to that pulpit." This will be our course if you sustain us in the position we have taken. I trust that you will do it? I know that you will do it, by what I see here. The present American representative to this country told as palpable a falsehood in the eyes of this nation, and his own, as was ever uttered by man, when he said, that he did not belong to a slave-holding state. Not three years ago, a mother belonging to the Baptist connexion, who had three children by her husband, who was a freeman, was sold to a slave-dealer, who put her into one of the gaols of Washington with her children. An individual passing by heard their shrieks, he rushed in, and found two of the children lying dead, with their throats cut, and she was attempting to grapple with the third. When asked what she was doing, she replied, "I am sending the children to that Almighty Being who gave them me, rather than have them go to the south where I shall never see them again."

CAPTAIN STUART.—Having lately been in the United States, and travelled extensively through the state of New York, I have repeatedly had this question put to me; "Cannot you get the English ministers of the Protestant church, when they come here to be as good abolitionists, as they are in England." My conviction and experience go with those of our dear American brethren, in affirming that the ministers from England, who visit the United States, are among the most powerful supporters of the slave system in that land. I know they do not intend to be so.

Rev. Dr. COX.—My name having been mentioned, in allusion to deputations that have been sent to the United States, I must claim to be heard in a few words of observation on what has passed. I have traversed many parts of America, on a visit to Christian churches, and stand connected with it by endearing associations. As one of the parties in question, I feel assured that my character is unblemished, and I am not ashamed of my intercourse with that land, or of my long course of proceeding in my own. On this ground I take a firm stand, and though by no means disposed to enter into any thing like a private question on this occasion, yet I cannot help appealing against the gross personalities which have been introduced into this Convention. I honour and love America; but in a Convention like this, where great and important questions are to be discussed, it is not competent for an individual to wander from them into these personal allusions. Let me be fairly called forward, and I am ready to defend my actions, and doubtless others involved in the insinuations can defend theirs. That gentleman, (Mr. BRADBURN) with all the respect I wish to entertain for him, I must say has been guilty of gross personalities, and has stated what I know to be con-

trary to the fact, when he said that the gentlemen commissioned to go from this country to America, on errands of love and mercy, did not dare to touch the anti-slavery question—did not speak against slavery in the United States. I am compelled to say for myself, that though fully convinced at the time, that I was best promoting this cause, by not appearing on one particular occasion, to which special allusion is doubtless made, yet when I found myself in a position, in which I thought it was right and proper to stand forth on this subject, I unhesitatingly availed myself of it. That was at an anti-slavery meeting in the state of Vermont. On that occasion, I not only spoke, but brought forward a resolution on the subject; and the speech delivered on that occasion was published in almost every paper, of which I heard, and could, therefore, scarcely have escaped that gentleman's observation. He is not justifiable in his statements, when he must know, to speak of nothing further, that this very speech was circulated through America, and was as strong in the anti-slavery cause as any he has himself delivered. He ought then to retract his remarks, and not to throw opprobrium on individual character, by sweeping and unsustained criminations. Still less so, when he must, or may know, that I in common with others present, stand in active co-operation with a missionary society, which has been distinguished among the first and foremost, to say the least, in this work, and has been the great instrument of the demolition of slavery in the West Indies. That glorious achievement has been effected by Christianity, and it is Christianity which must civilize and save the world. Let it never be forgotten, that it has been the Christian Missionary Societies which have stood forward and accomplished the great enterprise. I entreat our American friends not to infuse into their speeches those personalities, which will obstruct the progress of their own cause, and which will have a tendency to destroy their influence, where it is desirable they should secure it in large portions of the American community.

Mr. BRADBURN.—In justice to the gentleman who has just sat down, I feel I ought to say, that in the remarks I made, I had not the slightest possible reference to him, or to any other person in the Convention. My remarks, as I said at the time, applied to the clergy generally, of all sects, visiting our country. There were, I know, some exceptions. I now remember the speech which the Rev. Doctor made when in the state of Vermont; and I remember saying to a friend, how deeply I regretted that it was not made nearer to Mason and Dixon's line.

Rev. J. KEEP (delegate for Ohio, U.S.)—I had intended to offer my sentiments at length, on the subject now before the Convention, but as most I expected to communicate has, by my beloved countrymen who have preceded me in this discussion, been already given, and as I earnestly desire that the most important business before us may not be retarded by a repetition, I shall merely suggest a very few thoughts. We need to check ourselves in a meeting like this, when each of its five hundred members is in the possession of facts, and argument, and thought, which it would take him hours to present. I am deeply awed by the fact, that seldom, if ever, has a deliberative assembly been convened under circumstances more deeply solemn and interesting than those which now attend us. I rejoice at the great unanimity which has thus far characterized our proceedings. I am gratified that so favourable an opportunity has occurred for the frank, full, and unvarnished disclosures now made respecting American slavery, though most painful and revolting, because the remedy can never be applied till the

real nature and extent of the disease be known, and because it is high time that the covering should be removed, and the true character of the American slave system be exposed. But this disclosure presents things in an aspect so astounding, that those who make it, especially in a foreign land, and in the hearing of those who may be glad that republican institutions should be encumbered, are liable to the imputation of a want of patriotism, and designedly giving a picture, which shall make their native and loved country odious in the eyes of all Europe. I can assure you that no class of men are more ardent in their love of country than those who feel constrained to speak thus plainly of the giant sin of the giant republic of the Western hemisphere. I regret also, that it should appear, in this Convention, that any collision exists either among American or British abolitionists, lest those who stand aloof from our holy enterprise, or are in heart inimical towards it, should be misled in regard to the wisdom and efficiency of our measures, and the certain triumph in the result to which we are hastening; overlooking the fact that men whose hearts are deeply imbued with the love of liberty, and who have vowed to *abide* by the doctrine of equal human rights, will never swerve from their *principles*, or abandon them, although in some of the details in their operations, they may wax warm in their advocacy of different views. Such collisions, however, serve to exhibit some of the difficulties which attend the abolition of slavery. You are thus led to see how the scaly and slimy monster has entwined himself around almost all the interests of the Christian community in both hemispheres; and as light pours in upon the wrongs inflicted upon the black man, you will see that tyranny in opinion and practice on other subjects, and in respect to other matters, invites the faithful ordeal of a righteous reformation. The sundering of the bonds of the slave, cannot but disclose the odium of oppression in other forms; and a delegation of so much intelligence, as is found in the present corps of disciplined abolitionists, should not be surprised if a brother is seen to step out a little further, and with less timidity, in the work of reform than meets existing views of the great mass. If none stretch on in advance, the reformation is wanting in the best proof of its genuineness. Let the interchange of sentiment be free and frank, let the discussion be untrammelled, let there be no fear of looking at *truth*, and of promptly and fearlessly following its dictates, and our work will be onward, while, in all its features, it shall commend itself to the consciences of the good and the intelligent, and in its progress, command the admiration of the wise, and the homage even of its detractors. From the statements now given, the British public are becoming better and more extensively acquainted with American character, and especially with the enormities of the American slave system; while, on the other hand, we too are becoming better informed respecting the English character, and the details of that mighty movement, which has achieved the deliverance of 800,000 captives, and declares its purpose to hold on in the work, till the oppressed of every clime, are in the possession of their inalienable rights. In the meantime, the whole phalanx of abolitionists may rest in the assurance that, while they themselves are fallible, their principles are *infallible*; that difficulties in the way are to be overcome, and that their *union* against the *common* enemy is the indubitable presage of their final conquest. There are circumstances connected with American slavery which are peculiar. It has existed there from the earliest settlement of the country. The very year which witnessed the landing of the pilgrim fathers in Massachusetts Bay, witnessed

also the landing in the Virginia colony of a Dutch ship, freighted with negroes stolen from Africa, and who were sold as *slaves*. Thus the two antagonist principles were coeval, the one of slavery, the other of liberty; liberty in the north, slavery in the south; and from that hour, the black man in that country has been universally considered as of an inferior race, and doomed to be the slave to the white man. Slavery has thus existed in the view of the whole American community, the people from generation to generation have been familiar with the fact and its details, and came almost as a matter of course to look upon slavery imposed upon a *black* man, as no kind of infringement upon his personal rights. Hence too, the existence of the prejudice against colour which imposes cruel and extended disabilities upon the *free* coloured men. It is not, therefore, so unaccountable, as it might at first seem to be, that the American community should very generally be insensible to the real and full enormities of the slave system. Nor should we forget the power of habit, however wrong, to keep back the mind from the candid reception of the truth. While this is no justification of the wrong, it shows us that we should allow a little time for the change in public sentiment, and not give up a man or a community as hopeless, because somewhat slow or loth in the abandonment of the wrong. Slavery in the northern states has diffused its influence for ages over all the ramifications of society, civil, religious, commercial, political, and literary. Its removal, therefore, can be effected only by an entire change of public sentiment in all these aspects. I am not surprised at the pain and astonishment so generally felt in this Convention, in view of the fact, that the ministers and the churches in America so extensively and efficiently sustain slavery. I do not believe that my colleagues have overdrawn this fact. It is my deliberate conviction, and as such I proclaim it on this floor, that the churches and the ministry in America are the strongest supports of our accursed and most abominable slave system. Beyond question, if ministers of the different denominations would withdraw their influence, and make their *pulpits utter the truth* upon slavery, the churches would soon go with them; the slave-holder would feel the power of conviction, and slavery itself would expire. Yes, Mr. PRESIDENT, guilty as my country is by reason of its slavery, I feel assured of the fact, and I rejoice to publish it here, that such is the influence of moral sentiment upon and over the entire American community, that if the ministers of the gospel in it were but united in their denunciation of *slavery*, it would die a natural death in a very few years, and our three millions of slaves would stand up before the nation a regenerated, disenthralled race of industrious citizens, and happy freemen. Would that my brethren understood this matter rightly, and would act up to their responsibility. In America, you see the influence of slavery upon Christians, and its character amidst Christian institutions. In no other community was its character ever so bad, or its atrocities ever so vile. The more you come in contact with its influence among and upon Christians, the more will you see of the malignity of its spirit, and the more clearly will you perceive the difficulties of removing it from American society. The very persons who hold in their hands the power to remove it are the very same who love and justify the system. If it was a great work for British freemen who never had the evil mingling in their society to remove slavery from *distant* colonies; how much greater the work for American freemen to remove their slavery, which from the beginning of their days has diffused its baneful influence over the whole body. I allude to this for the purpose of arresting attention to the

extraordinary disclosures made to-day, and to induce the philanthropist and the Christian to contemplate the spirit of slavery in its real malignity, and in its most revolting bearings. All such are solemnly bound to watch this malignant spirit and to weep and to pray over its ravages. Such a spirit becomes extinct only under the influence of prayer and fasting. The occasion which has called us together, the object we would attain, and the disclosures which are now in progress before us, all conspire to impress upon my mind the necessity of a more spiritual and entire consecration to God. The men who would conquer slavery when it becomes entrenched amidst Christian institutions, and secure a generous and permanent triumph to the principles of human rights, need themselves to be thoroughly imbued with the spirit of truth in its purity and love. The prejudice against colour is so deeply rooted and inveterate in the American mind, that the black man, though free, is not permitted a place in our seminaries of learning, nor the opportunity of learning a trade, nor the enjoyment of civil, religious, and social benefits common to all but himself. If it were necessary to add to the mass of facts already before the Convention, I could give some very affecting cases of injury which have occurred under my personal notice. What ought we to say and do, when the presidents of colleges and theological seminaries, declare to pious, talented, and accomplished young men who are anxious for education ;—you cannot be received *here*, because you have a black skin, we cannot protect you in our college, because you are a negro. Alas ! for the land where such things exist. Alas ! for its Christianity, when the colour of the skin is made the test of merit, and the ground of rejection from the benefits of a theological seminary. In one of our theological seminaries, its directors so far yielded to this prejudice against colour and the dictation of the slave spirit, as actually to pass an ordinance, prohibiting the students, though young men of adult years, and within a few months to go out as *preachers*, from any discussion of the subject of slavery and from any action for its removal, or for the improvement of the degraded coloured people in the immediate neighbourhood. A servile compliance with this requisition was the condition of their continuance in the seminary. Forty of these young men thus restricted, promptly and manfully sent in their protest, accompanied with a request for letters of dismission. Liberty was given, and they retired in disgust and in grief, from this scene of tyranny. As the result of this movement, a new seminary was commenced, to which the black man is invited, and where he is received to the full enjoyment of the same and equal privileges with the white man, and where freedom of discussion is untrammelled. This new institution now numbers 400 students, and is putting forth a happy and powerful influence in favour of the slave, in support of righteous principles, and for the elevation of the coloured man, and is a powerful auxiliary in the American anti-slavery enterprise. Its establishment constitutes an era of the country. Now, at least, one college in the republic of America furnishes a home for the black man. A minister of my acquaintance, and a known abolitionist, was invited to take the pastoral charge of a congregation, in which few entertained the same opinions with himself, upon slavery. But they well knew his sentiments, for he freely avowed them, though he did not discuss the subject of slavery upon the Sabbath. In about ten weeks a public meeting was called to inquire what course should be taken in respect to the minister. "What is the difficulty?" inquires a friend at this public meeting. It was replied, "our minister brings slavery into the pulpit, and we are dissatisfied."

“Does he preach about it on the Sabbath?” “No, but he *prays* about it.” “How?” “He prays that the slave may have his liberty. We are willing our minister should pray that the slaves may go to heaven, but we are not willing that he should pray that they may have their freedom.” This is a specimen of feeling among American Christians extensively on this subject. A minister from America, of high standing and great influence, was a few years since, present at a meeting in London in favour of religious freedom. On a subsequent evening, and in a large company he was asked, how did you like the meeting last evening? Very well, he replied, with some comments; and then warmly congratulated himself and his country, upon the fact, that no such society or discussions were necessary in the United States, where all have their liberty both of speech and action, without any law-established religion. A brother minister addressed him, saying, “Well, I am glad to hear that, Dr. —, I now conclude that *slavery is abolished* in America, is it not?” As soon as he could recover from the confusion which a question so pertinent and just, occasioned him, all he said in reply was, “Why, I never thought of the slaves.” So it is, not a few of the ministers seem never to think of slavery, or of those who are ground to death under its unmitigated cruelties. Facts like these indicate the public sentiment of the country, and show the nature and difficulties of the work which the abolitionists of America have begun. While I am sure that the contest commenced must be severe, and that much of the labour must be of a political character,—the people with correct sentiments expressing them at the ballot box,—still I have no hope of success, any further than our action is based upon correct moral sentiment, and sustained by correct moral feeling. And I am happy to say, that as a whole, the anti-slavery enterprise in America is deeply imbued with a correct religious feeling, and derives its best strength from the spirit of fervent piety and devout prayer, and has its foundation in that fear of God which is the beginning of wisdom. Some of its advocates may betray undue warmth in debate, and may appear to rely upon carnal policy, yet there is a redeeming spirit in the midst; there are not a few who sigh and cry at the mercy-seat for the abominations of the land, and wait before God in availing prayer; and who receive the answer to their prayers in the coming forward of gifted minds, to explain the doctrine of human rights, and to defend the truth. To produce conviction upon the mind of the slave-holder, of the wrong which he practices, and to procure the manumission of the slave is one and the most essential thing, in our great work. But with this is connected the labour, also indispensable in the case, to elevate the black man, and to prepare him in the possession of his freedom, to become a useful and respectable citizen. To accomplish this is a work of great and patient labour, upon which the attention of abolitionists must rest with unabating interest, and for which they must make liberal and permanent provision. As formidable as is the struggle for manumission, I look upon the event as comparatively near. I am not too old to indulge the sanguine hope of witnessing this glorious event. My faith in its very speedy accomplishment is strong. American abolition has commenced its work near the middle of the nineteenth century. You know it is characteristic of Americans to go forward rapidly. I expect a development of this national characteristic, in reference to the abolition of its slavery. We have all the benefits of British example in the case, a little more preparatory work, a little longer application of the moral machinery, a little further application of the developments of Providence, and we jump to the

conclusion, the chains of the slave are sawn asunder, his bloody manacles fall from his limbs, and he is a freeman. But the work will not then be done. Where are the men and women, who from principle will engage in the labour of elevating the coloured man? who will go down to him in his degradation, sympathise with him, stay by him, weep over him, pray with him, teach him, comfort him, pour oil into his wounds, and raise him to the dignity of a man, and lead him out as one who is now redeemed from his thralldom, and allowed his rights as a man and a brother; to be esteemed and treated, not according to the colour of his skin or his hair, but according to his personal merits as a man of industry, intelligence, and virtue? We need in the United States a large number of this class. As yet they are too few. Happily their number is increasing. The work of preparing them is in progress. The Oberlin Institute, whose origin I have before mentioned, commenced by the forty young men who were denied free discussion by those who should have sustained them in it, forbidden to instruct the blacks by those who should have cheered them in the duty, and receiving the coloured people to the same and equal privileges with the white man, is furnishing efficient labour of this description. Both teachers and pupils are devoting themselves especially to the improvement of the coloured race. Four hundred are now in training; nearly 100 of whom will go out every year prepared for such a work. A moral, literary, spiritual, philanthropic, truly abolition phalanx, are thus preparing for the herculean, but noble Christian work, which is soon to be thrown into their hands by the manumission of the slaves. It is too late to pretend that the blacks have not talents. Give them the opportunity, and their talents will be developed. Let them enjoy the proper moral and intellectual training, and they will become literary men, qualified to stand in any of the pulpits of Christendom. The residue of my days, I hope cheerfully to devote to this particular object, and it shall be my abundant reward to know, that my beloved countrymen have at length, though late, learned to practice righteousness towards the coloured race; and that their slavery is named among the things that *were*.

Rev. N. COLVER.—Allow me to offer an apology for myself, and for my brethren from America. In our discussions upon the subject before the Convention, I know, and I feel with grief, that we may seem to speak ill of our country, in the communications we make, with reference to it. But I can exclaim with Cowper, when looking at the faults of England,

* * * * * “America,

“With all thy faults I love thee still!”

I would gladly throw a mantle over the faults of America, and hide them from view, but in so doing, we should cover up the poor coloured man who is in slavery there. With all the tender feelings which we cherish for our country, I know that in the heat of debate we are apt to go far, and I should be sorry that an injurious word should fly back to America, and damage our cause. On the motion, touching the literature of England, and the manner in which it can affect America, I have but a single remark to make, and I will do it by relating a fact. There is one delicate point where the literature of this country can touch America, and make it feel, and which I believe has not been mentioned. Two years since, when passing down one of the northern rivers, a friend introduced me to a gentleman, by saying, “I know you are a slave-holder, I beg to introduce to you an agent of the Anti-Slavery

Society." He looked aghast. I said, "This is abrupt; but we may as well come to the question at first as at last. I wish to inquire whether you are a Christian." It appeared to bring him to a pause, but he replied, "Thank God, I hope I am." I rejoined, "Then we will talk about this subject,"—and the following conversation transpired. "Let me tell you," said he, "I think you miss your point in not knowing our character. The southern men are full of chivalry; they cannot bear to be touched on that point, and such is the course pursued by anti-slavery folks, that you arouse their indignation, and can do them no good." "I will try not to arouse yours; but I wish to talk to you of the right of one man holding property in another." I drew him away from the company, and got him into the Bible argument. After some time he began to grow tender. I inquired whether he had seen WELD's Bible argument, and finding that he had not, I promised, that when we arrived at New York, I would put him in possession of a copy. I requested that he would carry it home and read it. He replied, "I cannot; I should not be safe in doing it." "What do you mean?" "I should be a marked man." "Are you a southern man, do you possess this chivalry, and do you make a bow to Messrs. Mob, and ask them what book you shall read? I heard you boasting just now that you were a freeman. What! have the southern men come to this, that they cannot exercise their judgment as to what books they shall read, what newspapers they shall examine, without asking a mob? Is this the conduct of Christian men?" He stroked his head and said, "Ah, it is so." It was evening, and he wanted to go to bed. But he said, "You should go to Congress, and get them to free the slaves; and if Congress will emancipate them, there are thousands who will go for it with both hands up." *There* is a point on which the south may be made to feel, and they must feel. It is a fact that the judges of the land, the legislators, and the ministers of the south are themselves slaves; they are not freemen, they have to ask the ruffian mobs what they may read. I know of no point on which they can be assailed, and made to feel so keenly, as upon that. I hope that your press will make brother JONATHAN feel, that while he binds the slave in chains, he himself is bound, and that his boasted chivalry is mere passion and noise, while he permits himself to be a slave. I give this fact with reference to assailing America through the operation of British literature.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—I fear a wrong impression may rest upon the minds of some gentlemen, who are unacquainted with the entire American character. During this afternoon, we, who are her representatives, have been placed in circumstances most deeply humiliating; we have been obliged to contrast American shame with British glory. You have been beforehand with us in the work of justice and benevolence. The object for which we are assembled has required us to speak of the *vices*, not the *virtues* of the country. And while doing so, we wish it to be remembered, that not all that is in America is *American*. For slavery *there* is not indigenous but exotic. We also hope, that when we are called upon to state the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, in relation to the evils of slavery in America, you will keep in mind that we are exhibiting but one, and that the most odious trait in her character. And I desire to offer one apology for her, though not an unrighteous one. For I have feared that while we have been showing her up in her tatters and abominations, you would be ready to discard and disown her for ever. But she is your offspring, however she may be dishonoured and

degraded, and the shame with which she is now mantled is not the result of her own independent conduct, but the fruit of early and undue parental indulgence. The only apology I have to offer for her is, that she is possessed of a devil, and is so under infernal power, that like the lacerated demoniacs coming out of the tombs, she has inflicted violence upon herself. But we have come here to tell you the truth of her case—the *worst* of it, that you may unite with us in her behalf, and grant us all the aid of your literature, your religion, and your press, to exorcise her. And when the evil spirit shall have gone out, and you shall see America sitting clothed and in her right mind, (and we trust that the time will soon arrive), then you will again receive her as your own fair daughter, brightening up into all the features of her pristine loveliness.

Mr. FULLER.—I believe there are some bright spots, some *oases* in my adopted country. I am glad that the remarks of some friends have tended to show it. I wish that one friend had gone further with regard to the case of HARRIS. That case will bring individual responsibility upon us all. I understood him to say, that HARRIS was under the patronage of a Quaker; he was under the patronage of a Presbyterian minister, a man with nine children who never at any time possessed 500 dollars. This is a bright spot. I am glad, as a member of the Society of Friends, to bear my testimony in favour of an American Presbyterian minister. When this young man went to Burlington College, he was admitted, with the understanding, that he should recite by himself for three weeks. He continued to do so for twelve months, and then he was at the head of his class. His preceptor then said to him, “Young man, you come up and recite with your class to-day; be cool; do it as well as you can, and if there be occasion, when the recitation is over, I will address the class.” He came up, and at the close of the recitation, his preceptor said, “Young gentlemen, you perceive you have a fresh class-mate, I need not say who it is; you can see by his colour. Probably some of you will take offence. If any one objects to him, he is at liberty to leave the college, and more than that, if you all leave that young man shall stay, and I will sustain his rights; his rights have been trampled on for twelve months.” And what did these chivalrous youths do? They all submitted, because here was a man who acted conscientiously and not from expediency. But for this upright conduct the probability is, that this young man would have been put down, where JOHN KEER said the coloured men were, and trodden upon. I understand that the largest Baptist College in the world is about to be opened for coloured men. I do not believe that we are quite so contemptible as we have been represented. It may be satisfactory to know, that PROFESSOR DEAN, who sits near me, is a professor of Burlington College.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—I hope we shall not, as Americans, make so many apologies for the truth. We state facts, and as men we ought to state them. I hope we shall not exhibit national pride, and prove too sensitive on the flaws of our country. They do not come out with more severity than the truth requires. I have been present the whole of the day hearing those noble attestations to the truth, which have been uttered by our friends on both sides the Atlantic. I hope that the discussion will be resumed to-morrow, and that a further opportunity will be given of adducing facts tending to elucidate the whole subject. When Dr. ROLPH has opened the Canadian question; I shall, with the permission of the audience, state facts which I think will not only be interesting but very honourable to America.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

JOSIAH FORSTER, Esq.—In endeavouring to enlist the literature of other countries than our own in this cause, I suggest that our efforts should not be confined to America. If we can interest the literature of France, it will be desirable. If, however, it is thought best to make that a substantive motion, I will not oppose it.

The **CHAIRMAN**.—As the whole discussion has been on American slavery, it will be better that this resolution should stand by itself. I should like to say a word in reference to the feelings of our American friends. More than one has felt that in order to be a consistent, honest man, it was necessary to expose his country. We should remember, that under the blessing of heaven our own sores have been but very recently healed. We should thank our American brethren for having exposed their ailments, and asked for their removal. It is now our duty to act the part of kind and Christian physicians. I have felt throughout the whole of the day that they were acting a most honourable part in standing up as they have done for the honour of their country.

JONATHAN BACKHOUSE, Esq. (of Darlington).—I rise to move the following resolution—

A volume entitled, *Replies to the Queries of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, on Slavery in the United States*, having been laid on the table, and numerous other papers and statements submitted, relating to the present operation of slavery in the United States; Resolved, that they be referred to a committee, consisting of **JOHN BIRT, J. WOODWARK, J. G. BIRNEY, W. PHILLIPS, and J. FRANCILLON**, who are hereby appointed to consider the same, and to prepare for and report on their publication.

I feel pleasure in contributing, however little it may be, towards the promotion of the important object which we all have in view. I feel that the results of this Convention will be of vital importance, not only to the hundreds of thousands of our fellow-creatures who are held in bondage, but to those who fasten their shackles and inflict the lash. Having been in the United States, and seen much of the working of the system of slavery there, I can, as an eye-witness, confirm many of the facts which have this day been stated. Though some of the laws of America have been adverted to, I should like you to hear from some of the delegates from the United States present, the extent of the injustice which is to be found on the records of the different legislative assemblies, succinctly stated; where even that precious book which has been given by divine inspiration is not allowed to be taught to the slaves, or even to the free coloured man. In some of the states, the man who is bold enough to teach it to a coloured child, bond or free, is liable to be fined 500 dollars for the *first* offence, and for the *second*, to be put to death. I do not think it can be considered that in the slave states the laws admit of the liberation of the slave.

Mr. BIRNEY—In some states they do.

Mr. BACKHOUSE.—Not in all states, by any means. One hundred and fifty slaves liberated by the Friends in North Carolina, were seized by a vaga-

bond in the neighbourhood and sold into slavery. The Friends (their former masters) brought an action against the individual, in the Supreme Court, and the judge gave a decree in their favour. At the next session, the legislature of North Carolina passed a law rendering the sale valid, and commanding these slaves who had been liberated to be returned to slavery. An eminent lawyer (now a judge) advised the Friends to convey the remainder of those to whom they had given freedom to trustees, as slaves. This was done, solely with a view to their protection from a similar outrage, all their earnings were given to them, and they continued to enjoy the privileges of freedom. But a fresh suit was brought in the Supreme Court, and eventually a decision given, that it was well known, the Quakers' discipline did not allow them to hold slaves, and that, therefore, this arrangement was made to contravene what they termed the policy of the law; and a verdict for several thousand dollars was actually given against the trustees. I have seen two hundred men and women chained to each other, driven along like beasts; I have seen children torn from their parents, husbands from their wives; and mothers have told me, that as soon as their children arrived at an age at which they were worth a few dollars, every child in succession has been torn from them, and sold to far distant plantations, without the least ray of hope that they would ever see them again; leaving them childless and cheerless to drag out the short remains of their weary, and toilsome, and suffering pilgrimage, without the tear of sympathy to comfort and cheer them in their passage to the tomb.

Mr. BENNET.—I beg to second that resolution.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I am rather apprehensive that the Committee are about to undertake more than they will be able to perform during the sitting of the present Convention. The documents referred to will make a volume of considerable size, and the condensation of the matter is no slight task. These documents have been prepared at a very considerable expense of time and labour, and the statements of facts contained in them may be relied upon as authentic. They are now in the possession of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with authority to do with them whatever they shall see proper. I would suggest that the Society appoint a committee for their condensation, who will, in whatever course may be taken with them, have reference to the effect they may be made to produce on the British public, and their consequent influence on the American.

Rev. J. KEEP.—I wish the Convention to bear in mind that these documents were compiled by two of the most discriminating minds we have in America, one of them, the son of a gentleman who was formerly a slaveholder, the other, THEODORE WELD. The facts are of immense moment. I venture to assert that there is no manuscript document to be compared with it in point of value. I think, therefore, that it should come out under the sanction of the Convention.

Mr. CONDER.—The committee can in their report recommend what course they think proper.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—The work will not have the *imprimatur* of the Convention upon it, unless these documents go to the committee.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I have no objection to any course which will give it the sanction of the Convention.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously, after which the Convention adjourned.

FOURTH DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1840.

(MORNING).

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq. in the Chair.

The Minutes of yesterday were read and confirmed.

Rev. WILLIAM BEVAN having announced that the subject for discussion was,

FRENCH SLAVERY :

Mr. TREDGOLD read the following credentials of the French Deputies :

TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY
SOCIETY OF LONDON.

The French Society having been informed by you that delegates from Societies in different parts of the world were about to assemble in the capital of the British Empire, to confer together on the most efficacious means of accomplishing the abolition of slavery, which still bears so heavily on the unfortunate African race in so many countries of the world, are most desirous of associating themselves with you in this important work.

This Society rejoices at the generous efforts of so many men united together, for the hallowed purpose of healing a wound which cupidity keeps open, and which prevents the healthful progress of civilization in so extensive a manner.

It will be in vain that the slave-trade has been disallowed by the laws of so many of the principal nations of Europe, and that stipulations have been entered into in treaties concluded between the great civilized powers ; if there still exist countries where the markets are open, where men can be reduced by other men to serve in the capacity of slaves under the protection of the laws, and where the vindication of freedom and the assertion of free-labour are treated as a crime. So long as these evils exist, humanity will have incessantly to groan under this infamous crime, and society will have to suffer from the demoralization which everywhere accompanies it.

Not to speak of the horrible cruelties which attend the clandestine trade, it is impossible that the possessors of slaves can perform the duties imposed upon them by the laws of religion and morality, either towards themselves or their dependents. It is impossible that the

complete suppression of the natural and imprescriptible right which man holds from his CREATOR should not affect, in its essence, the ends of the social compact.

Whatever may be the pretended necessities of tropical culture, it is impossible to justify the laws which, by the odious abuse of mere force, pretend to maintain an entire race of men under the yoke of servitude.

Several generations have passed away since France proclaimed the principles of human liberty in the midst of universal bondage. At the opening of the States-General, in 1789, she declared by the mouth of one of her ministers that negro-slavery could not be maintained.

The National Assembly placed freedom and property among the rights of man and of citizenship.

We are desirous, therefore, of associating ourselves with you in your efforts against slavery, which is an open outrage against the living principles that lie at the bottom of every Frenchman's heart, and which neither sophistry nor private interest will ever be able to destroy.

With a view to this object we beg you to recognise MONSIEUR ISAMBERT, a member of the French legislature, and the Secretary of our Society, MONSIEUR CORDIER, also a member of the Chamber of Deputies, M. DE ST. ANTHOINE, and M. ALCIDE LAURE, who have readily undertaken the mission.

We regret that the closing labours of our parliamentary session, in which many of our most distinguished members are engaged, as well as those of the government commission assembled at this moment for the examination of all the questions relating to Colonial slavery, prevent us from rendering this deputation so numerous as we could have wished it to be.

Signed on behalf of the French Anti-Slavery Society,

DE LABORDE.

PASSY.

Paris, at a sitting of the Society,

June 9, 1840.

Mr. TURNBULL.—The task has devolved on me of introducing the subject of slavery in the French colonies. I feel myself greatly supported by seeing beside me my hon. friend, M. ISAMBERT ; and also M. CREMIEUX, who although he is a child of the house of Israel, is as thorough an abolitionist as any gentleman present. You are all, doubtless, aware that the subject of abolition has of late years made great progress in France ; that it has repeatedly been before the French legislature ; and that two successive committees have been named for the purpose of examining the various modes

by which abolition might be accomplished. Within the last few weeks, Mr. TREDGOLD and myself had the honour of being received by the KING OF THE FRENCH, with whom we had a long audience. His Majesty assured us in the first place, that he and his government were prepared to do all in their power to abolish the slave-trade; and that a Commission was about to be named to inquire into the best means of effecting the abolition of slavery. This Commission has since been appointed, and from the names of its members, as they appear in the *Moniteur*, it is impossible to doubt the sincerity of His Majesty's declaration. I will now proceed to read to the Convention the following paper in which the two plans which are already before the legislature are set forth.

The great question of slavery has already made considerable progress in France. It is true that it was the opinion of the Committee of 1838, that the slaves in the French colonies were not then so well prepared for emancipation, as those in the English colonies in 1833.

This difference is ascribed to the constant care which England had taken of her slave-colonies, ever since the date of the abolition of the slave-trade in 1807; to the zeal of the Moravian, Methodist, and Baptist Missionaries, to the establishment of schools, the building of churches, and the progress of education; to the debates in Parliament, the discussions in the local assemblies, and the freedom of the Colonial press, familiarising the minds of the colonists, and indirectly those of the slaves, with the idea of liberty, and impressing them with the necessity, the advantage, and the power of the law.

The English negro they say is more religious and more disposed to submit to public authority than the French; but the French negro on the other hand is assumed to be more intelligent, better acquainted with his own interests, and of a more benevolent disposition than the English. The French they say have always been the best slave-masters in the West Indies, more gentle and communicative than the English, and less obstinate, rigorous and minute in the exercise of their rights. For these reasons it is assumed to be unquestionable, that if the slave-trade had not been persisted in, the slaves in the French colonies would have been better prepared for emancipation than those of the English were in 1833.

With regard to the moral and intellectual condition of their slaves, they ascribe its melancholy condition to the want of instruction, to the small number of the clergy, and their total want of zeal in the cause; never troubling themselves in the least with the interests of the negro population. In the isle of Bourbon the slaves are represented as given

up to the grossest idolatry ; but in the West Indies, they are said to be naturally disposed to the observances of religion.

The committee of 1839 declared itself in favour of an intermediate and transition state between slavery and freedom, analogous in some degree to the English negro apprenticeship. In place of leaving the negro during the existence of this intermediate state in the hands of his former master, and establishing a special magistracy for his protection ; the committee proposed, that, immediately on the abolition of slavery, a radical and substantial change should take place in all the relations which formerly existed between the slave and his master. The exclusive tutelage of the emancipated population, according to the plan of the committee, would be transferred to the government, by whom the services of the emancipated negroes were to be hired out to the planters, on such conditions as the authorities might determine. This state of things was to last, until by means of a sinking fund, to be accumulated from the wages to be earned by the emancipated negroes, the whole indemnity to be awarded to the proprietors, principal and interest, should have been refunded to the government.

It is assumed that in the whole of the French colonies there are now about 250,000 slaves, two-thirds of whom, between fourteen and sixty years of age, are considered capable of habitual and productive labour. The committee have not made any specific proposal as to the amount of the compensation to be awarded to the actual proprietors of slaves ; but they have assumed, that the wages may be such as that they shall be at once moderate and reasonable to the planter, sufficient to cover the interest of the original indemnity, as well as the sinking fund for its gradual extinction, and at the same time enable the government to reserve a portion of the wages for the use of the labourer. In the absence of all specification of the elementary principles on which the calculations of the committee have been founded, it is impossible of course to subject them to any satisfactory test ; but it is clear, that if the compensation is to bear any just proportion with the actual value of the slave to his owner, and if the future wages of the negro are to be no higher than would naturally arise from the future supply of voluntary labour, and the relative demand for it in the market, the extinction of the debt created by the indemnity, cannot possibly take place in the present generation. The state may possibly become a better task-master than the planter, and to that extent the condition of

the slaves may be improved, but until they shall have earned their own redemption, and that of their posterity, together with the means of supporting their old, infirm, and infant relatives, they will continue substantially slaves. The enjoyment of their freedom during one day in the week, and the distribution among the labourers of a portion of their wages, are purely hypothetical propositions dependent on the success of the scheme of the committee, and the realization of the necessary surplus from the wages, after providing for the payment of the interest of the debt and its corresponding sinking fund.

It is expected that with the labour of one day in the week, in his garden or provision ground, the negro will be able to maintain himself in comfort ; and that the wages to be earned in five days of the week, securing Sunday as a day of rest, will be sufficient to accomplish the final redemption of the debt, within a period however at which no guess has been offered. The practicability of this plan would evidently depend on a variety of conditions which have not been specified ; the amount of the indemnity which the planter is to receive *per capita* for his slaves, and the rate of wages he is afterwards to be called on to pay. The planters would in fact be completely at the mercy of the government, which would be invested under the system proposed, with an absolute control over the market for labour. This controlling power would become so excessive and so arbitrary, as to enable the government from year to year, to regulate the balance sheets on every plantation in the French colonies, and determine the amount of profit or loss at their pleasure, independent of the separate power they possess over the home market, in admitting and regulating the formidable competition of the grower of beet-root sugar.

According to the plan of the committee, the care of the old and the infirm was to be confided to their present owners, to whom also the young negroes were to be bound under a species of apprenticeship, which in every case was to terminate at the age of twenty-one. It is not stated whether they were then to enter on the enjoyment of perfect freedom, or were to be transferred to the care of the government, in order to increase the redemption fund. The latter course is to be inferred however from the line of argument maintained in the report, by which it is contended, that the emancipation of all classes ought to be strictly simultaneous.

It is not to be denied that in several of the details of the plan of the

committee, as far as they have yet transpired, improvements have been suggested on the course of emancipation adopted by the Parliament of Great Britain. During the period of probation between slavery and freedom, the interposition of the government between the master and the labourer, would have a tendency to soften and remove many of those causes of irritation, which made the English apprenticeship a perpetual source of heart-burning and distrust. There would also be the means of bringing a greater amount of influence to bear on the education of the people, on their moral and intellectual improvement, the observance of the marriage-rite, and the obligations connected with it, and in various other ways, by which a sentiment of self-respect, incompatible with the degrading and demoralizing tendency of slavery, may be gradually instilled into the mind of the negro. The evils of the system proposed by the committee are equally obvious. It excludes, in effect at least, one whole generation from the enjoyment of their natural rights. Instead of dividing the burthen of redemption between the mother-country, the slave-owners, and the slaves themselves, as the British Government proposed to do, in awarding an indemnity in conjunction with the apprenticeship; the plan of the French committee is to throw the whole on the shoulders of the slave, compelling him to work out his own redemption, and deferring the advent of freedom, until that object, however remote the period, is completely obtained. The British Parliament committed the mistake of assuming too large a share of the burthen, relieving the slave-owner altogether, and deferring the period of freedom, the instant possession of which was the natural right of the negro, for a series of years. The people of England never objected to the price they were paying, as long as they believed it to be founded on equitable principles; but as soon as they perceived that between the large indemnity they had paid in advance, and the unremunerated labour of the apprenticeship, the slave-owner in place of bearing his fair share of the burthen, was to be greatly over-paid for any loss he had actually sustained, and not content with the hard bargain he had driven in Parliament, was resolved to convert the last remnant of the apprenticeship, unjust in principle, and useless in policy, into a source of unreasonable gain, such an outcry was raised in England, as made it impossible for the colonists to persist in their declared intention, compelling them in their local assemblies, to perform

one tardy act of justice without the renewed intervention of the imperial legislature.

The government and the chambers in France, have nothing to apprehend on this subject from popular clamour. The only pressure they feel from without, is, that which takes its rise in the colonies themselves. The proximity of the English islands, and the impossibility of much longer concealing the fact, that freedom is within sight and within reach of their slaves, make it the obvious interest of the planters to hasten the period of emancipation, provided they can secure for themselves an adequate indemnity.

The arguments of the colonists are now reduced to so many dilatory pleas, the whole object of which is to maintain the remnant of their dominion over their slaves for as long a term as possible. Having themselves done absolutely nothing to prepare the negroes for freedom, they insist that a period of preparation is indispensable; but in answer to these objections, it has been well observed by the intelligent reporter of the committee of the Chamber of Deputies, appointed during the last session of the French legislature, to examine the proposal of M. DE TRACY, that to attempt to give to a slave the manners, habits, and opinions of a freeman, and to make this a condition of his emancipation, would be to condemn him in effect to perpetual slavery. The idea of property can scarcely arise in the mind of a man who, in his servile condition, is denied all proprietary rights; and habits of industry and foresight, are equally cut off, by the conviction, that servitude is the inheritance of himself and his descendants. The institution of marriage, the ties of family, and the influence of moral habits, are not to be expected in a state of slavery. The man who is not allowed to exercise the conjugal or parental authority, has no inducement to enter the marriage state. Shut out alike from the rights and the duties, the hopes and the cares of paternity, he has no inducement to incur a fresh obligation. Religion with him never rises above the rank of the grossest superstition, and its teachers he is accustomed to regard as the allies of his masters and oppressors.

The experiment of the apprenticeship in the British colonies generally, compared with the want of it in Antigua and Bermuda, has proved to demonstration, how entirely useless and unnecessary it was as a means of preparation. The reluctance with which the last two years were

abandoned in the case of the prædial labourers, by our English West India planters, was never placed on the footing, that the apprentices would be better fitted for freedom at the end of six years than of four. The only ground on which the shortening of the apprenticeship was resisted in 1833, was the injustice that would be done to the master, by diminishing the indemnity guaranteed to him by law. The very term was a nuisance. It was not to learn his trade, to dig cane holes, to weed, to cut down the harvest, or to carry it to the mill, nor even to skim the sugar kettles, or feed the fire, that the negro was bound apprentice for a term of years to his former owner. The object of the government was, that at the end of his term of service, the negro might be found improved in morals and in powers of reasoning ; of the master, that he himself might obtain some further compensation for the loss of the power and the profit, of which the act of emancipation had deprived him.

It was not till the year 1833 that local legislatures were created in the French colonies. These bodies, however, although they represent the planting interest by a system of election, are far from enjoying the extensive powers exercised by the houses of assembly, in the British colonies. The legislative power, with respect to the French possessions, has been partly reserved by the chambers of the mother country, has been partly conceded to the executive government, and partly to these Colonial councils. In all that relates to the condition of the slave population, the power is specially vested in the Crown, restricted only by a clause, to which the colonists are disposed to give a very large interpretation, that in taking measures for the amelioration of the condition of the slave population, all acquired rights are to be respected.

It is a serious reproach to the government of the Bourbons, during the period of the restoration, that the slave-trade was never seriously disturbed. Laws were passed indeed, in 1818 and 1827, by which the trade was nominally prohibited ; but the toleration and protection which it practically received at the hands of the local authorities, afford sufficient evidence that the governments of LOUIS XVIII., and CHARLES X., were either deceived themselves, or knowingly pursued a system, by which they expected to deceive either the French people, or at least the rest of the world.

It is to this cause alone that the continued opposition of the French

colonists, to any system of emancipation that has yet been proposed, may fairly be ascribed. Relying on the resource of a constant supply of cheap labour, by means of the slave-trade, the French planters had then just as little interest, as the Spanish planters have now, to attend to the physical wants of their negroes, to keep them in health and strength, to prolong their lives, and to promote, by the improvement of their morals, and by regular marriages, the re-production of their race. During the last six or seven years, it is not to be denied that in these respects, more especially at Martinique, a great improvement has taken place. Of this improvement the planters are willing to assume the whole of the merit, whereas it ought to be ascribed, without any deduction or qualification to the practical interdiction of the slave-trade. Up to the period of the revolution of 1830, the suppression of the slave-trade was resisted more strenuously, and denounced more earnestly, as the signal of the ruin of the French colonies, than the abolition of slavery itself, at the present moment, or at any intervening period.

So recently as 1833, a number of distinctions continued to exist under the provisions of the Code Noir, exaggerated by local regulations, between the white inhabitants and the free people of colour. These distinctions were legally abolished by the law of 1833, which, however, was not strong enough to bring the two classes of the free population, so widely separated by the prejudice of colour, into social or friendly contact with each other. The habits of personal equality, so deeply seated in the manners of the French people, made this social distinction only so much the more offensive to the numerous and intelligent class who are wounded by it. The measures of police, affecting the artizans of Martinique, introduced by ADMIRAL MACKAN, were naturally regarded as giving a sort of official sanction to the social degradation of the coloured inhabitants who did not fail to ascribe the ADMIRAL's subsequent promotion in the navy, to the success with which he had courted the favour of the colonial aristocracy.

Between the enactment of the Code Noir, which was issued in the form of an edict in 1685, and the final and practical abolition of the slave-trade, a number of regulations were introduced, having all the force of law, by which the manumission of individual slaves was made as difficult as possible, complicated by formalities, restrained by taxes, and subjected to the sanction of the local authorities, which was often refused, on the ground that the manumitted slave might become a

burthen on the community. It is to the government of LOUIS PHILIPPE, that the negro inhabitants of the French colonies are indebted for the means of simplifying the process, and verifying the fact of manumission, as well as of suppressing the incidental expenses. The official sanction which is still interposed, has now exclusively for its object, the authenticity and regularity of the operation. Still, however great the obstacles to the legal right under the old practice, of a manumitted slave to his freedom, it was of course impossible to prevent a master, who was willing to abandon his dominion, from conferring on his slave all the practical benefits of freedom. In this way there arose a numerous class in the French islands, bearing the name of *patronés* or *libres de Savanes*, at Martinique and Guadaloupe, and of *Cartes blanches*, at the Isle of Bourbon, who although slaves in the eye of the law, had ceased to have any master, and were therefore practically free. The royal ordinances which were passed on the 1st of March, 1831, and 12th July, 1832, gave this class a legal right to their freedom; and the numerous manumissions which have since been constantly appearing in the Colonial Gazettes, are not necessarily, therefore, the result of an increasing disposition on the part of the proprietors, to abandon their rights, but are in fact, the accumulated fruit of the great mass of the manumissions which have taken place, during a period of at least 150 years. According to an estimate which was made in 1836, the number of individuals who had become entitled to the legal recognition of their freedom, amounted in the two islands of Martinique and Guadaloupe, to at least 13,000.

As long as the slave-trade was prohibited by law, and was at the same time practically tolerated in the French colonies, there was a strong disinclination on the part of the dominant class, to the ordinary operations which were necessary to ascertain at stated intervals, the exact numbers of the slave population. In the Spanish colonies this dislike has not been manifested in the same degree; but this fact is to be ascribed to the conviction of the Spanish planters, that their government has really no desire to interfere with the slave-trade, but on the contrary, believes its continuance to be a sort of political necessity indispensable to the maintenance of the power of the mother country, over the last of her transatlantic possessions. The French planters are opposed also to the census, on account of the capitation tax, which has long been imposed on the negro population. Accus-

tomed to treat their slaves as personal property, they are compelled also to regard them as a taxable commodity, the amount of which they have no desire to communicate to the officers of the revenue. By the existing regulations, the owners of slaves are required under severe penalties, to make annual returns of their numbers, and of other details, to the municipal authorities; besides a special return of births, marriages, and deaths, within a limited period after they take place. For several years a good deal of distrust continued to be manifested, in consequence of the imperfect nature of these returns; but since 1836, the local authorities appear to have overcome the difficulty, representing the royal ordinances as at least in vigour, although the result of the annual census was not yet so complete and satisfactory as could be wished.

After all, however, the French colonial authorities have really no means of appreciating the accuracy of their returns.

The more general use of the plough in Martinique and Guadeloupe, has contributed, in connexion with other causes, to soften the hostility of the colonists to the proposed measure of emancipation. A single plough is held to be equivalent to the manual labour of fifteen negroes; and it is asserted, that the system of husbandry pursued in these two islands, is at least equal to that which is followed in the department *du Nord*, the best cultivated of the French provinces, and proportionably superior to the rest of the kingdom. In French Guiana and the Isle of Bourbon, the plough has scarcely as yet been introduced, on account, it is said, of the nature of the soil, especially in Guiana, where it is supposed that its use would be injurious to the numerous ditches and canals rendered necessary by the fact, that most of the cultivated districts are below the level of the sea.

On comparing the four French colonies with each other, it appears that the disproportion between the sexes is much greater in French Guiana and the Isle of Bourbon, than in Martinique and Guadeloupe, from whence it is reasonable to infer, that the slave-trade in which the disproportion originated, has been carried on more actively and more recently in the two former colonies, than in the two latter. Although not openly tolerated in any of the French colonies since the revolution of 1830, I have had the means of satisfying myself, that there had been some instances of it even in Martinique, two years after that period, and it can scarcely therefore be doubted, after a careful exami-

nation of the statistical details officially disclosed by the government, that this atrocious traffic has been carried on much more recently both at Cayenne and Bourbon. In questioning the delegates, this point was strongly urged by M. ODILON BARROT, one of the members of the committee. But the vicinity of the Portuguese possessions of Para to French Guiana, would better explain the admitted disproportion than the fact alleged by the Cayenne delegate, that the cargoes of certain captured slavers had been landed in French Guiana since 1831, sufficiently numerous to produce the difference observed there between the sexes.

The inquiries of the committee were also directed to ascertain how far the slaves were disposed in the various colonies to amass a *peculium*. The answers were, in general, such as might have been expected. The possession of property by persons in a state of slavery, not being legally recognized, those who have succeeded in making any savings are generally eager to secure the enjoyment of them as speedily as possible. In the British colonies, however, where the security of property is no longer doubtful, I have heard it universally remarked, that the negroes display a desire of accumulation, much stronger than is usually to be found among the labouring classes in the mother country. The committee were greatly puzzled with the inconsistent answers received from the delegates on the subject of the savings of the slaves, some asserting that the desire was great, and the possession of a purse so general, as to extend to two-thirds of the population; while, at the same time, it was left to be inferred, that the lash was the only stimulant of labour that could be depended on. On pointing out these inconsistencies, it was remarked by one of the members of the committee, in terms which would sound strangely in any other language:—"il y a donc Messieurs, une certaine contradiction dans ce que vous nous avez fait l'honneur de nous dire." The answer to this remark volunteered by M. DE JABRUN is not a little curious. Almost all the negroes of Guadaloupe, he says, have the means of saving money from the produce of their Saturday, although Saturday is held to belong to the master quite as much as any other day of the week. On that day he is not watched so closely as on others. It is on Saturday that he is compelled to work in his garden in order to provide for his subsistence during the week; and if the garden is not properly cultivated, the slave is punished. The only advantage is, that the lash is not impending over him when engaged at

his work, thus illustrating the difference between time and quantity as the measure of labour. According to M. DE JABRUN, the Saturday's savings are compulsory, and would not be made but from the fear of punishment.

In the Isle of Bourbon the food of the slave population is provided from abroad, and the negroes are compelled to labour on the plantations during the whole of the week without intermission. Even under these circumstances, it is admitted that accumulations frequently take place; but these are ascribed to any cause but a willingness to labour, such as the liberality of the master, the thieving of the slave, and the raising of poultry, and other domestic animals, which it seems can be effected without much indulgence on the part of the planter.

It is equally desirable in the French islands, and in the British colonies, as a stimulant to voluntary labour, that the negroes should be encouraged to raise the sugar cane on the piece of the land which the planter has every where been accustomed to place at their disposal, for the purpose of raising garden stuffs and provisions. Those who are unprovided with the necessary implements, should be encouraged to exert themselves by a supply of tools and manure, and even in some cases, by moderate advances of money; as, until habits of foresight are created, it is not to be expected that the negro will be willing to wait for twelve or fifteen months, and still less for two years, as in some parts of Trinidad, until he is able to carry the produce of his industry to his master's sugar mill. At Barbadoes the progress of civilization and its attendant habits of providence and foresight, are so far advanced among the negro population, that they are not only willing to wait the tardy returns of the sugar crop, but in general, manifest such a decided preference for the growing of canes, as often to compel them to buy at an enhanced price, their own ground provisions in the market. The consequence, however, is already highly favourable to the general prosperity of that island, and to the increase of its exportable productions; a large proportion of the sugar manufactured in Barbadoes, not less I have been assured than ten per cent. of the whole, being the produce of the canes thus raised in the negro provision grounds.

There seems to be no good reason, in fact, why this principle should not be carried a great deal further than has ever yet been suggested in West India husbandry. The division of labour between the culture of the cane and the manufacture of the sugar is easy and natural. The

present practice although nearly universal, is only a proof that the business of sugar-making is still in its infancy. The process of manufacturing sugar is not more intimately connected with the growth of the cane, than the business of the London brewer is with the raising of hops or barley; and if the sugar manufacturers in France had been restricted to the use of the beets they had grown on their own estates, with the aid of their own labourers, that formidable rival to the sugar planter in the French West Indies, would, perhaps, never have been able to establish itself so firmly with all the aid and protection it has hitherto received from the government.

The beet-root sugar manufacturer has no need, any more than the brewer or distiller, for the possession of land beyond the walls of his establishment; and in all probability, before many years are over, the same course of proceeding will be adopted in the sugar colonies, where a separation of the business of the manufacturer from that of the planter, would doubtless be attended with the same beneficial effects. The erection of a sugar manufactory in the northern departments of France, and in other countries of continental Europe, where the business is practically understood, is received by the farmers in the neighbourhood invariably and infallibly as a security and a pledge, that if they raise a field of beet-root, a market is open to them, the advantages of which will bear an exact proportion to the shortness of the interval between the one and the other. The same thing would undoubtedly happen in the West Indies, if a sugar manufactory were set down in a suitable situation, surrounded by the possessions of free-negro cultivators, who, as soon as they reach the degree of civilization, which already prevails in Barbadoes, with the habits of providence and foresight, which are its natural and immediate fruits, will not only plant the cane in sufficient abundance, but will bring it to the mill at a much cheaper rate, than the manufacturer himself could afford to raise it by the unprofitable combination of two distinct branches of industry. In several of the West India islands, English, French, and Spanish, and even in St. Domingo, I have seen the free-negro loading himself with yams, sweet potatoes, and other ground provisions, and carrying them to a distance of twenty, and even five-and-twenty miles to market, receiving not more than a dollar, perhaps, for the whole price of his burthen; including in that price his whole remuneration for the cultivation of the ground, providing the seed, and last though not least,

carrying the produce to market. If the sugar-planter, under the present system, were to establish his machinery at a tenth part of these distances from the fields on which his canes were to be raised, he could scarcely be expected to carry on his business to advantage, but by giving the better class of negroes an interest, more or less direct in the produce of the crop, and by encouraging such as have not the same confidence in the future, by means of moderate pecuniary advances; so much for instance, after the planting of the canes, and so much after each of the necessary weedings, reserving the bulk of the negro's remuneration until he has absolutely cut down the crop and delivered it at the mill; the advantages to all parties would probably be such, as to demonstrate the unreasonableness of those who complain of the unwillingness of the negro to labour, before they have convinced him that his toil is to meet with an adequate reward. It is by such means as these, and by identifying the interest of the labourer with that of the proprietor of the soil, that the West India colonies are hereafter to be rendered far more prosperous and productive, under a system of voluntary labour, than ever they have been under the influence of the lash. The negro would be inspired by the feeling of a common interest, to promote the prosperity of his landlord or his master, and would thus himself become strongly and sincerely attached to the soil. By such means also the celebrated FOURRIER maxim, so triumphantly quoted by the opponents of abolition in the French colonies, would not merely be neutralized, but in the hands of its promoters might be employed as a powerful argument against the continuance of slavery:—*“Tout acte philanthropique est hors des voies de la nature s'il conduit au declin de l'industrie.”*

Dr. BOWRING then rose to introduce the French deputation.—I have great pleasure in performing the part allotted to me. My friends from France have not the privilege of speaking or understanding our language. They are men whom I have known for many years, and who have always been engaged usefully and successfully in promoting the great principles of liberty and emancipation. No man has devoted himself with more zeal, or with more eloquence to that cause than our friend, M. ISAMBERT. In the tribunal where he occupies so exalted a station, in the Chamber of Deputies as a representative of the French people, his voice has always been raised, and often successfully raised, in favour of the negro slave. He is specially selected to represent his country in this Convention, and I am sure that you will welcome him with all the cordiality he deserves. The name of M. CREMIEUX can scarcely be unknown to you. His history also is associated with the most interesting struggles. He it was, Israelite as he is, who defended the Protestants of the Gardé from the persecutions of the fanatical Catholics,

from 1816 to 1825 ; he it was, who in 1830, defended the Minister of Public Instruction, when the excited opinion of France would willingly have conducted him to the scaffold ; and he it is now who is selected by his brethren to proceed to Damascus to make an appeal, which I have no doubt will be a successful one, in favour of his persecuted brethren.

M. ISAMBERT then rose and was received with the most enthusiastic cheering, and addressed the Convention in French, the substance of which was thus conveyed by Dr. BOWRING.

Our friend begins by entreating your kind consideration, from the embarrassment under which he finds himself, being obliged to speak to an auditory like this in a language not their own. He hopes to have another occasion of going very much into detail on the question, and of furnishing the Convention with all those facts which he deems important, and which he doubts not you will receive with interest. He should deem it a privilege if his nation, and the friends with whom he is associated, had the means of gathering round them bodies like this, to whom they could state the evils of slavery, and whose influence they could employ for the furtherance of the cause of liberty. But that government is so constituted, that it is apprehensive of an outbreak of public enthusiasm ; there is a fear that public feeling could not be controlled, and the consequence is, that questions important as this have been delegated to small bodies, selected by the government out of persons of high influence and rank. The friends of abolition in France, therefore, are deprived of many of the means of co-operation and influence which are possessed in England. One single society exists in the capital, but having no branches in the provinces, it has very little means of action on the country in general. Still the government have done much for the cause, and rendered it great service by the formation of these committees. He entreats that you will not be too hasty in blaming the government for not having done more, seeing that one of the difficulties of that government has been that it has undertaken so much. In 1830, they took charge, not only of one, but many momentous questions connected with public liberty ; and the embarrassment arising from having had more on their hands than they have been able to accomplish, is one of the great causes why they have not done more up to the present moment in favour of the object which we have met to promote. The French feelings are so excitable, and the government has so much apprehension of their being allowed full action on the public passions, that they find in that a justification of something which may have appeared like hesitation on this question. He entreats the public to remember, that France was the first nation that abolished slavery—abolished it in their own land. His presence in the Convention will enable him to answer, and answer well the calumny, that the emancipators of the slave are only moved by selfish and sinister interests. It has often been stated in France, and often repeated in foreign states, that England has made her great sacrifice in carrying emancipation, not from the love of liberty, not from any interest felt in the condition of the slave, but from some concealed and sordid motive which it is fancied had been discovered in the course of British legislation. But he came here and found, that the attention of the Convention was directed not only to the situation of the blacks in the West Indies, but that your benevolence expanded itself to the East Indies, to Ceylon, and to every part of the world where slavery exists ; he found a wide and glorious philanthropy, and if the accusation should be again repeated in the Chamber of Deputies,

and you should be charged with any other motive than a beneficent and a Christian one, his voice will not be wanting in your vindication. When the honour was done him of sending him to this Convention, he felt that it was, perhaps, recollected that he was the individual, who, in the year 1834, mooted in the Chamber of Deputies the question of legislation against slavery and the slave-trade. The reward he met with at the time was that usually apportioned to those who took a prominent part in these discussions. He was violently vituperated and calumniated by a salaried press. The funds of the colonists were employed to cast obloquy and opprobrium on the friends of the negro. But notwithstanding this he persevered, and had been the happy instrument of calling the attention of the chamber to the situation in which the free black population of the colonies had been left. The statements then made awakened so much of public attention, and created such an interest in the Chamber, that they had been enabled to extend protection over the slaves, and to place them in a very different condition from that in which they found them when the question was first agitated. It was necessary that the Convention should know why the Chamber of Deputies had been so long mute. It arose from the want of some mighty master mind, that would devote its energies with untiring perseverance to the subject. France had not found honorable and distinguished men resembling those who moved the public opinion of England. Out of doors there was no CLARKSON to appeal to the people—within the Chambers there was no WILBERFORCE. But still the Revolution, amid its horrors and its glories, certainly did produce many advocates for the slave. CONDORCET, MIRABEAU, LAFAYETTE, and the ABBÉ GREGOIRE, lent their important assistance, and something was done to advance the great work. He was, however, anxious that the Convention should understand that slavery and the slave-trade had never been recognized by any act of the French Legislature. They were introduced into the colonies by particular treaties, not by any act resembling an act of Parliament—but in fact, by an expression of absolute power. But even so far back as the years 1315 and 1321, a monarch of France, declared that France ought to be in reality what it is in name, the kingdom of the Franks, the kingdom of the free. It was not till the time of LOUIS XIII. that slavery obtained any thing like an organization, when the merchants, under the pretence of colonization, availed themselves of the services of the slaves. Its existence was only tolerated never sanctioned; and even the *Code Noir*, the black code as it is called, and the name well represented its character, has many humane stipulations in favour of the negro. It asserts in many parts that no dishonour attaches to a particular colour of the skin; it recognizes the rite of marriage, and the possession of civil privileges by emancipated negroes, and in fact, looks upon the negro with something like an eye of brotherhood. He again called the attention of the Convention to the fact, that the existence of slavery was due to the exercise of absolute power; but in the time of HENRY II. when some African slaves were wrecked on the coast of France, liberty was given to them by that MONARCH, who declared that slaves could not exist in the country over which he ruled. One of the most celebrated priests of France, devoted his solitary effort before the Tribunals, at a period antecedent to the Revolution, in pleading but one cause, and that, the cause of the slave. He referred to the exertions of NECKAR, before one of the most illustrious assemblies of modern times—the National Assembly of France, where the people were gathered together by their representa-

tives, after 200 years of slavery had passed over the French nation. To that assembly, at the re-birth of their liberties, and the organization of their Institute, NÉCKER addressed these words, "The time will perhaps come, gentlemen, when you will carry your interests further; the day will arrive when you will assist with your representations, the deputies of the colonies of France, you will throw a look of compassion upon that unfortunate people whom you have tranquilly made a barbarous object of your commerce; on those men, alike to yourselves in thought, and especially in the sad prerogative of suffering; on those men, whom without any regard for their mournful complainings, you packed up in the bottom of a vessel, over whom the sails were spread to convey them to the place where chains were waiting for them. But what nation is more called upon than the French to soften slavery, which you consider necessary. No nation knows better the evils inseparable from the slave-trade; evils which produce devastation in two worlds. What greater claim is there on you than to turn a friendly regard on men who might aid us in our civil liberties? One distinguished nation has already given the signal of enlightened compassion. Already there can be no doubt, in spite of party politics, the supreme cause must be brought before the tribunal of nations. What higher satisfaction, what greater glory than that the States General should have the presidency in the midst of an enlightened age. But woe, woe, and shame to the French nation, if she does not recognise the importance of her position—if she does not seek to become worthy of it, if such an ambition were too great for her capacity." My friend refers to the great impression which was made on the national assembly, by a few words uttered by the illustrious LAFAYETTE. They were to this effect, "You have declared, that all men who have a domicile, who possess a dwelling, who pay the taxes, and against whom you can urge none of the incapacities which are declared by the constitution, that these men shall be citizens. And are not the negroes men? The question is condensed into this. For me, I believe no doubt can be raised on this point; and it was to proclaim this simple truth that I mounted the tribune." The declaration was received with shouts of applause, and produced a profound impression on the assembly and the nation. But unhappily that revolutionary torrent, which soon afterwards succeeded, carried away all attention from this question. Afterwards, indeed, on the flags of St. Domingo, these words were inscribed, "Brave blacks! France recognises your rights and your liberties." But after the peace of Amiens, BUONAPARTE, who had not experienced then the lessons of adversity which he afterwards received, re-established slavery and the slave-trade. At that time, public opinion had so little representation in any of the bodies nominally representative, that they could by no means control the act of the Sovereign. Subsequently, however, to the fall of BUONAPARTE and his second rise, during the 100 days of his government, one of the acts that distinguished him, and probably of all his acts, that which most honoured him, was his decree which abolished the slave-trade. The miseries and sufferings of the slaves at St. Domingo, and the temporary liberty enjoyed at Guadaloupe, much advanced the question. In the year 1814, during the reign of the BOURBONS, a law exceedingly unfavourable to the slaves was passed, which prohibited marriage between the blacks and whites, and the absurd plea was urged as a motive for this legislation, that the marriages between the Moors and Christians in Spain, had caused degeneracy in the Spanish blood. In 1823 and 1824, some progress was made, in consequence of many public discussions on the subject,

and it was again introduced into the Chambers. But in 1830, in consequence of the last revolution, the slave-trade was utterly and formally abolished. He anticipates that the abolition of slavery will be a necessary consequence of that step. They were menaced with the consequences of agitating the question; they were told that if it were mooted again in the French Chambers, the consequence would be outbreaks, violence, and revolutions in the colonies themselves. But the answer to that is to be found in the fact, that the colonies have never been so tranquil, as since the period when this agitation commenced. Of late two very interesting reports have been drawn up and laid before the Chambers, emanating from men distinguished alike by their high social position, one being M. REMUSAT, the present minister of the interior, and the other by M. DE TOCQUEVILLE, the author of "Democracy in America." These reports establish principles, the developments of which cannot but lead eventually to the overthrow of slavery. They state, that though they should not be unwilling to consider the question of indemnity, yet they will not recognise the claim to indemnity as a right, or that man can fairly possess a property in man. The principle appears to him already triumphant, and you may consider the cause as really gained. Even in the colonies themselves, public opinion has made great progress, and his friend GENERAL BERTRAND, who accompanied BUONAPARTE to St. Helena, and who is himself a considerable West India proprietor, has informed him that matters cannot remain as they are, and that ere long the great cause must have a victorious issue. There will, no doubt, be great resistance to such a step in Martinique, but he anticipates great results from the growing influence of the free-coloured population. In Guadaloupe there is less resistance, and the deputy who is now in Paris, is sanguine in his anticipations of the final and complete overthrow of slavery. French Guiana is incapable of offering a long resistance, and though in the island of Bourbon the slave proprietors are very influential, still he does not believe, that when the voice of France shall speak out, that voice will not be heard; and that the will of France declared by her legislature can by any possibility be resisted by her colonies. He desires to introduce M. CREMIEUX to the Convention. He comes from a body whose civil rights have been recognised in France. They are really in a political position perfectly equal to that of their Christian brethren. One of the body is at this moment a member of the Chamber of Deputies. The Jews have been raised to the highest seats of the magistracy, and he anticipates that his friend, at no distant time, will be inevitably called to labour with him in the glorious cause of emancipation in the legislative assembly of France.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE, (from Ceylon).—One point in M. ISAMBERT'S address has escaped Dr. BOWRING, namely, that in Martinique the free coloured population now go hand in hand with the slaves.

M. CREMIEUX then addressed the Convention in French, which Dr. BOWRING thus translated.

I cannot express to you, gentlemen, the emotions which I feel at this moment, the most overpowering feelings penetrate my heart, and entirely overcome me. First, I feel the most profound admiration for those English customs and manners which have given to the spirit of association such irresistible power in proclaiming its objects, nobly, and in the face of the world—objects the most liberal and most worthy of the enlightened age that has approved and adopted them, a spirit of association, which our laws, I am sorry to say, prohibit, to the sorrow and despair of all those

generous men, who in France call loudly for the abolition of such restrictive enactments. I feel also overpowered by the thought that an Israelite should appear in this assembly, where he has been received with so much favour, to demand with an enthusiasm equal to yours, the abolition of slavery. All liberties are united, and all persecutions are associated. Persecute, and you will make slaves; proclaim the equality of all, and you will create citizens. It is thus that your O'CONNELL, (whom we should envy to England, if the glory of England at this moment was not amalgamated with that of France in this great work) in demanding complete equality for Ireland, proclaimed at the same time the principles of humanity and justice, and has rendered for the future all persecution impossible against men who conquered equality for themselves.

Rev. J. H. JOHNSON.—I rise to order. A reference has been made to exertions in Ireland. We wish to embrace the whole community of England without respect of parties. I am grateful for the labours of Mr. O'CONNELL, in the cause of negro emancipation; but I cannot join a society which has anything political in it.

Dr. BOWRING.—Our friend comes from a foreign country; supposing that he should utter a sentiment which is not quite in accordance with the feeling of some members of the Convention, I would put it to our friend whether it is desirable that he should be interrupted.

Rev. J. H. JOHNSON.—I am perfectly satisfied with the explanation given,—the gentleman is a foreigner. I do hope, however, that in connexion with this subject, party politics will not be introduced.

M. CREMIEUX resumed.

I feel great pleasure in joining this Convention, because I am a descendant of those Hebrews who were the first to proclaim the abolition of slavery; and I this day only repeat what the Jews have always admitted in principle. Indeed, it is not without interest that I now recall to your recollection, that it was the sect of the Essene which first declared slavery to be a crime, and that it was, to use the expression of JOSEPHUS, a perpetual cause of perturbation for the state. In this assembly this must entitle them to the highest glory; and, I may add, that Jesus Christ himself, considered as a great legislator and moralist, has derived the principles of Christian charity from the mild and pure rules of the sect of the Essenes.* And yet these very Jews, who proclaimed the abolition of slavery,

* M. CREMIEUX speaks as a Hebrew, holding the divine origin and present authority of Judaism, and not recognising the religion of our blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; but it would be a mistake to suppose, and a misrepresentation to assert, that the Convention gave its slightest sanction to the disparagement of Christianity. There were no symptoms of assent to this part of Mons. C.'s address, by those who understood him when speaking in *his own* language, nor again when these sentiments were translated into ours by Dr. BOWRING; on the contrary, a general and decided indication of disapprobation and denial was given by the assembly. This in fact was the case, whenever in the course of debate, a sentiment escaped any speaker, which went in the slightest degree to impugn either Christianity itself, or any of its grand and distinguishing doctrines: and though the Convention was called on public grounds, and for an object which is interesting to philanthropists of every nation under heaven, and of every form of religion, it may be affirmed unhesitatingly that its character, spirit, and proceedings were decidedly Christian.—*Editors.*

who have conferred on Christianity one of its most worthy titles to glory ; these very Jews have themselves, in more recent times, been held as slaves even in Christian countries. What emotions must I not experience, in coming here to join my voice to those which are raised to demand the abolition of slavery ! And permit me, without digressing from the subject of my discourse, to add, that the Jews were the first to abolish human sacrifices, and to turn away with horror from the shedding human blood in their religious ceremonies ; and yet, at this moment in the East, in those very countries in which their religion—the basis of every other—was first proclaimed, a horrible calumny, resuscitated from the barbarian ages of the West, accuses them of shedding Christian blood as a matter of religious duty, to moisten the unleavened bread of the Passover. It is true—and I take the earliest opportunity of acknowledging it—that in this country, civilized England, the nation, the press, the government, have shown themselves indignant at this base calumny ; and I perceive, from the approbation which you now manifest, that you repudiate it with the contempt it deserves. Yes, persecution engenders slavery. Yes, all persecutions are akin to one another, and this was well understood by that [venerable BISHOP GREGOIRE, who, while he raised his voice in favour of the emancipation of the blacks, at the same time demanded the emancipation of the Jews. Well, in this assembly of Christians, here is a Jew who demands for the blacks the complete abolition of slavery. His enthusiasm is equal to yours ; and his words have been listened to by you with the truest sympathy. Besides, is there a cause more worthy of public favour ? When God created the first man and woman, after he had laid the foundations of a future society, in these words “Increase and multiply,” he said to man,—displaying the whole of nature before him—“This is thy patrimony, this is thy kingdom ; earth, and all its animals are submitted to thy power.” But where do we find that the Creator has said, “upon this earth which I deliver over to thee, two races of men shall exist at the same time, the one, absolute and master, because he has a white skin ; the other, a slave and obedient, because he has a black one. Two classes of the same creature shall be spread over the world ; the one, shall be called the class of the oppressors ; the other, the class of the oppressed. All shall possess the same life, and the same breath of life shall animate your bodies ; but among you, the one class shall cast the other’s fetters, and shall sell their brethren in the public markets as brute beasts ?” The slavery of man by man is a perpetual crime against humanity. Cast far from you those absurd accusations which would degrade one part of creation. Persecutors are ever fertile in arguments to give a colour to their oppression. The blacks, say they, are of a degraded nature, their degenerate race can never be raised to an equality with us, they cannot understand liberty ; a maxim as false as it is immoral. It is slavery which degrades human nature, because liberty is its law, its patrimony. Instead of keeping the blacks in a state of degradation, open for them the career which Providence has given to all men ; raise them to an equality with yourselves, and they well know how to preserve their level. Slavery occasions vice—it is not vice that is the cause of slavery. Would you wish an historical example in proof of this ? Look at the country of the arts, of civilization, of letters. Look at Greece. Oh, how noble, how grand was she in her sacred times of liberty ! What has she become in a state of servitude ? Say, can you recognise in the Greek slave the descendant of LEONIDAS, or PERICLES ? Abolish slavery, proclaim equality, it is a noble and glorious mission. This glory, this mission, henceforth belongs to the

alliance of two great nations, who, long divided by war, are now united in the cause of the civilization of the world. With what eclat will the words of England and of France be received by the nations of the world ! How sublimely have they been already re-echoed from that very continent of America where so many private interests oppose the emancipation of the blacks ; and where so many generous hearts attend only to the sacred interests of humanity ! See with what transport their representatives unite themselves in this Hall, to their brethren of England and France. Yes, we shall attain this glorious object by our holy alliance. I say not this from vanity, but from a just, and honourable, and proud confidence. It is an incontrovertible truth. To the united will of France and England proclaiming the equality of mankind, who could now resist ? To the united will of France and England proclaiming the abolition of human slavery, what power could oppose an obstacle ? Here I pause. I will not trespass further on the attention you have so kindly extended to me, and I shall ever consider as the happiest day of my existence, that in which I have been permitted to give utterance to my sentiments in such an assembly as the present. I shall dwell with delight on the recollection ; from this moment my life will acquire in my own eyes, more consistency, and more real importance than it has ever hitherto possessed.

M. ALCIDE LAURÉ, briefly addressed the Convention in French, Dr. BOWRING again translating as follows—

After the illustrious orators you have just heard, and whose sentiments and sympathies have been explained to the Convention with so much talent and intelligence by Dr. BOWRING, it may, perhaps, be deemed presumptuous on my part to be desirous of occupying that place from whence, for the last three days, so many of the illustrious men, both of Great Britain and America have addressed the Convention. But I feel the necessity imposed upon me, in the name of the young magistracy of France, of whom I am the organ, of addressing a few words to the Convention, to express the great interest I feel in the question. Yes, the time of the abolition of slavery is at hand. The present memorable manifestation of the opinion of the world, must at length affect the conscience of the governors of that world ; and those who have now neither name, nor family, nor nation, will be re-instated in their name, their family, and their freedom ; and to the eternal honour of England, it will be recorded to the remotest ages of the world, that this great assembly which has so nobly discussed the important question of slavery, assembled in 1840 in her metropolis ; and that the emancipation of the black and coloured races was accomplished in the nineteenth century, as the work of God through the progress of civilization.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE.—As you are now discussing the subject of French slavery, or rather slavery in the French colonies, I think I can, with propriety address a few words to the Convention. It so happens that I have held office in those colonies which formerly belonged to France, but which now form a part of the British empire ; and that I am consequently intimately acquainted, not only with the system which did prevail in those colonies, but with that which still prevails throughout them ; and being thus conversant with their laws and regulations, I have no hesitation in saying, that every reason that could be given for the abolition of slavery in the British dependencies, exists with equal force for abolishing it among our neighbours. My friend, M. ISAMBERT, has well observed, that the *Code Noir*, however atrocious, contains

certain clauses favourable to the negro ; but he might have added, that under the debasing effects of slavery, those clauses were all but repealed by subsequent enactments of the greatest cruelty ; and where they still exist in words, popular prejudice has rendered them nugatory in effect. He has stated one strong fact, that the *Code Noir* allows of marriages between the blacks and the whites ; but he is also, in common with myself aware, that not only were these marriages subsequently prohibited by public opinion ; but that even after the peace of Amiens, after great and glorious principles in favour of the negro had been promulgated in this country for years as well as in France, a clause was inserted in their regulations by which coloured persons were at liberty to leave property to the whites, but the whites were prohibited from leaving property to coloured persons, though free. I shall now address a few words to this assembly with reference to the general principles, by which it strikes me they should be guided in their endeavours to obtain the total annihilation of slavery. To maintain any distinction of colour or of race, to make any attempt whatever to bolster up slavery permanently, by introducing regulations called ameliorative, is vicious and erroneous. I know this from personal experience. I introduced such measures into our colonies, and can bear testimony to their ultimate failure. It is true that the manufacture of sugar in our colonies is at the lowest ebb ; but whence does this arise ? Immense quantities of sugar were grown there long before those extraordinary contrivances in machinery were made at home, which have raised Manchester and Liverpool to the position those towns now occupy. Why then is the manufacture of the colonial staple still in its infancy ? Man was free at home, but his energies were borne down by oppression in the colonies. So even during the short period that liberty has existed, there is a great improvement in these matters in the colonies themselves. In proof, I shall mention an incident which has come under my own observation. Seven or eight years ago, a gentleman, a large proprietor of slaves in some of our dependencies, though warmly inclined in favour of the slave system, had penetration enough to perceive that public opinion would shortly lead to its destruction ; he, therefore, adopted precautions in time for a change which he knew was inevitable. He went among your agricultural population, and selected, as labourers, men recommended by a certificate from a clergyman, and most of whom had gained agricultural prizes. He engaged them as farm servants for seven years, and they proceeded to his establishments in the West Indies. I met him a few days ago, and being anxious to ascertain the effect of his experiment, I asked him how it worked. He informed me that two men were now doing with the plough what ten men could not formerly accomplish with the hoe. This is one of the effects of entire emancipation. That there has been a diminution of sugar cultivation throughout the colonies I acknowledge is a fact ; but when I am told that it is a proof of the failure of emancipation, I beg to remind my informants, that this was foretold before emancipation took place, as one of its necessary consequences, and as a certain proof that emancipation would not be a failure. Of whom was the working population of the West Indies composed ? Why, one-half of them were women ; and if the men were fit for freedom, they would never suffer women to be driven to the labours of the field. This accounts for a diminution of near one-half of the labourers. Again, what was the labour-system adopted in the colonies ? A system of complete monopoly. Sugar and coffee were produced and cultivated, while shoes, chairs, tables, and every household article were obtained from home. But what was one of the first effects of freedom ? The abolition of those restrictions

which prevented men from engaging in the employments most convenient and profitable to them. The negro now works for the man who will supply him best with the articles he most needs. Is that a favourable or an unfavourable result? Does it show that the negro is fit or unfit for freedom? And now, what is the definitive result of this measure? It is satisfactory, it is glorious; for although exportation has in some degree diminished, your imports, including everything administering to the comfort and well being of the people, are rapidly increasing. That exportation, the fruits of coercion, all that was gained by the lash is, thank God, the only thing which has diminished, and even this diminution will be but temporary. I shall conclude by bearing my humble testimony to the importance of the services of those two gentlemen who are delegated by the French society, with one of whom I have had the happiness of being acquainted for some years, and who have addressed the Convention, Messrs. ISAMBERT and CREMIEUX. I, for one, never can forget the effect produced throughout the islands with which I have been connected, by the manly, able, bold, and independent addresses of my friend M. ISAMBERT, not only at the tribune, but at the bar. All that could be said was said by him, in defence of the rights of our coloured and enslaved fellow-men. It is only his own delicacy which has induced him, as a French magistrate of the highest distinction, to withhold, in the interesting account he has given you of French philanthropy, one important fact, that whilst the name of GRANVILLE SHARPE will ever continue dear to us, from his having first proved that slavery could not co-exist with British laws; the highest courts in France had, forty or fifty years before, established the same principle. A negro having been brought to Paris by a French colonist, claimed his freedom as a matter of right, and the courts of France, after very mature deliberation, affirmed his claim. These are facts which I was convinced you would be glad to hear; I will not further occupy your attention, as each individual is very properly limited to time. All I can do is, to state the result of my experience, others can discuss principles much better than myself. When a day or two ago you were engaged in considering the question of slavery in India and Ceylon, I would cheerfully have taken a part in the debate, had it not been that I am in official employment in that part of the world; and I hold it my duty to prove worthy of that employment, by shewing fidelity to my employer. And all the knowledge which I have obtained of slavery there, has been the result of official information conveyed to me in the public capacity which I still hold. Official employment, however, has not changed my heart; and although I cannot communicate facts on this subject, my hopes, my wishes, and my prayers are always with you. I had forgotten to make an observation with regard to the other gentleman who has addressed you, from France, M. CREMIEUX. He is a man distinguished for his liberality, and for his eminent philanthropy. And let me add, that in him you have seen the author of some of the most splendid specimens of oratory of modern times. My friend Mr. O'CONNELL if he will allow me to call him so, has just mentioned to me, that the only instance in which all the Catholic members have ever voted together, was when the emancipation of the Jews was mooted in Parliament. They all concurred in granting it. Does not this prove the truth of M. CREMIEUX's opinion, that the result of oppression always is, and always will be, to cause a re-action, and thus to promote an ardent love of that liberty by which alone the happiness of the world can be secured. We have here then the Jew advo-

eating negro freedom ; we have the Catholic advocating Jewish liberty, and let me add for myself, that you have a thorough Protestant in heart and in spirit, maintaining the cause of liberty of every sect, colour and nation.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—Though it is not my intention on the present occasion to go into a full discussion of the glorious results of negro emancipation, I could not forbear requesting that I might trespass for a moment or two on the attention of the Convention, to confirm the statement which has been made by the distinguished individual who has just sat down, namely, that the diminution of sugar is not at all to be connected with the want of prosperity in the West India islands. The fact is, as he has distinctly stated, one cause of that diminution is the proper, the just withdrawal of females from the cultivation of the soil ; and one of the charges so generally brought against missionaries of different denominations, and also against Sir LIONEL SMITH, was this, that he with them used his influence in bringing about this much desired result. Never shall I forget the magnanimity of Sir LIONEL's reply, which ought to be emblazoned in letters of gold. When he was requested by the Secretary of the Colonies to answer this charge, all he said was this, "I prefer the dictates of humanity to the policy of short-sighted planters." And we prefer those dictates too. But if this Convention for one moment supposes, that the prosperity of the island of Jamaica depends upon the number of hogsheads of sugar which she ships to England, you entirely mistake the matter. The fact is, that in connexion with our own denomination alone, a thousand persons have already become freeholders ; and if we can but procure the disallowment of those iniquitous laws, which I hope on a future occasion to bring before you, in a very few years, we shall have the elective franchise so much extended, that we shall have the power of returning as many black men to the House of Assembly as we please ; and we shall be fully able, and determinately willing, to take care of ourselves. The highest expectations that the most sanguine of the human race could have formed of emancipation have been more than realized. Vagrancy is unknown, a black beggar I have not seen, a pawnbroker's shop exists not through the island of Jamaica, the treadwheels are turned rusty, and the gaols have been white-washed. But while there has been on the part of the peasantry an almost universal willingness to labour wherever they have been fairly remunerated for it, the black man thinks that he has quite as much right to labour for himself as to labour for any body else. I will just mention one fact.

The CHAIRMAN.—This is departing from the order of business laid out for to-day. We shall all gladly hear Mr. KNIBB, and any other gentleman on this subject when the time for its discussion arrives.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—I did not intend to occupy two minutes longer, I merely avail myself of this opportunity lest there should be but few present when my turn comes, and I should be exceedingly sorry that a statement so likely to do good as that to which we have just listened should want confirmation from the largest West India island which has been set free. The fact is this, the negroes have found that they can employ themselves more profitably than in the cultivation of sugar ; and a member of my own congregation has undertaken the repairing of roads. Instead of getting one shilling a day in the field, by paying black persons to assist him sixpence per day more than the planters will give them, he clears 12s. a day for himself.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—The kind indulgence with which you listened to me yesterday, is an imperative reason why I should trespass as shortly upon

your attention as the duty I have to perform will permit. My purpose in rising is, to propose that it be referred to a committee, to consider the proper form of an address to the French government and the French people, on the subject of Negro Slavery. The learned and distinguished gentleman on my left, has told you that the condition of the negro has been greatly ameliorated in the French West India colonies, and that there remains behind only one thing, and that is the emancipation of the negroes. I think *that* one thing is rather a considerable one. If we could get *that*, we might easily forgive them the rest. He has also told you that the *Code Noir* contains most salutary regulations in many points, respecting conduct towards the negroes. But there is, I think, a postscript, and a fable in *Æsop* shews to what it amounts. When the wolves were made commanders and protectors of the lambs, the regulations to come into operation a fortnight hence for the protection of the lambs were most excellent, but the wolves ate them before the fortnight had expired. That must really be the case with all regulations put into the hands of slave-owners. It is literally employing the two-legged wolves to take care of the lambs. I was not a little pleased with the speech of my learned and respected friend, the judge, who sits next me, for I am proud to say, that we have been friends of some years' standing, and have been made so from the sympathy we bear to the same sacred cause of human liberty. The French colonies require one thing, that is the emancipation of the negroes. Every thing else is idle ; every thing else is ludicrous ; you have done every thing, when you do that ; unless you do that, you do nothing. Emancipation is the one thing necessary. Let me point out to the Convention the situation of the French colonies, with respect to their slave population. I will first take Martinique. It is quite true, as has been stated here, that the negroes of Martinique were emancipated during the French revolution, but it arose more from the absence of tyranny to restrain them, than from a legal recognition of it. *BUONAPARTE*, after the treaty of Amiens, sent a large force to the West Indies to re-conquer slavery, and compel men free to be enslaved again. There is a mighty magic about military names, but I cannot forbear protesting against glory being attributed to men who wade through slaughter to a bad eminence. Men necessarily familiarised with shedding human blood, may be fit to be hailed as conquerors, but they are, in my opinion, the essential enemies of civilization. I mention the re-conquest of Martinique only to state this fact ; the unfortunate negroes did not willingly submit to be again reduced to slavery. Being freemen, they did what Englishmen would do, they fought for freedom, and they defended themselves to the last. Being overpowered by numbers they were driven to the mountain fort ; five hundred and fifty who survived, consulted what measures they should take. They defended the place until the French troops made a breach, and when the French entered, the negroes blew themselves up, and left the survivors to trample over their dead carcasses. This fact shews that we are quite safe in leaving to our negroes the protection of their own liberty, that they will most efficiently guard it against the tyranny of white legislation. The one thousand freeholders spoken of by Mr. *KNIBB*, prove that they have a sense of the value of liberty, and that they are much better left to themselves, than interfered with by any regulations which we can make. Let America tremble in her iniquity when these facts come before her ; for they are men, the two millions and a half whom she holds in slavery. Their fears may give to the coloured population, that which their humanity would refuse. In Martinique there were in

1837, 26,346 males, 39,666 females. Yet the marriages were in that year, how many? Fifteen. The number of births was 2,303. This is an awful picture for Christian people to behold. The number of deaths was 2,592. Those who have directed their attention to the subject, know that in England the population increases 15 per cent. in ten years, in Ireland $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent., but in Martinique instead of an increase, there is a decrease of 289 in one year. Thus all those who in a proper state of society would have been born and brought up are murdered—I may say in the womb, or strangled in the birth. In Guadaloupe, the number of males in the same year, was 45,606; of females, 48,985; of marriages, 19; of births, 1,857, and of deaths, 1,883; a falling off of only 26. In Cayenne or Guiana, the number of males was 8,523; of females, 7,617; of marriages, 43; of births, 297; and of deaths, 628; being a decrease in the population of 331. The worst of all is the island of Bourbon, the number of males was 43,763; of females, 24,432; of marriages, none; of births, 1,001; of deaths, 2,359; being a decrease of 1,358. In the other colonies, the females were more than the males, here it is the reverse, the males being nearly double the females. It can be accounted for only in one way—the slave-trade and the introduction of fresh slaves. In the whole of these colonies there is a total of males, 124,238; of females, 120,700; of marriages, 77; of births, 5,458; of deaths, 7,462; and of decrease in population, 2,904. For what purpose do I use these facts? The French nation is literally a great nation; arts, and arms, and science, and literature adorn it. The French people are naturally a proud people, we think them a little vain in addition, but they have many things of which to be proud. I want to place that picture in the presence of the French people, to show them the horrors of those details, the abominations of these crimes, to proclaim to them the disgrace of continuing this system, and to call upon them, conjuring them in the name of that passion for glory, which they allow to run riot and cherish to excess, but above all, in the name of humanity, to terminate a system which produces abominations not less cruel to the negroes, than disgraceful to any civilized people. I do not mean to trespass upon you with further details, but I cannot help remarking, that in Guiana and Guadaloupe, the free population taken together was 17,741, and that the increase of that free population in one year was 835. That is still more remarkable, because there was not one single child of a black woman in that increase, they are all in the class of slaves, so that it was literally from the white population that the increase took place, shewing what the increase would really be if the negroes were as free as the whites. If there had been equal liberty for all, there would have been that increased number of human beings to enjoy life and liberty, to be heirs of eternal redemption, to do honour to man, and to glorify God. Here is a picture!—look on this side, and on that, and behold it exhibited in the face of Europe. This is the great object for which we are met together. Did you hear the representation which Mr. KNIBB gave you of the advantages of emancipation in Jamaica. Did you take cognizance of one fact—that only half the population labour now—that the women do not labour? Now who is it that protects them from the toil of that labour, to which the females in this country are obliged, from their poverty, to submit, in order that they may purchase food? Look at the emancipated negro man. He scorns to let his wife, his sister, or his daughter, work. He reads a lesson to white men, and to civilized Europe. The man works for wages, he leaves the wife and daughter at home. The female sex in the

West Indies is not disgraced by being put to occupations, which in civilized Europe they are obliged to pursue. Glory be to the character of the emancipated negro! Oh let France read the facts—no crime has followed emancipation, no riot, and no disturbance! Even the ready pen of calumny has not dared to charge the negroes of the West Indies with one single outrage. Have they injured their former masters? The lash was scarcely dried with the clotted blood from the bleeding back of the negro when he was emancipated. Did he hold up that weapon in the face of the torturer and say, My day is come, and you shall encounter what you have inflicted? No, a generous and Christian oblivion was cast over the crimes of the white man, and the negro stood emancipated, respecting the female sex, and feeling his soul free from the slightest taint of guilt. It is a mighty consolation to us, even to me, the humblest of you all, to see that result, to witness the character of man exalted. With what have we not been threatened? Was it not said, "Oh, don't venture to emancipate the negroes. If you do they will outrage our wives and daughters; they will slaughter our children, and sacrifice ourselves. We shall not be safe in the streets, nor sleep securely in our beds." Oh, it is now only that they can sleep in safety. I challenge the enemies of negro emancipation to point me out a single instance of outrage. I take Jamaica in particular—but it applies to the rest of the islands—show me one. Why, as you have been told, the gaols are empty, the treadmills are rusty. Even that on which JOSEPH STURGE saw the females tortured, the skin torn from their feet as they hung from it—that mill was rusty with human gore—it is rusty now from the want of exercise. These are mighty changes. What then is the excuse for France continuing slavery. Let her listen to these facts. Jamaica has proved that the Frenchman will be as safe as the Englishman. Jamaica has proved, what? That there will be no insurrection, no violence, no tumult; that the negroes will rejoice with each other and praise God for having raised up good men to give them emancipation. I introduce not this subject with the hope that a selfish motive will be introduced into the French Chambers to induce them to accede to this measure. But we are all creatures necessarily affected by selfish motives. What has been the consequence of emancipation? More comfort to the negroes, less sugar for the planter. I wish that they had as much sugar as before, because the people of this country would then have it cheaper; but sweet as it is, I think it is made sweeter still by the recollection that if the negro does not make sugar for another, it is because he is making something better for himself. The country requires a greater supply, but we will not consent to take it from the slave-owners, or to consume sugar the produce of slave labour. It would be a monstrous anomaly if we did. We should then give away twenty millions sterling for no other purpose than that of enriching other miscreants who deal in slaves. You cannot consent to it. It would be a reward to others to commit the crimes to which you have yourselves put an end. Let grocers know that. Petitions have been presented to the House with the modest entreaty to allow slave-grown sugar to come into this country. This would be the proper moment for France to act. Let her emancipate her negroes and then we will take French grown sugar. The question between colonial and beet-root sugar may be solved in the interests of humanity; and the French agricultural interest,—for such are the indescribable advantages and emanations of goodness and justice—may be consulted as well as the French colonies, by opening another market for their produce. The moment they emancipate

their slaves, that instant the universal cry for the article will compel the government to reduce the duties on the free grown sugar of France. While they continue in crime, sowing the seeds of injustice, they must reap the bitter fruits of that criminality ; but the moment they take the position of justice, all its blessings will surround them. How true it is that justice and humanity go together. I did not intend to trespass one-half the time I have done ; I rose simply to bring before you the state of slavery in the French colonies. I have not adduced half the details I might have done, and you will readily forgive me for not bestowing so much more of my tediousness upon you ; but I think I have done it sufficiently to convince you, that there is a case made out, and that addressing itself to the honour, the integrity, the humanity, the generosity of the French nation, it will ensure us hearty co-operation there ; and thus we shall gain another great and mighty nation to assist us in this cause. You never can have the slave-trade abolished so long as slavery exists ; human cupidity will necessarily break through every law. We shall abolish the slave-trade, not by combining in particular phalanxes amongst ourselves, excluding one and taking in another ; but by a combination not only wide as the British isles, and based upon the goodness of British and Irish hearts, but extended to other mighty nations. If we have the power and will of France with us, what country will dare resist the combination, and hesitate to declare the slave-trade piracy ? The horrible miscreants of Cuba and Brazil, the greater monsters of American slave-dealers, the clipper-builders of Baltimore who invent machines to fly on the wings of the wind, to carry torture and misery from the coast of Africa to the West Indies and South America : all these will shrink into their native nothingness before the combined majesty of the British and French nations uniting in the name of God and of humanity, and operating combinedly for the liberation of the human race. I have to move,

That an address from this Convention be transmitted to the French people, earnestly impressing on them the injustice and impolicy of any longer tolerating the existence of slavery in their colonies ; and that the following gentlemen form a committee, to prepare such address : M. ISAMBERT, Dr. BOWRING, JOSIAH FORSTER, G. W. ALEXANDER, and D. TURNBULL, Esquires.

Mr. TURNBULL.—I desire to say a single word in reference to the diminution of the population in the French negro colonies. It is well known that since the question of emancipation began to be agitated with us, more especially during the period of our negro apprenticeship, and since its termination, several thousands of slaves have made their escape from Guadaloupe and Martinique, to St. Lucia, Dominica, and Antigua. This fact sufficiently accounts for the diminution of the slave population in the French West India islands, without resorting to the assumption of such a degree of severity in the management of the plantations, as to produce the waste of human life, which a mere comparison of numbers at different periods would seem to indicate. The risks which are, however, run to reach a land of freedom, serve to reveal the secrets of the prison-house, and tell a tale which, by all the means in our power, we must endeavour to press on the attention of the people and the legislature of France. The prevalence of the slave-trade, to a

much more recent period in French Guiana, and the Isle of Bourbon, than in Martinique and Guadaloupe, and the disparity of the sexes which uniformly attends the practice of forced importation, appear to me to suggest the true reason for the rapid decrease of the slave-population in these more distant settlements.

JOHN SCOBLE, Esq.—I deeply regret that circumstances have prevented me from appearing before you until this day. At the present moment I labour under considerable indisposition, but I desire to be thankful that I have sufficiently recovered to be able to meet this most interesting and important Convention. The question of French slavery, I also regret was introduced before I arrived: for I should have been pleased to compare notes with my friend Mr. TURNBULL, on a subject so important and interesting to the cause of humanity, and the welfare of thousands of the human family. I know not what matters may have been brought under your attention this morning in the paper read by Mr. TURNBULL, I have no doubt that he has presented a correct picture of the state of slavery in the French West India colonies; but I regret that I am compelled to differ a little from that gentleman in the remarks he has just offered to the meeting, in the way of explanation, as to the cause of the decrease of the slave-population in those colonies. It is most true that for many years past, a considerable number of French slaves from Martinique and Guadaloupe have found their way into the British islands, but not so large a number during the past year, as would appear from my friend's statement. So far as we have been able to collect the number, it appears that about 2000 French slaves have escaped to our colonies, and probably 1000 more may have perished in the attempt to secure their liberty. But this number covers a long period of time—I may say, probably from ten to fifteen years. During the last year to which Mr. TURNBULL particularly referred, and to which your attention was specially called by Mr. O'CONNELL, in consequence of the vigilance exercised by the police at Guadaloupe and at Martinique, very few indeed escaped. You will therefore consider that the statement which has been brought under review by Mr. O'CONNELL contains an absolute fact, and a most melancholy one, namely, that notwithstanding the improved legal condition of the French slaves since 1830, through the instrumentality, principally, of M. ISAMBERT, notwithstanding the increase in the comforts and protection, said to have been afforded them, a diminution of their numbers is rapidly going on. May I mention another fact in connexion with the population of the French colonies? It is this, that although the legal slave-trade has for many years ceased in these colonies, there can be but little doubt, that even up to nearly the present time, not a few have been illicitly introduced. We have positive evidence to prove that a considerable number of slaves was introduced in the year 1828, and we may add subsequently to that period, so that in point of fact, I venture to assert, that within the last ten years, a number has been imported equal in amount to the decrease of population referred to in those papers. I would also beg to correct a slight error of Mr. O'CONNELL in reference to Martinique. The slaves of that island never enjoyed freedom before they passed from under the dominion of France, into the hands of Great Britain. Guadaloupe was no doubt the island to which the hon. gentleman referred. St. Domingo emancipated herself. We have proof that emancipation, in both instances, was beneficial to the mother country, to the planters, and to the slaves. Much has been said with reference to the mildness of the *Code Noir*. I take a different view of that

celebrated code, from the gentlemen who have addressed you. It may be mild in some of its features, but in others it is detestable, execrable, and bloody. It gives immense power to the masters, and secures but little protection to the slaves. But if all that has been said in its favour were true, where is the executive principle to be found which should give it force; and where are to be found the men in the French colonies, who would dare to carry its provisions into operation? M. ISAMBERT will bear me witness that such men can scarcely be found. From year to year we have the most distressing accounts of the hardships, privations, and punishments of the slave population. Even during the last year their sufferings have been as fearful, as were those of the slaves of the British colonies, during the worst period of their history. I will not, however, go into particulars on the present occasion, having drafted a paper on the subject, which I shall place in the hands of the Secretaries for any purpose they may think proper to employ it. There is one point, however, to which I should like to call the attention of the Convention, and especially that of the gentlemen who have favoured us with their presence from France. I refer to the scheme of emancipation, which appears to have gained much of popular favour in that country. We, as English abolitionists, must put upon it the brand of utter condemnation. That scheme does not recognise the principle of immediate and entire emancipation; and it is upon that ground, and that alone, that I feel bound, in the presence of this assembly, to bear my solemn protest against it. I am perfectly satisfied, that the negroes in the French West India colonies are as fit for emancipation now, as were those in the British colonies when the boon was granted to them. I would confidently appeal to the French deputation present, whether the slave population of Guadaloupe, when entire emancipation was accorded to them, was not in a more degraded condition, than that of any of the French colonies of the present day. At that period, the slaves in them were chiefly composed of individuals who had been brought recently from Africa; yet these newly imported Africans were able, under a state of freedom, not only to maintain an excellent character as freemen, but to send to the mother country nearly as great an amount of produce, as under the system of slavery. It is idle to talk of gradual emancipation. Man is fit for no other condition than that of freedom. Make him free, raise him to a level with his fellow-men and fellow-citizens; and I will answer for it, that whether white or black, he will shew that he is worthy of it. There is another point to which I beg permission to allude, in connexion with the emancipation of the negroes in the French colonies, namely, the subject of compensation. When in France I regretted to find that there appeared to be an inclination among the most sincere friends of the slaves to give the colonists compensation for his liberation from bondage. Against this I felt it to be my duty earnestly to contend; especially against the monstrous proposition that the slave population should be called upon to pay in whole, or at least in part, the price of their own emancipation. Forbid it, humanity! Forbid it, justice! Forbid it, the honour of the French nation! Whatever may be done with the question of compensation in France, let not the negro pay a single sou for his freedom. We ask for the French slaves that to which they are undoubtedly entitled, complete, entire, immediate emancipation — emancipation without money and without price. In the address which the committee, appointed by this resolution, will be called upon to prepare, our great principle, must be borne in mind, that our French brethren may learn, that

in demanding unconditional freedom for their slaves, we are asking only for that which simple justice requires, and which they ought immediately to give. I demand it of the French nation, in the name of our common humanity, for the sake of the principles of natural justice and equity, which we alike acknowledge and profess ; and above all, for the sake of those great principles which I trust we all more or less recognise and revere—namely, the principles of the Christian religion. I feel it to be almost impossible for me to address you at greater length at the present time, but I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution proposed by Mr. O'CONNELL.

Captain STUART.—Our friend SCOBLE has said, that St. Domingo emancipated herself. I wish he would explain how it was done. My reason is this, there is a common notion abroad, that it was effected by bloodshed and rebellion. I am desirous that humanity should be vindicated from that charge.

Mr. SCOBLE.—Emancipation was accorded to Hayti in the first instance by the French republic, and the population of that island were placed under the control of one of the noblest spirits that ever graced the world, TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE. When I said that St. Domingo emancipated herself, I meant merely that she repelled the efforts of BUONAPARTE again to reduce her to slavery by the army he sent thither, under the command of the celebrated GENERAL LECLERC. With respect to the manner in which the Haytians secured their liberties, it should be remembered, they were not the aggressors ; they repelled force by force, they fought for freedom, and finally conquered their foe. Thus they established their liberty ; and their laws and institutions generally, I am proud and bold to say, will bear a comparison with those of any civilised people under the sun. Let it not, however, be understood when I say that the Haytians repelled force by force, and used the weapons of war in defence of their liberty, that I for one moment am the advocate or the apologist for physical force. I am persuaded that men can achieve their liberties without the sword ; I am persuaded that there is no power like moral power ; and I am satisfied that pacific principles, whenever brought to bear in passive resistance against oppression, will be found all-powerful, and all-conquering.

M. L'INSTANT, (a native of Hayti, but who has resided for some time in Paris), then addressed the Convention in French, which was afterwards translated by Dr. BOWRING, as follows—

Our friend says that formerly Hayti was not known under that name, but by that of St. Domingo. It was in 1789, that the proclamation of the rights of man emanated from the Assembly of France. The coloured people of Hayti interpreted this proclamation on common principles, and claimed the rights of freemen. These were denied them. Our friend avoids entering into details and discussions, which are too long and too elaborate to bring before the present assembly. In consequence of the position taken by the French nation, bloody scenes ensued in St. Domingo. A man whose name would ever be respected, OGEE, went to Paris for the purpose of endeavouring to obtain for them their rights. He failed in his objects there, he was refused what he sought for, and on his return to St. Domingo, he was seized by the colonists, and racked on the wheel. This

act of oppression created a spirit among the people of colour which nothing could extinguish, and, what may be called, "the liberty war," broke out. The colonists, exceedingly irritated by what was taking place among the negro population, made arrangements to deliver over the island to the English, hoping by their assistance to be enabled to continue the system of slavery. But the blacks united, and, as it was well known, compelled the English to vacate the island. **TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE**, the first of blacks, was the main instrument in effecting their emancipation. The success of the blacks was followed by the general prosperity of the island. But **NAPOLEON BUONAPARTE**, forgetful alike of his duty and his interest, sent a large fleet to re-establish French domination in the island, and to reduce the inhabitants again to slavery. Resistance of course followed. It was not the original purpose of the blacks to throw off their allegiance to the mother country, but this became necessary in consequence of the opposition with which they met. **DESSALINES** then arose, and conferred on the blacks the rights of land-owners and of citizenship, introducing such laws as the times appeared to require. He proclaimed liberty and the republic. **PETION** succeeded him. Various struggles ensued, but ultimately Hayti consolidated her government; and in 1825, its independence was recognised by a treaty with France. My principal object in addressing the Convention is to shew that the detachment of the colony from the mother country, was not the original purpose of the Haytian revolution, but grew inevitably out of the position in which they were placed, being compelled to take up arms to resist the French invader, who sought to deprive them of the liberty they had enjoyed.

M. ISAMBERT then rose, and spoke to the following effect—

I wish for the honour of my country to say a few words. I am desirous that this Convention should not confound the acts of the French government with the feelings of the French people. In the year 1789, the principles of emancipation were really established in Guiana and Guadaloupe. Martinique was not then subject to her legislation. **NAPOLEON**, however, notwithstanding the resistance of the French people, who were always opposed to the St. Domingo expedition, seduced by his desire of imitating the example, and even the faults of England, attempted the conquest of St. Domingo, and in so doing sacrificed one of the finest armies France had ever possessed; the army which had effected the conquest of Italy. But though France failed in her protest against this expedition, yet by way of making reparation for the wrongs which her government committed, she has since the restoration settled a pension on the widow and children of **TOUSSAINT L'OUVERTURE**.

MR. SCOBLE.—There is one fact of which we should not lose sight in connexion with Hayti. While the French Government has recognised its independence, Great Britain to this moment has not done so. I trust that this fact will be borne in mind by this Convention, and that some influence will be brought to bear upon the government in reference to this question, which now stands as much connected with the national dignity of this country, as with the welfare of the Haytian race.

MR. TURNBULL.—I am sorry to be obliged to differ with **MR. SCOBLE**, but we have a Consul-general there. St. Domingo is an ally of Great Britain at this moment.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I am quite aware that we have a representative of that kind in the island, not, however, armed with all the powers which Consuls-general have. At the present moment, there is under consideration a treaty of commerce with Hayti, and the recognition of its independence depends upon its ratification by both powers. I may also mention this fact, that in an interview which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society had with LORD PALMERSTON, a short time since, respecting Texas, his Lordship admitted that the independence of Hayti had not, up to that period, been recognised. There were, he said, difficulties in the way, which, he trusted, would ultimately be removed. The reason why its independence had not been recognised years ago was, that England had a private treaty with France, not to recognise it till France herself should have done so.

Colonel MILLER.—The only excuse which the American government has for not recognising the independence of Hayti is, that if we did, we should have a black ambassador at Washington.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously; after which the Convention adjourned.

FOURTH DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 16, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—With the indulgence of the Convention, I will proceed to state those circumstances with which I am acquainted regarding Dutch slavery, and the prospect of its abolition. There has been but little known in England, as to the extent and circumstances of slavery in the colonies of Holland. Up to a very recent period, the principal information we possessed was, that one colony in particular, Surinam, contained a considerable number of slaves. It was believed also, that the character of Dutch slavery was peculiarly severe. Under these circumstances it appeared desirable, in connexion with the objects of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to ascertain, as far as practicable, the extent and character of slavery in the foreign possessions of Holland, and to take such steps generally as might promote its termination. For these purposes, within the last three months, my friend, JAMES WHITEHORNE, and myself, proceeded to Holland. It will be borne in mind, that we had considerable difficulties to encounter. In the first place, we were unacquainted with the language of the people, among whom the inquiries were to be made; and, secondly, we found on our arrival in Holland, that very little was known by the inhabitants of that country respecting slavery in its foreign dependencies. The subject was almost entirely new to many with whom we conversed, and appeared to have excited very little interest on the part of the people generally. We first visited the city of Amsterdam, where, with some difficulty, we succeeded in

learning that the probable number of slaves in Surinam was about 50,000 ; but from information subsequently received, I am inclined to estimate their number at between 60,000 and 70,000. Whatever it may be, the Dutch government are correctly informed on the subject, and I trust that some friends to the cause of abolition will be able to procure a precise statement on this point. We found it still more difficult to procure an account of the number of slaves in the few small West India islands belonging to Holland ; but from intelligence received since my return home, derived from a highly respectable source, it appears that the whole number of unhappy bondsmen in the various dependencies of Holland, including Surinam, amounts to from 100,000 to 120,000. It is a very interesting inquiry—what are the circumstances of this large slave population? My remarks in reply to this question must be confined to the colony of Surinam. One of the most striking facts connected with the state of the slave population in that colony is, that the decrease in its number is not less than about five per cent. per annum, according to the best information we could obtain. A very small portion of this number may possibly be accounted for by the slaves running away, but from the evidence of persons competent to judge, this number is indeed extremely small. Neither can it be alleged as a reason for this decrease, that there is a great inequality of the sexes arising from a recent abolition of the slave-trade. I have a statement of the slave population in Surinam ten years ago, from which it appears that the number of males and females, at that period, who had arrived at marriageable years, was nearly equal, and the same remark applies to those who were of a younger age. This frightful decrease is mainly to be accounted for in this, as in every instance in which sugar cultivation is carried on by slaves, by the amount and duration of the labour required, particularly during the crop season, and the other evils incident to slavery. There are, indeed, various ways in which life is sacrificed in the production of sugar in the West India slave colonies. Besides that to which allusion has already been made, a great loss of life is occasioned by females being compelled to work in the field, at a period when their peculiar circumstances require every indulgence and care. Another cause of the decrease of the population is the large number of children who die at a very early period, doubtless from the want of that attention which a mother only can fully supply. I am unable to give any particular information as to the amount of bodily suffering inflicted on the negroes. I regret that we cannot state the number of punishments which the slaves in the colonies of Holland are called to endure. It would do much towards promoting the abolition of slavery universally, if we could have, as was formerly the case in the English colonies, an account at all approximating to the reality, of the number of punishments inflicted under this system. It is however known that the whip is used as an instrument of coercion, in the case both of male and female slaves. I am also informed, that in the colony of Surinam, a slave is not allowed to wear shoes: this is one of the circumstances by which the slave is degraded in that colony. It appears, however, that some recent steps have been taken with the view of ameliorating his condition, and one of these is, that he is not hereafter to be separated from the person whom he regards as his wife. How far this may be carried into effect I cannot say, but it is not necessary for me to state, in this assembly, that I have no confidence whatever, that any measures which may be adopted, will materially ameliorate

the condition of the slave, so long as the master possesses that power over him which is inseparable from the position in which he now stands. If from the physical condition of the slave in this colony, we turn to consider his situation, whether regarded in an intellectual, moral, or religious point of view, we have still an afflictive picture before us. Little or nothing has been done for him as regards education. As respects morality, it may be mentioned that among the whole slave population in 1830, there were only two marriages, and hitherto the slaves have acquired no rights by marriage. In connexion with the subject of religious instruction, it may be stated, that there has been in this colony, as in some others, a Moravian mission established for many years; but during the first forty years of its existence, they do not appear to have had among their converts a single slave. At the end of 100 years there were only fourteen plantations, out of between 400 and 500, to which they were permitted access. Lately through the assistance of a Society established at the Hague, the missionaries are allowed to visit 100 of these plantations, but this is done only once a month, and it frequently happens that at these times they are informed, that it is not convenient for them to see the slaves, or that they can see only a small part of their number; and thus the opportunity of affording instruction is entirely, or to a considerable extent, lost. It may, therefore, safely be stated, that very little indeed has been done for the whole of this population. I am sorry to say, that there is one part of the proceedings of the Society to which I have referred for promoting the spread of the gospel among the slaves at Surinam, which appears liable to very serious objection, it is that they have amongst their servants eighteen slaves; and I should fear from the class of persons of whom the Society is in part composed, several of whom, if I am not mistaken, are connected with the colony, there is great danger that the preaching of the gospel will not be fully and fairly carried out. I am the more jealous in this respect, from understanding that to one denomination of Christians alone is confided the charge of instructing the negroes in Surinam; and that no other minister of religion is allowed to take a part in the work. It may be proper briefly to state what appears to be the prevalent feeling in Holland, in reference to the abolition of slavery. So far as I was able to form an opinion, the general sentiment in Amsterdam is very far from satisfactory. We met with very few instances of cordial support and assistance in the object of our visit in that large city, containing 200,000 persons; and I am deeply grieved to say, that on the part of ministers of religion among others, there has been an unwillingness to co-operate in this work. I do not say that this feeling was universal. We are to bear in mind, that the subject was new, or nearly so, to most of those with whom the deputation conversed; and I trust that some, who a few months since had not given to the anti-slavery question the serious consideration which it deserves, will after having done so, feel it their duty to give us their cordial, decided, and valuable assistance. I do not despair of such being the case. At Amsterdam there was one friend in particular who did manifest a lively interest in the question, and lent us all the assistance in his power. I may be allowed to mention the name of this individual, J. S. MOLLET, the only member of the Society of Friends, resident in Holland. From Amsterdam I proceeded to Utrecht, where, during an extremely limited stay, I saw only PROFESSOR ACKERSDYKE, who manifested a lively interest in the abolition of slavery. Our friends, SAMUEL GURNEY, ELIZABETH FRY, and WILLIAM ALLEN, afterwards visited Amsterdam and

Utrecht, and at both these towns had very satisfactory meetings. At Amsterdam the meeting was attended by about fifty persons ; at Utrecht by about eighty. The fact, however, as regards an unwillingness to labour on behalf of the slave at Amsterdam, remains as has been stated. From Utrecht I proceeded to Leyden, where J. S. MOLLER was my companion ; and there among the few persons we saw, I am glad to say that there was scarcely any difference of opinion as to the duty of abolishing slavery. We next visited the Hague, and through the kind assistance of GROEN VAN PRINTEREN, had the opportunity of meeting a pretty considerable number of persons, including several of distinction. I trust that among our friends at the Hague some will afford important aid in the future prosecution of the anti-slavery undertaking ; and I hope that G. VAN PRINTEREN will be one of this number. We afterwards proceeded to Rotterdam, where we found some zealous and decided friends of the negro, including the English Episcopal minister, Dr. BOSWORTH, (whose name is well known in this country as an Anglo Saxon scholar), EBENEZER MILLER, the English Independent Minister, and the two ministers of the Scotch church in that town. All of these manifested a most cordial disposition to promote the abolition cause. Before leaving Rotterdam, a meeting was held for the purpose of communicating information on the subject of our mission. An endeavour was made to show not only the extent and some of the appalling circumstances connected with the actual state of the slave-trade and slavery, that thus those who were present might be aware of the greatness of the evil to which their attention was called, but also to point out the very beneficial results of emancipation in the English colonies. At the close of the meeting, the junior Scotch minister expressed his regret, that he had not, during the course of the proceedings, proposed the formation of a Society for promoting the abolition of slavery in the Dutch colonies. I remarked in reply, that the present moment appeared as suitable as during the meeting for taking such a step, and that if the friends of the cause were disposed to form a committee prior to my leaving Holland, it would afford me great satisfaction. A committee was accordingly formed. Since returning home, I have heard, not unfrequently, from persons in Holland, on the question of slavery, and the general impression on my mind is, that the subject of slavery has recently excited considerable attention in that country, and that there is a disposition to regard it with a view to the termination of the system. At the same time there are many doubts in the minds of some well disposed individuals, as to the propriety of immediate emancipation. I am extremely desirous that we should do all that we can to convince the friends of humanity in Holland, of the duty which devolves upon them in reference to the subject which has been brought under their notice. Notwithstanding what has been now said, there are few countries to which I am disposed to look with more hopeful feelings, as respects the progress of the anti-slavery cause than to Holland. There is a large amount of intelligence in that land, and not a small number of individuals actuated by Christian sentiments. Among these, there will, I trust, be raised up men, like-minded with those who have laboured in the work of abolition in England, who will see it to be their duty to consecrate a large portion of their time to the deeply interesting work of promoting the emancipation of the slaves in the colonies of their native land.

Mr. FULLER.—What sort of meetings were those at which WILLIAM ALLEN and the Friends attended ? Were they connected with this subject ?

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I understand them to have been Anti-slavery meetings. If it will be any satisfaction to the Convention I will read a few lines referring to them, written by J. S. MOLLET, of Amsterdam. In a letter to me, he says, "In the course of this excursion, though our friends have made prisons and the houses for the insane a chief object of their inquiries and examination, the subject of slavery has likewise had a share in their labours of love. This has been particularly the case at this place (Amsterdam) and at Utrecht. One of the meetings they had in this town, and which was attended by upwards of fifty persons of both sexes, was wholly devoted to explaining the views of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society; and at Utrecht, in a similar assembly, where more than eighty persons were present, nearly two hours were employed in the same way. PROFESSOR ACKERSDYKE was one of the hearers, and both WILLIAM ALLEN and SAMUEL GURNEY stated the principal events connected with the history of this cause in England, after which I likewise gave some details on the subject of slavery in the Dutch colonies, shewing the necessity of putting an end to the prevailing system, even for the real interest of the owners of the plantations. Besides this, we had a great deal of conversation on the anti-slavery question with several individuals of note at Rotterdam, the Hague, Utrecht, Zeist, and even at Zwoll; and have every where endeavoured to shew the necessity of procuring as much information as possible on the abuses arising from a state of slavery in our own colonies as well as in yours, and of spreading this information at large, through the means of our various periodical publications, which will certainly be done in a short time." I think it must be distinctly understood from this letter, that one or more meetings held by our friends have been decidedly and exclusively anti-slavery meetings, and they appear to have been of a very satisfactory character.

Mr. WILSON.—As I understand it, meetings to explain the principles on which anti-slavery operations are based. There is no qualification about it whatever.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—The last remark which has been made leads me to observe, that the Committee at Rotterdam is the only one formed in Holland; but I have received a letter from the northern part of that country, signed by several influential individuals, in which they state, that in consequence of a communication made to them, they have considered the subject of emancipation, and the conclusion to which they have arrived is, that although it is exceedingly desirable that slavery should be immediately abolished—an event to which they look forward with anxiety—they entertain the opinion, that at present the slaves in the Dutch colonies are not prepared for freedom. I believe we must allow a little time to elapse, before our friends in Holland will be sufficiently enlightened to induce them to adopt generally vigorous measures. I proceed to observe, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was anxious to extend its inquiries into the slavery of St. Bartholomew, an island which is connected with Sweden; and a few weeks after returning from Holland, while the Diet, which meets only once in five years, was sitting, I set off for Stockholm. Very little has been known with respect to the slaves supposed to be held under the government of Sweden. I imagined (taking this opinion from books) that their number was 8000 or 9000, but it appears on better information, that this was a very considerable mistake. In Stockholm I found that it was very generally believed that they amounted to between 2000 and 3000; but some persons thought that

there were no slaves in St. Bartholomew. However, before leaving the capital of Sweden, I had reason to coincide that there were between 800 and 900 slaves in the island. In Sweden, as in Holland, the subject of slavery had excited but little attention, but it has not been my lot to travel in any country, in which there has been manifested a more lively disposition to co-operate in plans for promoting its entire abolition. It appeared to me, that in Sweden there was a great deal of what I may be allowed to call English feeling, in reference to slavery. At Stockholm, where I remained one fortnight, I was present at the formation of an Anti-slavery Society, and received distinct assurances that the abolition of slavery in St. Bartholomew should be brought before the Diet now in session. PROFESSOR TOMANDER, an eloquent member of the legislature, has stated that he would introduce a motion on the subject in the Diet, if this was not done by some other member of that body; and PROFESSOR GEIER, an eminent historian and poet, is no less pledged to support the object in the same assembly. I had communications with several persons of distinction, among whom were the CROWN PRINCE and the ARCHBISHOP OF SWEDEN, both of whom were decidedly favourable to the abolition of slavery. There is one peculiarity in the circumstances of the small island of St. Bartholomew. Although it is generally supposed to appertain to Sweden, yet it does, in point of fact, belong to the KING of that country, and the Diet has no direct power over it. There can, however, be no doubt, that if the Diet were decidedly and generally to express its wish that the system should be altered, such a circumstance would be likely to influence the KING; and especially, if the Diet were further to declare that it would gladly co-operate with the SOVEREIGN, in any measure necessary to carry into effect the measure of abolition. I have very little information to give as to the condition of the slaves, but that they are exceedingly neglected, perhaps more so, than in many other places in which slavery prevails; and there appears reason for believing that St. Bartholomew is a refuge for slave-traders and pirates. The remarks now made comprise the substance of the information which I received during my stay in Sweden. I am not without hope that the small efforts which I have made will be productive of some good to that deeply interesting cause, for the promotion of which we are met. It appears to me to be our duty to endeavour to interest every government which is connected with slavery, in the abolition of that wicked system; knowing, as we do, how much the moral influence arising from emancipation by one country will promote the universal overthrow of slavery. Allow me to say, before I sit down, that among the remarks which have been made in the course of this Conference, there have been some with which I do not entirely agree. I refer to those which have dwelt on the great difficulties with which the cause of abolition has to contend, and which suppose it a very possible circumstance, that owing to these difficulties a long period may elapse before the object we seek is extensively effected. I entertain entirely different sentiments. I believe that the period is very fast hastening when slavery shall cease to exist throughout the world. The exertions of abolitionists will be crowned with success, assisted as they are by the glorious abolition of slavery in the English colonies. At Amsterdam, in a conversation with a slave-holder, he remarked, that the feeling of Europe was decidedly against slavery; that formerly he had been afraid of the blacks, but that now he was afraid of the whites; and I believe that he has ground for the apprehension which he entertains. Where we are engaged in a good

cause we are not to measure the probability of success by comparing the extent of the machinery employed, with the greatness of the object we are seeking to accomplish. With the Divine blessing comparatively insignificant means are sufficient to accomplish the most important results. Believing as I do, that this blessing will continue to rest upon our endeavours, I trust that we shall all labour with the strong conviction that the day is fast approaching, when the nations of the earth shall universally have abolished slavery, and that with its downfall an immense increase shall take place in the amount of human happiness—the tide of civilization shall receive a mighty impetus where it now rolls sluggishly, or scarcely moves at all—pure morality, which most, if not all of us, dearly love, and which I consider to be the root and foundation of our proceedings, shall receive new brightness, and shall no longer be tarnished by that inhuman, that cruel, and unrighteous system of slavery which for centuries has disgraced the nations of the earth.

JAMES WHITEHORNE, Esq., (of Bristol).—I should not appear before you after the clear statement made by Mr. ALEXANDER, were it not for a desire to refer to one or two circumstances which have apparently escaped his recollection. In regard to marriage among slaves in the Dutch colony of Surinam, in the evidence we obtained, it was distinctly stated, that the relation did not exist among the slaves on the plantations, that in fact it is not recognised by the laws of the state, and therefore has no legal existence. In regard to instruction by the Moravian missionaries: they have been there for a century. During the first ninety years they had obtained liberty of access to fourteen estates only, and that at distant intervals, and of a very unsatisfactory character. In the last ten years, by the aid of a Society in Holland, they have been allowed to visit about forty estates. They were not permitted to teach the negroes on the estates to read; so that the slaves could not refer for themselves to the word of God. Oral instruction alone was given, and many of the managers were so opposed to that, as often to send the missionaries away, and frequently to shorten the time during which they were permitted to speak. When visiting one estate, they were not permitted to have the negroes from adjoining plantations. The missionaries could not affirm that during these hundred years, there had been a single slave on the estates converted to God. The influence that we may exercise in promoting the abolition of slavery in that colony, may be of a feeble character; but there is one fact to which Mr. ALEXANDER has not alluded, which I think is of some importance in this respect. There are between forty and fifty estates in Surinam, possessed by British proprietors resident in Great Britain. That fact is not generally known, nor may its importance be immediately seen. It shews, however, that we have a body of people upon whom we can act directly, and it will be for this Convention, or the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to adopt measures regarding them. Can they continue to be slave-holders, where the nation has pronounced its ban against the system of slavery? We have not the same power over the proprietors of Holland, as over our own fellow-citizens; but some influence may be exercised. I should therefore propose that a committee be formed, to suggest the best methods of acting upon the proprietors both in England and in Holland. It has been proposed that we should address the French nation on the subject of slavery; I think there ought to be a similar address from this Convention in its aggregate capacity, to the people of Holland.

Rev. T. SCALES.—It is important that the Convention should know that the gentleman who has just sat down, was formerly a resident in Jamaica and a slave-holder. I believe it is a fact, that instead of putting into his own pocket the compensation money for those who had been in bondage, he gave it to those who had been his slaves.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—Allow me to explain a little apparent discrepancy between my friend's statement and my own. I received information after I left Holland, which appeared to afford ground for what I stated with regard to education, and also with respect to the existence of marriages in some instances.

HENRY HOLLAND, Esq., (delegate from Spilsby).—I beg to ask whether the slaves in the Dutch colonies can by any means obtain manumission, and whether there are any free persons of colour in those islands.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—There are free persons of colour undoubtedly. Whether the slaves can obtain manumission I cannot say.

Captain MOORSOM, R.N., (of Birmingham).—The resolution which has been put into my hands, grows naturally out of the address which has been made to the meeting by Mr. ALEXANDER, but it appears to me to connect itself also with a part of the business of the Convention, as stated in the printed paper before us. I am not aware whether it has been decided by the meeting, to take up these things in detail, as the subjects to which they apply occur, or to take them in the connexion in which they are put down ; but presuming that the resolution I hold is all right, I have only to move it. I would, however, just draw your attention to that with which it connects itself in the proposed scheme of the business of the Convention, namely, the fifth branch of the fourth series, "International"—"free governments endeavouring to influence others that tolerate either slavery or the slave-trade." Supposing that that subject will be before the Convention, and that an opportunity will be afforded of connecting the subject of this resolution with it, I shall say nothing more than simply move—

That a Committee be appointed to prepare a report on the present state of slavery in the Dutch colonies, together with an address to the people of Holland, upon the duty and advantages of seeking its immediate abolition, and that the REV. JOHN KEEP, and G. W. ALEXANDER, and JAMES WHITEHORNE, Esquires, be the said Committee.

SETH SPRAGUE, Esq., (of the Massachusetts Legislature, U. S.)—It is with no small diffidence that I attempt to address an assembly like this, especially after the talented gentlemen who have spoken from the United States. I feel a deep interest in every thing that concerns the abolition of slavery, as it is entwined around the institutions of the states composing that country to which I belong, to which I owe allegiance, to which I am bound, and which I love as my right hand. I cannot feel indifferent to anything which concerns her happiness and her welfare. The abolition of slavery in foreign countries must have a strong bearing upon every part of the United States. I need not speak of the power and influence of Great Britain in every part of the world. In the United States we look to all the nations around us as an example, and whatever they do upon this subject has its effect upon us. It should, however, be known to the Convention, that we are not situated like

Great Britain or France, or even Holland itself. Those countries can buy their slaves, and set them free, but we cannot do it. The national government has no control by legislation, in freeing the slaves in the several states. Hence we are very differently situated from you, or any other nation in the world. How long would it have been ere you had abolished slavery in the West India Colonies, had your only resource been the colonial legislatures? How long must you have appealed to them, and what an influence must you have thrown around them, to have induced them to come forward and liberate the slaves without compensation or reward? This is our situation in the United States. We have no power over the states which hold slaves. Congress can pass no law for the manumission of slaves, except it be in the district of Columbia, a place only ten miles square. But slavery is entwining itself around our institutions and our country, and I tremble for the consequences either now, or at some future day. The difficulties that surround us are so great, that we look to the whole world to throw their influence around us, and to make slavery appear so odious and hateful to all rational and sensible men, that the owners of slaves shall be induced to give them up. You may be assured, that anything which comes from this side of the water is felt by the southern planters, that it places them in a very peculiar and very delicate situation. Hence it is they threaten us, that if we persevere in our measures for the abolition of slavery, they will separate from the free states. The northern states are extremely sensitive on the subject of the national union, they fear this threatened separation; and hence the abolitionists have to encounter opposition with which they would not otherwise have to contend. The state legislatures where slavery exists, tell the free states that they have no right to interfere with them: that it is their own business, which by the American compact and constitution, belongs exclusively to themselves, and consequently they will not permit us to discuss the topic within their limits. Great Britain must send out a moral influence abroad amongst us, by its periodicals and its literature. Your agents never can travel in our country; they could not use the language there which they utter here. What would you think of an American coming to England, with the view of reforming your institutions? This thought will enable you to appreciate the prejudices and feelings of American citizens on the subject. I merely rose, however, to second the resolution, not being prepared to enter into detail.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

MOHAMMEDAN SLAVERY.

Dr. BOWRING.—I have been called upon to address the Convention on a subject of the greatest interest, and the greatest importance. I regret that it has not been in my power to prepare a formal report, and that all which I shall be able to do, will be to address to the Convention those desultory and unarranged observations which immediately occur to me. My first feeling was a desire to appeal to your candid forbearance, and to entreat that you would deal indulgently with me, while I led you to lands to which, perhaps, less than to any other in modern times, has the attention of the friends of the abolition of slavery been directed. But on second thoughts it occurred to me, that to those who are acquainted with the pages of their Bible I am to present little that is new, little with which they are not familiar. That which existed forty centuries ago, exists now. Those beautiful and faithful

stories which you will find in Holy Writ, are still palpable to your touch, and visible to your eyes. If you will go into Syria, Arabia, and Egypt, in the desert you will find to this hour many a patriarch with his camels and his asses, his man servants and his maid servants, his bondsmen and his bondswomen. Amongst those who occupy the highest official stations in the East there is many a man who has reached it through the door of slavery. Many a JOSEPH exists now, the vicissitudes of whose history you may study, and know how truthful is the Hebrew tale. It is true, that even the ruins of Babylon have been swept away ; that of Tadmor in the desert, only broken and ruined pillars remain ; that in Tyre and Sidon, the only activity which exists is that of the lizard, and the newt, and the scorpions, which are scrambling over their depopulated walls. But there is Jerusalem, and Damascus, and Antioch, and Nazareth, and Alexandria, and Smyrna, and Sychar, still great and still distinguished as in the days of old. The Mohammedan law has recognised the law of Judaism, and I say, and I am bound to say it in reproach of Christian character and Christian conduct, that the Mohammedan oppression weighs not so heavily upon the slave as that of professing Christians. The law of the Koran has recommended the slave to the humanity of the Mussulman, and I hope that I shall be allowed to refer to the phrasology of that remarkable man whom they call their prophet, inasmuch as you will see that all which is kind and generous, and benevolent in it, he has taken from a higher source. What does he say ? "Show kindness to parents and relations, and orphans, to the poor, and your neighbour who is akin to you, to the stranger, to your familiar companions, to the traveller, and to the captive whom your right hand shall possess, for Allah loveth not the proud and the vain glorious." I hope I shall not be misunderstood as attempting to establish any contrasts between Mohammedanism and Christianity. It is because I would elevate Christianity and refer to what its founder intended that it should be, that I bring forward these quotations from the Koran. In another passage, he opens the door to the manumission of Mohammedan slaves, and he says, "Unto such of your slaves as desire a written proof that they may redeem themselves, give it—if you have found them faithful ; and give them of your wealth which God has given you." Again, "Marry those maid servants whom you possess, who are true believers. Ye are of common origin." (That certainly is not a happy translation of the nobler sentiment of Christianity, ye are the children of a common Father). "Marry them with the consent of their masters, and give them their dower according to justice, and if they sin," (there is benevolence and kindness in this, taken out of the Mosaic law,) "if they sin," (inasmuch as they have not had the advantage of the instruction which you have possessed), "let them only be punished with half the punishment inflicted on the free." In this there is a generous humanity, because the slave was not supposed to have had the same means of information, the same knowledge of the law. What is right and what is elevated in Mohammedanism, I am the first to confess has been taken from Judaism and from Christianity ; but I am also compelled to acknowledge, that the Mohammedans have given more prominency to their sacred writings, and have been more influenced by their directions, than we whose Bible is derived from a higher authority, and whose sanctions are of a nobler character. Allow me to refer to a beautiful tradition among the Mohammedans, which has a great effect upon their temper and conduct. There is a verse in the Koran which says, "Paradise is prepared for those

who bridle their anger and forgive men : Allah loveth the beneficent." Now the story which every Mohammedan child has heard from his youth is this. HASSANBEN ALI had a slave who threw over him at table, a dish which was boiling hot. Fearing his master's resentment, he threw himself on his knees before him, and said, "Paradise is for those who bridle their anger." His master kindly replied, "I am not angry." The slave added, "And who forgive." "I forgive thee." "But Allah loveth the beneficent," continued the slave. "I give you your liberty and 400 pieces of silver." I put it to you, my Christian friends, whether there is not instruction—touching, eloquent, even Christian instruction in this Mussulman tradition? One circumstance very interesting, and particularly as associated with the state of things in the East is this—that among them they have no distinction of colour, no nobility of skin. White men of the highest ranks marry black women ; and black men frequently occupy the highest social and official stations. At this moment the Scherif of Mecca—the holy city—a man of the highest authority in the East, is as black as a raven. I have over and over again, on the Nile, seen the Nubian commanding the white men of northern Egypt ; and I have again and again in the East seen black men domineering it—I hope the expression will be pardoned—over their white dependents. I recollect, on one occasion, a black man in an Egyptian regiment had his leg amputated by a distinguished friend of mine in the East, CLOT BEY, and when the Bey expressed his surprise that his patient uttered no exclamation of distress, that he cried not for mercy or for pity, and said to him, "Why, you are indeed a brave man, I had no idea that so much pain could have been borne with so much patience." His reply was, "Do you think that a Nubian (a black man) is no better than a Fellah (a white one)." The slavery of the East is not the slavery of the field, but of the household. In the dispensations of Providence, in those countries in which slavery forms a part and portion of the social organization, the Divine Being has tempered the wind to the shorn lamb. The slaves are regarded with a certain tenderness and affection in those countries where mortality frequently sweeps the people away by devastations of the most cruel character. The plague often removes men in multitudes. I knew a case myself, of a Mohammedan governor, who of 70 children had lost 69 ; and the consequence is, that the affections of the Mohammedans frequently associate themselves with the children whom they have bought, and who become a part of their family. Throughout the East the slave is not regarded as degraded, inasmuch as slavery is no impediment to his reaching the highest social elevation. I believe that at this moment three-fourths of the Divan of Constantinople are composed of men stolen in their youth, who are wholly unacquainted with their early history, and from whom you can learn nothing of the names of their forefathers ; of the scenes of their childhood, or even of the place of their birth. Such is the state of the slaves in the East ; but while I am contrasting their situation with that of those who are dependent on Christian masters, do not suppose for a moment, that even there, the influences of slavery are not most deplorable. Even there, slavery is the great impediment to civilization, to the march of instruction, to the introduction and the progress of civil liberty. It may be shown without difficulty that the present condition of the Caliphate, whose race I believe to be nearly run, and whose downward destinies are about to be accomplished, is to be traced to that pollution, that degradation, that misery, that ruin which the principle and

practice of slavery have everywhere introduced. I have spoken of the weakness of the Caliphate, because out of that weakness I think an opportunity is afforded to you of doing great good in the Levant. The Mohammedan influence represented by the sword and the book—the only two influences which they recognise—is passing away. The Christian powers are sovereigns at Constantinople and in the Ottoman empire, and not the Sultan. I trust that some appeal will be made by you to them, in order to show that their influence ought to be exercised for noble, and patriotic, and Christian purposes; and, I believe, that such influence at this moment would not be exercised in vain. When my friend, Mr. Buxton, visited Rome the other day, and endeavoured to obtain from his Holiness the Pope such influence for the abolition of slavery, as he still exercises in the Christian world, he was engaged in a holy and a useful work. That which is true in the West as it respects the Pope, is true in the East as respects the Sultan, and the power of the Caliphate. Their political power has as much passed away, as the alchemy of Paracelsus, or the astronomy of Ptolemy. But I am persuaded that if the influence of the Christian powers be immediately and properly used at Constantinople, something may be obtained from that tottering government, which will be eminently conducive to the abolition of slavery. You were all interested by the appeal which was made to-day by M. CREMIEUX, and by that touching appeal in which he associated the cause of his brethren, with the cause which has brought us together. The bond of affinity is far greater than even he represented it. The persecution of the Jews at Damascus is a part and portion of the question of slavery, and I shall bring it home to your minds by reciting a fact, of which I was an eye witness in the Holy Land. I was a visitor to the governor of Nablous, the capital of Samaria, the Shechem of the Old Testament, and the Sychar of the New; that spot in which the Samaritans to this hour, for there is still a fragment of the Samaritans left, worship the God of their fathers on Mount Gherizim—that spot interesting and hallowed, let me say, beyond most other spots in that most interesting and hallowed land, in which our Saviour uttered the words, “God is a Spirit, and they who worship Him must worship Him in spirit and in truth.” In the house of the GOVERNOR of that city I was living, when I saw a handsome youth brought in, aged perhaps seven, eight, or nine years. He was purchased by the GOVERNOR for the sum of 7,000 piastres, or about £70. sterling. The boy knew nothing of his early history; he had been stolen probably by the Turkish officer who was then selling him. His own condition had nothing in it that was distressing; for the recollection of his friends and his family had passed away, and received as he was into the bosom of a distinguished and opulent house, he had nothing of which to complain. But you will ask what reference has this to the proceedings at Damasens? Why this—that this demand for slaves perpetually leads to the loss of children, to the robbing of families, to the miseries which you can better estimate than I can give expression to. Throughout the whole of Syria children are constantly lost, their parents are deprived of them by one perfidious pirate or another, and they are sold into slavery, and of this crime the Jews are the commonly accused parties. The Jews, as in the dark ages, are the victims of every species of calumny. When a child is lost in the East, some unhappy Jew is accused of the robbery. Christians and Mussulmans have agreed to represent the Jews as the traders in children, as the stealers of their offspring, and as stealing them for the purpose of sacrifice, and it is out

of this extraordinary impression, this very persecution at Damascus may have had its origin—a persecution originating in blood and infatuated superstition. But in that state of society in which there are so many mothers, who have had to deplore the loss of their children, in which, as you are aware, there are so few means of communication, so little civilization, so much ignorance, so little knowledge, so much of prejudice, so little publicity, these unfortunate Jews have been fixed upon as the victims of the abominable persecutions which have occurred at Damascus, and which only represent, I am sorry to say, the state of the public mind in the Holy Land. But then what is to be done? Is this state of things to continue? Is slavery to be ever tolerated? Are those usages among Mohammedan nations, which have come down from the remotest time, which probably existed before the days of Abraham—for Abraham, and Abraham's ancestors dwelt at Damascus—are they never to be removed? I ask whether by the intervention of Christians at the present moment, we might not do something to put an end to these abominations; something to elevate the general tone and character of the Mohammedan mind; something to shew that in the abolition of slavery, all nations, all religions have a common interest, and that for its overthrow they are bound to unite in a common co-operation? It appears to me that much may be done if recourse be had to proper means. I had occasion, when, honoured by a mission from Her Majesty's Government to the East, to bring the whole question of slavery to the notice of the present rulers of the country. I need not describe to you the horrors which accompany the capture of the slave. I need not tell you, for it would harrow up your souls, how much of misery, how much of blood is scattered over every track upon which the slave passes on his way to his final purchaser. I have seen slavery at its birth-place, and I believe that it may be checked there; that if you direct your energies aright, you may attack it in its cradle, and that your Hercules is strong enough to strangle the serpent of slavery. I look upon eastern Africa with peculiar interest, because the means of action there, are far greater than on the western coast; and while I earnestly desire that every effort should be made on the Gambia, and in the West, I cannot but think that the East presents greater facilities, and greater promise of important results. One portion of eastern Africa, as you are aware, is Christian, and a large portion of it is Mohammedan; Christian and Mohammedan, such as they are, polluted as they are, (for I am bound to say that the Christianity of barbarous nations partakes of their barbarism, and that if you would see it in its purity, in its beauty, in its higher excellency, you must associate it with all the developments of mind, and of intellect,) there are some elements to work upon. I had occasion to represent to the Viceroy of Egypt, accompanied by the CONSUL-GENERAL of that country, COLONEL CAMPBELL, to whose efficient services I am bound to pay my grateful tribute, that it would do his Highness much honour, that it would elevate his name among European nations, if he would endeavour to check the slave-hunts, and the atrocities committed by the troops which own him as their sovereign. I hold in my hand a report which LORD PALMERSTON has kindly allowed to be communicated to Mr. BUXTON, with reference to his own most meritorious exertions, and which therefore I may be permitted to read here. I will take the liberty of calling your attention to a fragment of the Report, which in a few days will be laid before Parliament, and which represents what took place at the interview between MOHAMMED ALI, COLONEL CAMPBELL and myself, on the 16th January, 1838. It is as follows—

When we had obtained sufficient evidence to authorise an interference with the PACHA, on the subject of the slave-hunts carried on by his Highness' troops in Sennaar, and other frontiers of his dominions, the CONSUL-GENERAL and myself, determined to make a strong representation to him on the subject. And here I have the greatest satisfaction in reporting, that on this, as on every other occasion, I found from COLONEL CAMPBELL the most eager and energetic co-operation, the utmost willingness, and most earnest desire to use all his influence for any object of humane and generous policy. It was certainly a task of some difficulty to address a Mohammedan PACHA, on a subject where everything we had to say would be new and unexpected; and where, in whatever terms our remonstrances might be couched, they would necessarily imply censure, and might provoke resistance. We could not, however, seek or obtain a remedy, unless we laid open the abuse. We had, indeed, the satisfaction of knowing, that in the discharge of a heavy and responsible duty, we had no motives but those of humanity; and we hoped, should the PACHA not be disposed to adopt our suggestions, that we might at least convince him, our interference had in it nothing of an unfriendly character. Indeed, the CONSUL-GENERAL and myself thought, that if the representations took the shape rather of amicable counsel, than of formal diplomatic intervention, we were more likely to succeed; inasmuch as a Mohammedan Governor, who finds slavery interwoven with every part of the social organization around him, would undoubtedly resist, and be encouraged by every prejudice and passion of his subjects, to resist a formal interference with usages of immemorial date, and sanctioned by the special authority of his prophet.

It was during the Ramadan festival that we made our way to the palace of the PACHA at Shoubra. This was our second attempt to see him on the subject, for we had gone the previous day to the palace of his daughter, the widow of the DEFTERDAR BEY, on the other side of Cairo, and had learned that the PACHA had departed. We found his Highness smoking one of the splendidly decorated pipes, dazzling with multitudinous diamonds, which are used on great festivities; and the snuff-box lustrous with brilliants, lay by his side on the Divan.

He is most keen in perceiving whether the communications about to be made, are of a pleasing or disagreeable character; and he soon gave us reason to suppose, he knew that we were about to address him

on some not attractive subject. Of this he had no doubt been informed by his intelligent American interpreter, ARTIN BEY, to whom we had indeed stated our intention of bringing the slavery question to the notice of his master. COLONEL CAMPBELL began by saying, that he felt pain in being compelled to speak to his Highness, on a matter where his own officers and troops were so deeply concerned; but that if he knew how seriously his own reputation was involved, how deeply the universal mind of England was moved on the question of Negro Slavery, he would excuse and approve of the step we were now taking, and consider that we were rendering him a great service, by suggesting that before any official representations were made, he should take the initiative, by immediately putting a stop to the slave-hunts in the south.

Fire flashed from the old man's eyes as we spoke; he grasped the sword, as he frequently does when excited, which lay upon his knees, and all his gestures showed a strong excitement, but his features gradually relapsed into a more complacent expression, and he said, he doubted much, whether his troops had ever been paid in slaves; that he had never heard the fact mentioned; that he knew, indeed, his officers traded in slaves, of which he much disapproved; that he disliked the slave-trade himself, and should be very happy to abolish it altogether, by slow degrees, which was the only way it could be accomplished. We told him that we would not have presumed to bring the matter before him, had we not evidence the most irresistible, showing that the slave-hunts were carried on by his troops; that wages were paid in slaves, and that horrible sufferings and frightful waste of life were the consequences of the system. He asked how can my soldiers' wages be paid in slaves, when there is not a soldier to whom a sum exceeding seventy-five piastres, fifteen shillings, was due; and the very lowest price of a slave was 150 piastres.

We told him that the slaves were distributed in parcels according to the amounts due to the troops; that in this way fifty slaves of the value of 150 piastres would be given to pay the arrears of 75 piastres due to 100 soldiers. He still doubted our statements, and offered to send an officer to accompany any person we would nominate, into the districts in order to report; and if matters were found as we stated, he would give orders to put an end to the abuse. We replied that we had the facts not only from foreigners, but from English travellers of

undoubted veracity, and that he might be assured we were not misleading him by any false representation or heightened colouring; that the language he had used with respect to slavery did him the highest honour; and that his carrying out a purpose so humane and noble, would throw the greatest lustre on his administration and reputation. He said he would forward a despatch that very evening to the Commandant of the district, peremptorily forbidding the employment of his troops in the capture of negroes, and the payment of their wages in slaves; and that a copy of his order should be sent to the Consulate. I ventured to tell him that I had no doubt publicity would be given to his humane intentions in England—and I rejoice here to fulfil the pledge I gave him—and that however great the difficulties might seem in the way of abolishing the slave-trade, they would be overcome by a determined perseverance, and that the glory of success would be heightened by the impediments surmounted. I added, that his neighbour, the IMAUM of Muscat, also a Mohammedan Prince, had given already a noble example, by abolishing the export slave-trade at the sacrifice of a large annual revenue; to which his Highness answered, he had the highest opinion of the character of the IMAUM, and was on terms of intimate alliance with him. We mentioned to the PACHA that several Frenchmen were also engaged in the slave-trade. The PACHA answered that he had never authorised the carrying on the slave-trade by foreigners.”

It is a deplorable fact to which I call the attention of my friend M. ISAMBERT, that the tri-coloured flag is used at the Nile for the purpose of conducting Nubians to slavery. That flag which I would always treat with respect, because I love and honour the nation which it represents. But it is undoubtedly a fact, of which I have had individual and personal experience, that that flag is degraded, and that nation is dishonoured by being made the means of bringing Nubians to the slave-markets of Tyre and Alexandria. We mentioned these facts to the PACHA, and reported the names of those whom the Consul-General thought it necessary to denounce to the French Consul, in order to obtain the interference of the French government to put a stop to their iniquitous proceedings. I have stated in another part of this Report, that I am confident it will be possible by direct negociation to obtain the concurrence of the PACHA of Egypt, the most influential of Mohammedan Sovereigns, the only Sovereign who is rising in influence while every other is falling. I have no doubt whatever that it will be possible to obtain his aid, his co-operation in the abolition of slavery in the Levant. The sufferings of the blacks in Eastern Africa are beyond all description. I have seen the caravans coming over the desert, the slaves naked, exhausted, and emaciated, telling the story of the multitudes who had perished in the way, and the sufferings of those who had been preserved. I

have heard from their own lips what has happened when these gazzuas or slave-hunts have desolated districts capable of bountiful and boundless production—districts which have been delivered over to destruction by this omnipotent and barbarizing scourge. I need not speak to you of the aptitudes of Eastern Africa. I will mention one fact with reference to a small part of that portion of the globe. At the confluence of the White and Blue Nile, there is a town called Kartoum, which you will scarcely find noticed upon maps. A few years ago there was hardly an inhabitant to occupy the few negro huts erected there. The whole of the neighbouring country was desolated and depopulated by the slave-hunts, yet the situation is one of the most attractive which exists; and a town has lately, by the gradual progress of civilization, been erected. According to the last accounts, there were not less than 20,000 inhabitants, in a spot, whose name, as I said before, was almost unknown to geographers. The neighbouring territory has been called into fertility, and many Europeans have already made their fortunes there. To what is this to be attributed? To the influence of peace, to the security obtained for person and property. I know no reason why this influence should not extend. I believe it would be possible to prove to every Sovereign in Eastern Africa, that, to say nothing of his duty, it is his interest to employ the labour of his subjects in the cultivation of the fields on the spot on which they are born. I would put it on the selfish ground of his own interests, and shew him that far more is to be obtained from the African labourer, if left to cultivate the soil, than by selling him away from his native land. I have no doubt that if this consideration be strongly put forward, the foundation will be laid for great and important changes. Do not believe that even the Christian people of Africa are not deeply involved in slavery. Do not believe that the stigma attaches only to Mohanmedanism and Paganism. Not long ago two priests from the capital of Abyssinia, had charge of some Christian youths whom they were to take to Jerusalem. Among all Oriental nations pilgrimage is a paramount duty, a great enjoyment; it brings with it reputation for sanctity. On this occasion, these nominally Christian teachers, when they reached Massouwa, the port of Abyssinia, sold these children as slaves to Mussulman masters. I mention this, lest you should suppose that a mere profession of Christianity gives you any guarantee for the overthrow of slavery. Christianity must come with its high and its ennobling principles, with its virtues as well as with its creeds; and sure I am, that when it comes represented by its benevolence and by its charity, it will produce important changes, not only among Mohammedan nations, but throughout the world.

Mr. SAMS—Having, some time ago, visited the whole of the interesting countries to which our worthy friend has alluded, and feeling with him a peculiar interest in those countries, I am disposed, with the permission of the CHAIRMAN, to add a few words to what he has stated. I agree in opinion with Dr. BOWRING that the state of slavery in Eastern Africa is indeed not so wretched, and that the slaves do not experience that cruel treatment which obtains (with sorrow be it said) under Christian domination. Nevertheless, I was much pleased with one observation of the worthy DOCTOR, that he wished some memorial might go from this Convention to the Governors of the East, say to the SULTAN and to MOHAMMED ALI, to the latter of whom I had also the pleasure of being introduced. I am persuaded, from the kind feeling of the Governors of these parts, that a memorial from this assembly, recommending the aboli-

tion of slavery, would receive very great attention. Although the slaves do not suffer in Eastern Africa, as our slaves did in the West Indies, still slavery is an extreme evil, even there. I have seen many distresses, and sorrowful circumstances arise from it. We are aware that Egypt borders on Nubia, the Ethiopia of the sacred volume, a land which is peopled by blacks. A large number of these are introduced annually into Egypt, not merely for the supply of that country, but for the use of nearly all the Mohammedan states. When on the borders of Ethiopia, I happened to fall in with what, has been very rightly designated, "a slave-hunting gang." They had just crossed the great cataracts of the Nile, and had arrived in Egypt, with a cargo of black female slaves. The very visages of the gang were to me most disgusting. Of all the human beings whom I ever saw, I think I never witnessed such countenances; they seemed truly to deserve the epithet of *fiend-like*. Many of the slaves were children, from perhaps eight to thirteen years old. Some of them had endeavoured to run away, and the most cruel means had been adopted as well to prevent this, as to re-take them. Lances had been thrown at them, and some of them had severe gashes, which from the heat of the country were festered, and rendered the suffering great. There is also a circumstance to which our friend has not alluded, probably by accident, but it is of a shocking description. A large number of negro boys are introduced into this country for a horrible purpose, and many of them die under the cruelties to which they are thus subjected. A place about the centre of Egypt is set apart for the purpose.* Having passed through Egypt, Palestine, or the Holy Land, Syria, and the Wilderness, even to Mount Sinai, I have seen a good deal of the state of slavery which exists in those parts; and have necessarily seen also much of the native disposition and real character of the blacks. One or two circumstances which occurred while travelling through those countries, and which I shall not soon forget, may interest the Convention. In consequence of the excessive heat, and the privations I had occasionally to endure, I became exceedingly indisposed, and was detained in Egypt much longer than I intended. On my return from the Upper country and the hilliest part of Nubia, I stopped at Boulac, a considerable town and the port of Grand Cairo, where I could get the benefit of the air of the Nile. I mention the anecdote to show the natural feelings of that cruelly persecuted class, the blacks of Africa. I had a black and an Arab, servants, who with myself, constituted my little household. Being extremely ill, I once sent the Arab to purchase some fresh meat for broth, thinking I could perhaps take a little. He stayed out about three hours, and when he returned pretended that he could not procure any. I was well persuaded that this was design; that he thought I should sink under this illness, and that he should come in for a portion of the substance I had about me. Extremely different, however, was the conduct of the poor black, who endeavoured on this occasion, as on others, to do everything to cheer, to comfort, and to assist. At one period, I remember, weighed down with illness, and meditating on the distance I was from my native land and from those dear to me, tears almost involuntarily flowed; the black, who observed this, came up with much kindness, and took a handkerchief to wipe them as they fell, continuing to evince the

* This species of shameful cruelty, arising out of the human traffic in slaves, is probably unknown in any other portion of the globe.

greatest solicitude to contribute to my comfort, to sooth, and to help. If I shall not be detaining the Convention too long, I will give another anecdote. It is further descriptive of the character of the *unfeeling* negro race. Near to the great cataracts of the Nile there is a considerable island of great beauty, which I have no doubt, our worthy friend, Dr. BOWRING, has seen, the island of Elephantina. In those countries there are not only no coaches but there are no suitable roads, simply a small, difficult, or dangerous track for a mule, or a camel. But, as we are aware, Egypt is a valley, the longest, as I believe, and the most fertile in the world; and every great city in that interesting country, (the country, I may say, of Abraham, as well as of Jacob, of Joseph, of Moses, and of the Israelites) is situate on one side or the other of the Nile. So that, in order to travel agreeably there, we hire an Egyptian vessel and navigate this noble river. I was travelling up the country in one of these vessels, at one end of which are two small rooms where we eat, drink, and sleep. We drew up nearly at this island of Elephantina. A Mameluke, whom I had with me, and myself went on shore. This is an island highly interesting as well as beautiful; there is a very remarkable antient building there, the remains of a temple, and many other objects important to the traveller. We were much charmed with the beauties and interest of the scene, and prolonged our stay till the shades of evening began to gather around us. The Mameluke and myself being thus *alone* on the island, we observed a company of black women at a distance, who noticed us a good deal—we were not at all aware for what reason—but, after observing us for some time, and, as we thought, speaking about us, one of them came forward from the rest, laid something on the ground,* and beckoned to us kindly to come forward. We imagined they might have something to sell, for the island abounds with interesting antiquities of many kinds. However, we went towards them, and when we got to the place what think you it was? *A very nice supper* prepared for us, it might seem, in their best manner. These poor women, these cruelly aspersed blacks, who are said to be capable of no kind feeling, saw two strangers on their island, they saw the shades of evening overtake them, they themselves had probably lately eaten, and thinking that these strangers whom they *had never known*, whom they *had never before seen*, would also want refreshment, had prepared amongst them *unasked for* and *unsought* an excellent supper, and begged them in a delicate and kind manner to partake of it. I mention this instance to show that the dispositions of these people for kind-heartedness, tenderness, and sympathy, are, through the Divine goodness, though I would not say superior, certainly, by no means, inferior, to those of the boasted whites. For my own part, I must say I never met with greater kindness and sympathy, and fellow-feeling than I have done from the blacks; and I have been many long journeys with some of these people, who were either my servants, or were connected with the Arabs of whom I had hired camels. One I had the pleasure of manumitting and setting free; even that one to whom I have alluded, that attended me with so much feeling, and so faithfully in my sickness. I heartily unite in the observation of Dr. BOWRING, that some strong recommendation should go forth from this interesting assembly, to the potentates of the East, that they should at the earliest possible opportunity *cause slavery to cease in their dominions*.

* They do not use tables in these countries; but the *ground*, or *floor*, is their table, chair, &c.

The following resolution has, since I have been speaking, been put into my hands, and which I with pleasure move—

That a committee be appointed, to take into consideration the best way of assisting to effect the suppression of slavery in Mohammedan countries; and that Dr. BOWRING, W. FORSTER, J. ACWORTH, and J. CARLILE, be such committee.

Rev. J. BURNET.—I entirely concur in the views which have been taken of the vast importance of sending to the Mohammedan countries, for the purpose of endeavouring to remove the cruelties and the disgrace of slavery from those lands. Some difficulty has been expressed as to whether this Convention can address the government of a nation. Now, I do not know that there is any rule by which we can be guided in this course, inasmuch as no nation has laid down any plan by which it is to be addressed by voluntary societies. It does not follow, however, from this circumstance, that we may not address the governments of the earth; and if they find that people of all lands have come together on a great question, that philanthropists of every creed and clime have concurred in that question, that the voice of civilized Europe goes along with those philanthropists in that question; if they find that day after day no divisions have taken place in that assembly of philanthropists upon that question, but merely such divisions as arise out of different opinions with regard to the mode of carrying it out; if they find that this has been the result of a general demand, previously made for the enfranchisement of the slaves of a whole empire, and that that demand has been practically and actually met; if they find that one empire having washed its hands of this foul traffic to such an extent, invites others, and that those others receive that invitation kindly; and generously, and emphatically, and cordially, respond to it; and if they thus find that there is really a moral war declared against all the slave nations of the earth by all that have considered this great and important subject, I would say that any government would feel as much difficulty in refusing on the ground of etiquette, to receive an address from such an assembly, as it would feel in actually rejecting it. The disgrace of the rejection would be as great a difficulty as the breach of national etiquette in the acceptance of such an address. Perplex and confound them with moral and religious boldness, and if you cannot induce them to sweep away every vestige of national and political etiquette, you will at least call up the blush into their countenance, when they reflect that there is a necessity to think at all on such a mean and degrading fact as that they are the governors of slaves. But I am not disposed to say, that the only course we have to take is, that of an address to such governments. We must defer very much to the opinion of such gentlemen as have now addressed us, and who have visited these countries; and in deferring to their opinions, practically formed as they are, on the circumstances in which slavery exists in those countries, I am sure we shall find that we are deferring to an opinion which cannot materially mislead us. It may be necessary that deputations should be sent to those countries, and it may be necessary that remonstrances should be made by those deputations. The day has gone by when difficulties would stand in the way of pursuing such a course. We think it nothing now, in these days of steam and railroads, to take advantage of the progress in the arts of transportation.

and to send a philanthropist to Cairo, to Alexandria, to Naplous, to Mount Sinai itself, or any part of the habitable globe. Philanthropy has wings and it has learnt to spread them—they are wings that never tire; and when once they are spread, the rising sun indicates the point whence they start, and when the sun goes down they ply their way by moonlight, and in the night pursue their glorious course. As philanthropy enlarges, the world contracts; and as the human mind takes a larger, a nobler, and a more elevated view of its moral and religious obligations, the size of our globe is felt to diminish, and we can now observe what before we could only read of at a distance; we can now take our course through these nations, observe their character and study their amelioration, and if governments at home, or governments abroad are indisposed to listen, we may swell the clamour of the people's thunder: let it be legitimate, moral, religious, but let it rise in emphasis so sublime, yet so astounding, that no government can lend a deaf ear to its call. I am glad there is a committee to be appointed to undertake this work. This Convention, let it be remembered, has no power but moral power; and moral power knows no etiquette, no barriers arising from national objections on the part of governments to listen to any petition, but the petitions of their own subjects; and therefore as our power is moral, let us, knowing as we do the value of that description of power, wield it manfully; and if the governments of the earth require to be redeemed from the slavery of ancient opinions, and some of them to those opinions are themselves slaves, let us then endeavour to relieve the slaves that rule as well as the slaves that are ruled. I beg to second the resolution.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I wish to make an inquiry for the purpose of information. About fifteen months ago, I received the impression in Paris, that the PACHA of Egypt had liberated a large number of slaves. I would ask Dr. BOWRING, whether he is able to give this assembly any more recent information as to that account, if it is fully confirmed; and if he is in possession of any information of a very late date as to the real state of the slavery of this class of the population of Egypt.

Dr. BOWRING.—I was not aware of the fact to which our friend has referred; but since I left Egypt, the PACHA has himself undertaken a journey into Nigritia, a part of ancient Ethiopia. I have received communications from him as to his proceedings in those countries; they were certainly full of the kindest intentions towards the slaves. The facts that developed themselves during that extraordinary journey, (a very extraordinary one for a despotic Sovereign of seventy-two years of age to undertake, in which he frequently travelled for sixteen hours a day, on the back of a camel or dromedary, and in which he certainly addressed most excellent counsels to the barbarous princes of the territories through which he passed), these facts impressed his mind with a very strong conviction that slavery had been most eminently pernicious to those countries. Some very interesting commercial, and agricultural facts were exhibited in the progress of that journey. They found, for example, that much of the country was covered with indigenous cotton; that there were means of producing gum and various other articles of commerce to an almost boundless extent. In the last letters that I have received from Egypt, I have an account that the PACHA had directed investigation to be pursued on the White Nile; and that he had directed a very considerable establishment, headed by Europeans, to fix itself at Kartoum, which is the town I have

mentioned, at the confluence of the Blue and the White Nile. I trust that the attention of this government will be called to the importance of having some representative there. I believe if British auspices, or European auspices, or still better, Christian auspices were brought to watch over the work of civilization which is going on there, that most important social and commercial results would be the consequence. I will mention a fact which I forgot to state in my former address. I made it my business to hold intercourse with every caravan, and every group of slaves which I met in my progress to Nubia. On every occasion, I asked the Jellabs, or the dealers in slaves, whether it would not be for their individual interest to import some other article than slaves, for the payment of those European commodities which they were taking into the interior of Africa; and from the whole of them I gathered facts which left on my mind this impression, that if the Africans could pursue the labour of agriculture, in peace and tranquillity, if those valuable and productive lands could be turned to account by agricultural knowledge, and by the application of capital, that there would be no indisposition, on the part of the slave-dealers themselves, to take to a new profession, in which they would soon discover it was for their interest to bring the produce of the soil to market, instead of those whom nature, and the God of nature intended to be the cultivators of the soil. I will also add, that when I was in Egypt, a notion was spread among the Jellabs, that I had obtained from the PACHA a promise that he would abolish slavery by force. I obtained no such promise. The PACHA never concealed from me, and I could not conceal from myself, the immense difficulty of his position. He said again and again that he disapproved of slavery, that he knew that slavery brought with it great suffering and great degradation, that he believed the import of slaves was not beneficial to his own lands, while it was extremely detrimental to the land from which the slaves were torn away; but he said "You must not forget the prejudices that surround me; you must not forget the character of Mussulman society; you must not forget that we have no family which has not in it many a slave; you must not forget our harems which are in the hands of our slaves; but I am willing for my part to direct that my soldiers shall not be hunters or captors of slaves; and I am willing, as you tell me that my governors have captured slaves for the payment of the wages of my troops, I am willing to issue an order, and if you like, any man nominated by you shall be the bearer of that order, to the governors of Nigritia, declaring that I have seen their proceedings with disapprobation, and directing that for the future all such proceedings shall cease." I certainly wish that the PACHA of Egypt should be called on to bear this subject in mind. I am earnestly desirous that the British government, in a spirit of kindly feeling, and in the language of kindness and urbanity, should do him justice for what he has already done, and encourage him to do more. I am desirous that a man so distinguished as he is, a man of so great an intellect and capacity, and of so boundless an influence in the Mohammedan world, that he should not pass into his grave without having his great means turned to some account; to the account of humanity, civilization, and the final overthrow of slavery.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Rev. J. BENNETT, (of Northampton) moved, that the very grateful thanks of this Convention be presented to JOHN BOWRING, Esq., LL.D.,

for the valuable service he has rendered this day, in his faithful translation of the addresses of the French gentlemen.

Mr. SAMS seconded the resolution, which was put and carried by acclamation.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—Perhaps I may be allowed to refer to the subject which our friend BURNET introduced, which we had better decide without discussing further; and that is the question, as to the right, or rather the propriety of this Convention addressing foreign governments. I hope the opinion that he has expressed will be taken as the unanimous opinion of this meeting, if so, we had better draw up a resolution at once to that effect.

Dr. BOWRING.—I believe it is quite understood that the only means of one government communicating with another is through the diplomatic agent at the court of that government, and that diplomatic agent communicates nothing but what he receives from the foreign minister of the country which he represents. Now, although I think it is extremely desirable that you should engage the foreign minister of this country to interest himself in this question; yet when you resolve that you will communicate with a foreign government you resolve that to which you cannot give effect. I would, therefore, suggest that you resolve to memorialize LORD PALMERSTON, and request that he will communicate with the foreign governments; but I know of no means by which you yourselves can regularly enter into communication with governments of a foreign state. I feel this difficulty, not that I object that you should seek the means of communicating with foreign governments, but merely to represent to you that there is this original difficulty in such a communication.

Mr. SAMS.—Allow me to make a single remark. Although technically and formally I am well aware that what Dr. BOWRING has advanced is correct; yet I am also of opinion that the PACHA of Egypt would receive a communication from such a body as this, and I feel confident that he would give it his serious attention and consideration. I desire to throw this out, for I cannot help wishing that this Convention should address these Eastern Potentates; and I certainly do think that communications issuing from this important assembly would assuredly be received by them, and that they would meet with every attention.

Rev. T. SCALES.—With reference to the question thus brought before us, I would intimate, that I believe CAPTAIN MOORSOM has prepared a paper on the very subject of international intercourse, so that in all probability the question will be opened anew, and will come up in such a way as to obtain more full and serious discussion; and then, probably, should the Convention come to the determination that they have the power, and consider it their right to exercise it, it will be carried back over the different resolutions we have come to already, in reference to making our appeal to nations, and also authorise the committees to make their appeals to the heads of governments as well as to the nations themselves.

RICHARD ALLEN, Esq., (of Dublin).—May I take the liberty of asking two or three questions, not so much with a view of having them answered now, as to draw the attention of this assembly to these points. First, Is it a fact that there are in Birmingham large quantities of fire-arms manufactured for the purpose of being sold for war among the Africans? Secondly, Is it the

case that fetters for slaves are manufactured in Birmingham? And, thirdly, Is it not the case that there are immense quantities of cotton goods manufactured to be taken into the African slave-market and exchanged for slaves? I ask these questions, because I think if this is so, it does in some degree need some attention from this Convention.

Rev. W. BEVAN.—I apprehend that these inquiries may, with great propriety, be made when the subject of the slave-trade comes on to-morrow.

Mr. STACEY.—I hope that this Convention will not feel itself prevented by the hints of Dr. BOWRING from addressing the heads of foreign governments. I would not have it turned away from this point.

Rev. T. SCALES.—There is one consideration I would venture to suggest. It is not upon any commercial or political, but simply upon moral grounds that we take our stand. We are not merely of this or that nation, but a Convention of all nations, and surely such a Convention might be allowed to break through the trammels of mere etiquette. It occupies ground much higher than that of the mere potentates of this world, and therefore is not to be fettered or bound by such ties.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—One word on this subject. It is desirable that we should have a precedent for our proceedings. I consider that this Convention occupies a moral elevation from which it may look down on any throne on the face of the earth. I speak of its moral elevation, for we do not come to dictate to SOVEREIGNS what they shall do as SOVEREIGNS; we only come to reiterate the voice of eternal truth, which descends on the thrones of the Kings of the earth, and that truth is the voice of God, let who will utter it, in sincerity and simplicity. The precedent to which I allude, is, that of a servant of God, who thus addressed one of the SOVEREIGNS of this realm, who spoke out while he was preaching the gospel in his presence, "when the lion roars, the beasts of the forest tremble, and when the Lord speaks, let Kings keep silence." This was the voice of God's servant addressed to the SOVEREIGN, because he considered his elevation in a moral point of view, above that of Kings. So let this Convention proceed and carry out this principle, by addressing the dignitaries of the earth in the name of God and humanity.

JOSEPH T. PRICE, Esq., (Delegate from Swansea).—I was, I confess, disposed to entertain some doubts on the question now before the meeting, because I am not aware, that we could produce a precedent and show that our own British Parliament would be receivers of petitions from foreigners thus associated. At the same time, I confess, it does appear to me that this is a new description of meeting, such as has not taken place before; and therefore, I think it does merit very grave consideration before we relinquish our privileges as British subjects, associated here, of being able to present a petition to our own Parliament and the QUEEN, even though there are foreigners associated with us; and therefore before the object be wholly relinquished, either with regard to our own or other nations, I hope it will receive mature deliberation. I do not think it would be wise for us to come to a conclusion precipitately on the subject. For one, I would, I confess rather run the risk even of a rejection, than not aim at the accomplishment of so high an object, and I consider we should achieve much even were such the result.

The CHAIRMAN.—It may be that the practice of a country and a government constituted like ours, may differ very widely from the practice of governments differently constituted; but I know of no distinction which is made in the national legislature of the United States, in the reception of

petitions from foreigners and those who are citizens. Within the last two years, indeed at the last two sessions of Congress, many gentlemen and ladies also, I believe, in this country, authors and authoresses, have petitioned the Congress of the United States to secure to them the same right in their publications which American authors have. I have never heard the objection made before in our country on the score of the petition being sent in by foreigners. I merely give the fact—make what use of it you please.

Colonel MILLER.—I feel very great delicacy in differing from the gentleman near me. (Dr. BOWRING). We contend in our country that the right of petition is a right derived from God. We have a right to petition, there is nobody so abject that has not this right. What have we assembled for, let me ask? To have a moral bearing on the world. If we make no request to the potentates of the earth, can we expect them to come and inquire what we want of them? Why, republican as I am, I would get down on my knees to any Sovereign on the earth to beg the liberty of the oppressed. I would do it most cheerfully. And shall we fall back now? Our friend Dr. BOWRING has stated, what he got by a single petition to MOHAMMED ALI, that man who has waded to his place almost through seas of blood; why, he immediately set off on his dromedary to see that the poor slave's case was attended to. And it may be, if we, insignificant as our names may appear, in the eyes of the potentates of the earth, humbly beseech them in the name of the God of mercy, and Him who died for our redemption, to have mercy on these poor creatures, that they will grant it. Let us remember that beautiful passage in the gospel respecting the poor widow and the unjust judge, though he feared not God, nor regarded man, yet the widow prevailed by her importunity; then let not that importunity be neglected by us.

Mr. SPRAGUE.—I am sure there can be no objection to addressing a communication to the PRESIDENT of the United States. I should much prefer that to an address to the Congress of the United States; and for the same reason that I should prefer a communication addressed to the PRESIDENT of the United States, I should prefer one addressed to the KING OF THE FRENCH. We can get a communication to those individuals, as Sovereigns of nations, when we cannot get it to the National legislature. And the grand object would be attained; the influence of this Convention would go out; its addresses would be published to the world; its opinions would be known to the several nations by the heads of those nations, and thus our objects would be accomplished; but in addressing only governments and legislatures we might fail. My opinion would be that an address should go to the PRESIDENT of the United States, and the heads of different governments where slavery is tolerated.

Dr. GREVILLE.—I shall venture but a very few observations on this subject. To my own mind the subject appears a very clear one. I mean to say the propriety of the measure. At the same time, I quite appreciate the difficulty which Dr. BOWRING has mentioned. If, however, the Convention determines on appealing to governments, or the heads of governments, I believe some means will be found of their reaching their destination. I look upon ourselves as engaged wholly in a great moral question. If I see sin in my neighbour, I am bound on my Christian principles to rebuke that sin, and to do it in a Christian and a kindly spirit. If that is my duty as an individual, it is surely our duty as a body now assembled for a special purpose, provided we see sins in any other collective body on the face of the earth, to rebuke them. I consider ourselves as of no nation; as assembled from all nations,

as representing no one nation in particular, but all nations ; aiming at one grand moral end, and met for the special purpose of bearing upon all the nations of the world. I do hope that we shall come unanimously to the determination, that we have a right to appeal to all governments, and I hope that we shall do so.

Dr. BOWRING.—A single word in explanation. I think I have been misunderstood. I am not at all desirous that Governments and Monarchs should not be addressed. I only spoke as to the form of doing it. It is quite clear that our Parliament would not receive a petition from this Convention. The petition from the Poles was rejected on a point of form.

A DELEGATE.—I think Dr. Bowring is wrong in saying that Parliament would not receive any communication from this Convention ; I think I was present when Parliament received a petition from the National Convention.

Dr. BOWRING.—That was an English Convention.

Mr. S. BOWLY.—I would only ask in what worse a position would the Convention be if its communications were rejected. Our object is to convey information. If Parliament refuse to accept a petition, the information is generally known to the country at large. Therefore I think that if an address from this Convention were refused on technical grounds, the great object of conveying information would be attained.

Captain WAUCHOPE.—I believe, with all deference to our friend Dr. Bowring, that it will be found that the official mode of sending petitions to foreign governments, is to place them in the hands of the foreign ministers, who are bound to transmit them.

Dr. BOWRING.—No.

Captain WAUCHOPE.—I believe it is so ; that is the case with private letters.

ANTHONY FEWSTER, Esq., (of Stroud).—I would ask any of our American friends, whether in the event of this Convention determining to address the PRESIDENT of the United States, the address would generally appear in the American newspapers.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—Yes, and we could publish it as well in a cheap form. I would beg leave to suggest one thought, whether it might not be proper for this Convention to present a very respectful remonstrance to our minister at the Court of St. James, that he set a better example to others when he comes here, than by keeping his vassals in bondage at home.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—The main question under consideration has reference to foreign monarchs, though the term government, has been used. In all probability no difficulty would present itself in gaining access to the KINGS of France, Holland, or Denmark.

Rev. J. BURNET.—I think there is considerable difficulty in coming to a decided rule on this subject. If we address the SOVEREIGNS of Europe, or the PRESIDENT of the United States, by a rule passed here, and call on them to accept our address, I am afraid they would not accept it so readily. I think the best way would be, without coming to a resolution on the subject, to do all we can in addressing governments, and leave it to the Committee to do all they can ; but do not fiat it by the authority of this Convention, and ask them to accept your address, because it is so ruled.

The CHAIRMAN.—No resolution has been offered on the subject.

Rev. J. BURNET.—Then it would be better to drop it.

Mr. R ALLEN.—I have a fourth question to propose. Is it not the case that there are shares held by Englishmen in Brazilian and other mines; which are worked by slaves. I ask these questions because I think we cannot fairly go and point to a nation as foul, if we do not endeavour to cleanse ourselves.

The Convention then adjourned.

FIFTH DAY'S SITTINGS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1840.

(MORNING.)

W. T. BLAIR, Esq., in the Chair.

The minutes of yesterday were read and confirmed.

Mr. SCOBLE on the call of the CHAIRMAN, proceeded to make the following observations on

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

I did not expect that I should be called upon this morning to address you on this most interesting and important subject. I had expected that some other topic would have engaged the attention of the Convention. But since I have received the intimation that I was to address you, I have endeavoured to gather up such facts as will enable you to form some idea of the extent of the slave-trade, as carried on at the present time. My state of health however, will not permit me to go very much into detail. Without any further preface, therefore, I will merely read what I have collected from parliamentary and official documents, on the subject to which your attention is to be called.

It is a fact placed beyond all doubt that the African slave-trade has doubled since the period when Great Britain declared it unlawful and felonious for any of her subjects to engage in it; and that all the efforts which have hitherto been made by this country, under treaties with foreign powers for its entire suppression, have only multiplied its horrors without diminishing its extent. Seventy-two thousand was the average amount per annum, of the victims of this nefarious traffic, previously to the year 1807; at the present time it cannot be less than one hundred and forty thousand!

After the elaborate calculations and statements contained in Mr. Buxton's important volume on the Slave-trade, it is unnecessary that we should do more than add such information on the extent of the slave-trade, as has appeared since it went to press. We begin with

Brazil. From official documents printed by command of his late Majesty in 1831, it appears there were introduced into the province of Rio alone, during the three years, ending 30th June, 1830, no less than 448,940 slaves; this gives an average of 49,646 per annum. Into Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão and Pará, there were introduced from 1st January, 1829, to 30th June, 1830, a period of one year and a half, 32,332 slaves, or 21,554 annually; which gives for Brazil a total of 71,200 slaves imported each year. From this period (1830) agreeably to stipulations with this country, the slave-trade was declared to be piracy by the Emperor of Brazil. But we have the strongest evidence to prove that it has increased in activity and extent since that time. In the papers presented to Parliament in 1836, we find that the number imported into the province of Rio alone, with which the British minister became acquainted, was for the year 1837, the extraordinary number of 46,000! These wretched beings were imported in 92 vessels, under the Portuguese flag, "within," as he states, "a very limited extent of coast on either side the harbour of Rio de Janeiro." In 1838, the number reported to have been introduced in 84 Portuguese vessels in the same district, was 36,974; but the British minister adds this remark to the return, "the real number imported into the province (Rio) is probably 40,000 or upwards."

It appears that during the year, our cruisers off that station made several captures: and that, in consequence, the slavers were warned off and landed their cargoes on other parts of the coast. How many may have been landed in the provinces of Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão, and Pará, during the same period, we have no means of judging; there cannot be a doubt, however, that the number equals, if it does not surpass that of any former period. The extent of coast to which the slavers have access, comprehends a space of more than 2600 miles, and affords every possible facility for carrying on their nefarious operations. LIEUTENANT ARMITAGE, who is well acquainted with the subject, and has had ample means of judging, gives it as his opinion, that 90,000 slaves are annually imported into Brazil, from the coast of Africa.

We next take Cuba. It is extremely difficult to ascertain the probable number of slaves introduced into this island annually, the data on which to form a correct judgment, being so extremely imperfect. It appears, however, from the statements of the commissioners in their official correspondence with Her Majesty's Government, that, "at the

very least, 15,000 negroes" were landed at the Havana in 1835. In the papers printed by her Majesty's command last year, we find that in the year 1837, forty-eight vessels, and in 1838, forty-four vessels, entered the Havana with slaves, the average of each being 443, would give a total of 40,756 slaves imported into that one port alone, during that time. The number of vessels ascertained to have been employed during these two years, amounted to 142, of which eighty-two were Portuguese, twenty-seven Spanish, thirty American (United States), the remaining three, sailed under Swedish, Brazilian, and French flags.

In transmitting these lists home, her Majesty's Commissioners in their letter to LORD PALMERSTON, dated 1st January, 1839, say:—"While we feel gratified to think that these lists, on account of the source from which they are obtained, are much more complete than any furnished in preceding years, we regret to add, that they still remain less complete than might be desired from the parties being more upon their guard to baffle our inquiries. Still it is apparent from them, that no increase of the traffic has taken place during the past year; the number of vessels dispatched being precisely the same, namely, seventy-one. Whatever increase has taken place, has been from vessels being dispatched more from the other ports of the island; though in this, as in many other particulars, little reliance can be placed on the reports that reach us. But there is great reason to believe that this plan has been for some time increasing. Eight vessels were condemned as Spanish at Sierra Leone, in the year 1837, and two at this place; of which it appears from the printed accounts, that two belonged to Puerto Rico, two to Santiago de Cuba, one to Mantanzas, one to Trinidad de Cuba, and only four were connected with Havana.

Of eighteen vessels condemned at Sierra Leone, under the Portuguese flag, in the same year, nine only appear to us to have belonged to this port; of eight Portuguese condemned in the first six months of the present year at Sierra Leone, we can, from the names and particulars communicated to us, trace only two. Thus, then, it appears, that an increasing trade is carried on from other places, which is further corroborated by the well ascertained fact, that an astonishing number of new estates have been opened throughout the island within the last two years. In the district of Cienfuegos, of forty estates now working there, twenty-seven have been of recent formation; and though this

may be above the average, we believe it does not much exceed the proportion of many other districts in course of cultivation."

How many slavers effected the landing of their cargoes in Puerto Rico, we have no official data for showing, but that many thousands are annually introduced into that colony there can be no doubt.

Mr. TURNBULL and Dr. MADDEN, fix the annual amount of slaves imported into the Havana, at about 25,000. Mr. BUXTON at 60,000, in which he is borne out by various authorities; and gives, as the probable number imported into Puerto Rico, 7000 more. That the two former gentlemen have placed the estimate too low, we think there can be no doubt; that Mr. BUXTON may have placed it too high is probable, although I am inclined to believe, that his statement will be found to approximate very near to the actual number introduced. In January, 1839, there were landed at the Havana 2833 slaves; in February 2555; in March 1258; and at Mantanzas 580, in all 7226, in three months, besides those which were landed elsewhere, and of which no information could be obtained.

During the year ending 31st December, 1838, the number of vessels captured by British cruizers, and condemned by the mixed Commission Courts at Sierra Leone, was thirty; of which nineteen were Portuguese, and eleven were Spanish. The slaves taken on board of seventeen of these vessels, amounted to 5847; the number found on board the remaining thirteen vessels is not given. The number captured and condemned at Rio de Janeiro, during the six months, ending the 30th June, 1838, was three, having on board 746. The proportion however of captured vessels is extremely small, compared with those actually engaged in the slave-trade which successfully prosecute their voyage.

It is quite evident that the Brazilian slave-trade is increasing, and that it is carried on openly either with the connivance, or in direct defiance of the authorities. In a despatch from Mr. OUSELEY, dated 23rd March, 1839, he states:—"There are at this moment in Rio Harbour, between thirty and forty vessels, bought and equipped by a notorious slave-trader, provided with Portuguese papers by H. M. F. M., CONSUL-GENERAL."

In view of all the facts of the case, there can be little doubt that the victims of the Brazilian slave-trade, amount to 75,000 per annum, and that making every possible deduction from Mr. Buxton's statement of

the Spanish slave-trade, not less certainly than 50,000 more are sacrificed to it; what numbers over and above these are introduced annually into Texas, Buenos Ayres, and elsewhere, it is impossible to say; but adding to them the number captured by British cruizers, and the numbers who perish at sea from the storms and other casualties, it appears highly probable, that 140,000 Africans are annually torn from their native land, to meet the demand for slaves in the New World, and it is not likely that this number will diminish. Texas, should it be able to maintain its independence, will open a vast market for slaves, whilst the decrease of slaves in the Spanish colonies, amounting to $8\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. per annum, and in the Brazils, amounting to 5 per cent. per annum, will require at least 140,000 per annum to keep their present strength.

One feature of the slave-trade as carried on at the present time is, that the demand is principally for children, and prime young people, under twenty years of age. On board four vessels captured in 1838, and condemned at Sierra Leone, there were found 751 children, and 512 adults. It is sometimes the case, that the cargo is wholly composed of children. In the harbour of Ponce, Puerto Rico, which I visited about the middle of the last year, I found that the last cargo of slaves, 140 in number, which had been introduced, was composed entirely of children under twelve years of age.

I will not add any details of the horrors of the slave-trade, of the devastating and demoralizing effect of this nefarious traffic in the wars which it engenders in the interior of Africa, in the waste of human life, arising from the march of the slave coffles, across the burning and arid deserts of that continent, or in the destruction of refuse slaves on the coast: suffice it to say, that for every negro put on board the Spanish or Brazilian slaver, two perish, thus swelling the actual number of victims annually sacrificed to Mammon and Moloch, to an enormous amount. Nor will I detain your attention, by describing the horrors of the middle passage, with these, alas! you are already too familiar, beyond stating the bare fact, that the average mortality on the voyage has been ascertained to be 25 per cent.; and that at this hour, there are probably not less than 20,000 Africans on their transit across the Atlantic, to supply the slave-markets of the western world.

The victims of the Eastern or Mohammedan slave-trade are computed at 100,000 per annum.

Dr. R. R. MADDEN, (of Dublin), late protector of liberated Africans in Cuba, then read the following paper on

CUBAN SLAVERY.

SIR,—I am so fully aware that my habits do not qualify me for the task that has been assigned me, and my state of health renders me so unequal to it, that nothing but a strong sense of the importance of the question I have been requested to afford some information on, could surmount the reluctance I feel, at presenting myself before a public meeting; and especially before such an assembly as this, where, if I felt a momentary satisfaction in being recognised as one, who at least was known to be willing to serve this cause, who had walked after the hearse of slavery in Jamaica, assisted likewise in this country at the obsequies of the apprenticeship system, and employed a practised eye for some years past in taking the measure of the grave of slavery in Cuba itself; if in anything I have encountered of toil or peril in this cause, in the service of which I have spent the last seven years, I may say not in the peaceful closets of philanthropy, but in the field of slavery itself, as a mercenary, if you will, but as a soldier at all events, if any such feeling of pride was excited, the foolishness of it would be surely rebuked, by the presence and the hearing of those men who have so long toiled in the cause; but most especially of those men from America, who have come as one great cloud of witnesses across the Atlantic, and made you acquainted, not only with the wrongs of their black brethren, but likewise personally so with the heroic courage, and untiring energies which they have devoted to this question.

It has been my fortune to have visited America three times during the last six years, and to have been afforded an ample opportunity of observing these truly noble men in the sphere of their own duties and dangers—for these are never separated in America; and if I had reason to rejoice for no other cause to have taken a part in these proceedings, than to have been permitted to bear my feeble testimony to the constancy of the courage of these brave, bold men, the most virtuous and amiable withal, I ever knew engaged in public strife, the most strongly actuated by high and generous motives, and the least influenced by anything vain or selfish—I would rejoice to have this occasion of recording my humble opinion of their worth: and yet I have heard these men counselled here to be more moderate in their language, and more

measured in their rebukes. Why, this is the counsel that ever has been given to persecuted men ; they are told they should “ let the sweat of agony flow more decorously down their foreheads—they should groan in melody,” and murmur their complaints in softer whispers. Were these the accents in which your own reformers spoke in former times ? Are these the accents, in which great complaints, real, or imaginary, have ever been proffered, or in which those who uttered them have made them to be redressed ?

We are told that in the early ages of Christianity, slavery was known to exist, and slaves have been held by Christians, even in the times of the apostles. It is some consolation to know, however, that although there were slaves in the early ages of Christianity, there have been martyrs in the latter ages of slavery ; and one of those noble soldiers of the cross, who sealed the covenant of truth with his blood in those early times, has declared, that there were two kinds of martyrdom ; one that gained the crown by the exercise of a sudden act of Christian fortitude ; the other was a perpetual martyrdom that lasted during life, and only ended with it. And this was the highest martyrdom of all This is the kind of suffering and of sacrifice, our friends in America have undergone, and are daily undergoing there.

As for the assertion, that there have been slaves in the early ages of Christianity, I for one admit that such was the case ; but for what purpose are the smouldering ashes of the Hebrew customs and usages, that were suffered to exist in those early times of Christianity, to be raked up ? Surely, if there be anything more evident than another in the whole history of religion, it is this, that whatever revelation has been made to us from on high, the whole course of God’s teaching and communication has been of a progressive character ; and that from the beginning of that teaching to the period of the greatest revelation of all, that progressive character has been seen in the course of the development of the higher truths and more exalted doctrines that were taught, and that no violent disruption from what had gone before, was permitted ; but in the words of Augustin, that it was apparently the inscrutable pleasure of Providence “ that the synagogue should be buried with honour.” And with it were interred those customs which were tolerated, perhaps, on account of the hardness of heart, which had given a temporary sanction to other usages no longer in existence.

But the subject I have to speak to you on, is of somewhat a

more practical kind, and such as befits a practical man to deal with; namely, the state of slavery in Cuba, and on this subject I have encountered so much error, both at home and abroad, that I have felt it my duty to give very particular attention to it.

In the Report presented by MONS. A. DE TOCQUEVILLE, to the Chamber of Deputies, on the 23rd of July, 1839, in the name of the Commission, charged with the examination of the proposition relative to the slaves of the French colonies, I find a very important error, and one not only prevalent in France, but in this country also, on the subject of the treatment of negroes held in bondage in the Spanish colonies, which if allowed to pass uncontradicted, might hereafter expose that valuable Report to censure, and lead to the adoption of measures for the nominal amelioration of slavery in the French colonies, which would prove abortive. At page 17, of the published Report, I find it stated, that "it is of public notoriety in the New World, that slavery has always had with the Spaniards a peculiar character of mildness; one can convince himself of this in reading over the ordinances made by the KINGS of Spain, at an epoch when, amongst the other nations of Europe, the laws for the government of slaves were so strongly tinged with barbarity. The Spaniards who showed themselves so cruel towards the Indians, have always ruled their slaves with a singular humanity. In their colonies, the distinction between blacks and whites was less than in all the others; and the authority of the owner resembled more that of a father of a family than of a master. The slave, better treated in these colonies, sighed less after liberty, which ought to be preceded by arduous exertion; hence, the legislator accorded him a right which he very seldom wished to avail himself of."

Now, in the above statement, there are six distinct propositions, and five of them are entirely erroneous, namely, these:—

1. That negro slavery has always had in the Spanish dominions "a peculiar character of mildness."

2. That any sufficient proof of such a character could be fairly drawn from the ordinances of the KINGS of Spain for the government of their distinct colonies.

3. That the Spaniards, who had been such cruel masters to the Indians, "had always treated their slaves with singular humanity."

4. That the authority of the master "resembles that of a father of a family."

5. That in consequence of good and humane treatment, the slaves seldom desired to avail themselves of the privilege of claiming their freedom by purchase.

And the only statement that is really correct in the whole passage, is contained in these words :—" In these colonies the distinction between blacks and whites, was less than in all the others," presuming the meaning of the observation to be, that, amongst the Spaniards the prejudice against the stolen people of Africa, on account of their complexion, is less than amongst the colonists of other European states. Such unquestionably is the fact, and there is too much Moorish blood, in the veins of the descendants of the old " Conquistadors," for the feeling to be otherwise.

Tolerably well acquainted with some of the British West India islands, with one of them both previously and subsequently to the act of emancipation, and having seen something of slavery in many eastern countries; I brought perhaps some little knowledge of the condition of men held in slavery to the subject, which has been the object of anxious inquiry with me, during a residence of upwards of three years in a Spanish colony where slavery flourishes, and where upwards of 400,000 human beings exist in that condition. Perhaps, this extensive acquaintance with slavery in various countries, during the last ten years, may have qualified me to form some opinion of the relative evils or advantages of slavery in a Spanish colony.

The first proposition—" That slavery has always had with the Spaniards a peculiar character of mildness," is one, that I have seen stated in books so often, and heard laid down so frequently by merchants who have resided in Cuba; by naval officers who have visited the shores and harbours of that island; and by transient visitors who have made tours of pleasure or a winter journey, in pursuit of health from one large town on the coast to another, and seen the interior economy of one or two estates of opulent proprietors, what in our colonies would be called " crack plantations," that I really feel astonished at the amount of error that prevails on this subject; error so great, and held by men entitled to credit, that I have sometimes felt absolutely doubtful of the evidence of my own senses; and when the irresistible conviction of the excessive rigour of slavery in Cuba has been forced on my mind, and when I have dwelt on the appalling scenes I have witnessed, it often seemed hopeless to me, and even imprudent for

me to attempt to disabuse the public mind, and to set my experience against the opinions of many people, whose sentiments on any other subject, I considered entitled to respect. But on a question of such vast importance, and where erroneous sentiments are calculated to do so much injury to the objects of the solicitude of anti-slavery exertion, it would be an act of cowardice to suppress the truth, or at least one's strong persuasion of it, in deference to error, however generally diffused or honestly adhered to, it may be. These erroneous conclusions, that Spanish slavery is of a peculiarly mild character, are arrived at by four ways of viewing this question; they may be briefly stated as follows:—

1. It is concluded, because the laws for the government of slaves in the Spanish colonies are mild, that these laws are executed, and the slaves are happy.

2. It is considered by some who visit the large sea-port towns, that the condition of the prædial slaves is similar to that of the domestic servants; and that because the latter are lazy, well fed, and decently clad, and lightly worked negroes, the poor field slaves are likewise idle and indulged, kindly treated, and contented slaves.

3. The condition of slaves is judged of by men who have no immediate interest in slavery, but who have long resided in slave countries, or been on stations where opportunities of visiting these colonies have made them acquainted with the proprietors of estates, and in course of time, familiar with their views, then favourable to their interests, and at length accustomed to the evils of slavery, and insensible to the sufferings of its victims.

4. The treatment of slaves, in general, in Cuba and elsewhere, is inquired into by transient visitors and tourists, at the tables of the planters, over the wine of the slave-holders, and where truth is drowned in hospitality, and the legitimate inquisitiveness of a stranger's curiosity, is merged in a courteous acquiescence with the sentiment, or at least the statements of a liberal entertainer, and a gentlemanlike host.

Now, of these different ways of coming to conclusions, it is evident, that it is to the first the signal error of the French Report is to be attributed. In fact, it seems admitted that the opinion of the mildness of Spanish slavery, is derived from the royal ordinances and laws made for the regulation of it. I freely grant that the spirit of these laws and ordinances is humane; but the great question is, are such laws compatible with the interests of the slave-owners? Are they put in

execution? Negro slavery, as it ever has existed in the West India colonies, has been a condition in which the profitableness to the master of unpaid labour, for the time being, has always rendered the happiness of the labourer, a question of comparative unimportance. What you should call humanity to the negro, there is not a proprietor in Cuba, who would not deem injustice to the planter. You cannot legislate partially, humanely, and yet efficiently, for any slave colony in a prosperous condition; you may pass measures of general effect for the total abolition of slavery, but you can carry none into execution for effectually modifying its nature, and leaving unpaid labour to be wrung out of its victims: while a show is made of surrounding its compulsion with humane arrangements, duly detailed in the royal cédulas, and set forth in legal books, *with all the solemn mockery of Spanish law*.

This Report states, as a curious anomaly in the history of Spanish slaves, that while the Indians were treated by the Spaniards with such terrible cruelty, the negroes, it is well known, have always been treated with peculiar mildness. I need hardly remind you, that while the poor Indians were writhing under the lash of the most unmitigated cruelty *the world up to that period ever saw*; while the Spanish colonies were exterminating the whole race of their victims by the astounding rigour of their slavery, the **KINGS** of Spain were dictating benevolent cédulas and humane ordinances for the treatment of the unfortunate slaves; while the council of the Indies were continually framing laws for the better regulation of the “repartimientos,” or distributions of the natives; while the heads of the Spanish church, *the mitred politicians of the day, half statesmen, half churchmen*, were constantly sending out missions and commissions to co-operate with the illustrious apostle of the Indies, the protector of the slaves; in fact, while all the machinery of the government that was four thousand miles off, was brought to bear on this question of the amelioration of slavery in the Spanish colonies, yet the Indians perished in the mines, they died under the lash, sunk under famine in caves, or sought in voluntary death a final refuge from Spanish cruelty. Yes, the whole race perished, while the **KINGS** of Spain and its ministers, were framing laws impracticable, because they were partial measures of relief, for the preservation of their Indian subjects.

Let me tell you, the same terrible system of cruelty is going on this day in the Spanish colonies; the same terrible evils are silently in operation. Change the term Indians for Negroes, the word mines for

plantations, and in every other respect the same bloody tragedy is acting over again, the same frightful work of extermination, the same cruel mockery of staying the evil by laws without enforcement, by cédulas without a hope being entertained of their being carried into effect, are now practising in New Spain; and the awful waste of human life, that in the time of the Indians, was for a limited period made up by the ravages of the man-robbers on the coasts of the New World, has now for three centuries been filled up in Cuba alone, by an annual importation that has now reached to the amount of 25,000 stolen men from the shores of Africa.

If it be notorious, as this Report states, that negro slaves have always been treated with peculiar mildness in the Spanish colonies, it follows, that the slaves of the island of Cuba, for example, are a contented race, that therefore, they are not over-worked, nor under-fed, nor ill-clad; that the sexes are equalized, that the mortality is small, and the increase by births considerable; that the amount of produce obtained by the labour of a given number of slaves, is less than it has been in former years in the British colonies; that there is a considerable number of aged slaves on the estates; that the pregnant women are allowed exemption from hard field-labour in the last six or eight weeks of their pregnancy, that the females are not usually flogged; that the children are instructed in the elements of the Christian faith; that the negroes on the estates are married by the ministers of religion; that they are suffered to attend a place of worship on the Sabbath-day; that it is not lawful to hunt them down by dogs when they are fugitives from the estates; that, when they are scourged to death, or killed by violence, the white man who is their murderer may be brought to justice, and punished with the utmost rigour of the law. But not one of these measures of justice, or means of protection for the prædial slaves is known to exist in Cuba; not a single one of these I have pointed out is to be looked for in the law, and yet the law allows these things, and solemnly condemns every withdrawal of them. But the law was never framed with any reasonable prospect of its being enforced, it never has been enforced, and, what is more, it never can be enforced against the planters who are the transgressors of it; because, in fact, these are the men who are entrusted with the execution of it.

In the towns and cities, the case is indeed different with the domestic slaves, but what a small portion do these form of the number of slaves

in Cuba? These domestic slaves, especially those of the opulent proprietors, comparing their condition with that of the prædial slaves, may be said to be fortunately circumstanced. They have the power in the large towns and cities, of availing themselves of the privileges the law accords them. If they have a harsh owner, they may demand permission to seek another master, and it is compulsory on that master to sell them, either for the sum he paid for them, or at such a rate as the *sindico* or the special protector of the slaves, and the judges may determine, in consideration of any reasonable increase in their value, or in consequence of their having been taught a trade or calling.

But how is the prædial slave to avail himself of these legal privileges? The officers of justice in the country towns are usually slaveholders themselves; the estate may be ten, nay, even twenty miles distant from a town, the *sindicos*, the *alcades*, the *capitanes de partidos*, all are planters. The idea of a prædial slave going to the *mayoral*, or overseer, and telling him he wants “a paper”—a permission for two or three days to seek another master (*buscar-amo*),—would be laughed at in Cuba; the unfortunate negro who would make so daring an attempt to obtain his rights, would, in all probability, be flogged on the spot; he dare not leave the estate to seek the *sindico* in any adjoining town; and no matter what injustice may be done him, were he to pass his master's gate, he would be subjected to punishment, “*boca abajo*,” without appeal, as a fugitive; and if he still presumed to talk of the law, and to insist on being taken before a magistrate, to claim the privileges which that law gave him, he would then be treated with a degree of rigour “beyond the law,” as an insolent and rebellious slave. But granting that he succeeded in getting to the *sindico*, the *alcade*, or the *capitane de partido*, what chance of justice has an unfortunate slave in Cuba, against the powerful influence of a rich, and, perhaps, a titled owner? The planter is the friend of the authorities of his district; they dare not disoblige him; and if they dared, they are at last to be gained over by a bribe, or got rid of by a remonstrance to the GOVERNOR, and a suitable present to the assessor of the GOVERNOR, who is one of the great law-officers of the Crown. How in the name of common sense is the law to be looked to in a Spanish colony for the mitigation of the evils of slavery, or the protection of the slave?

The excellence of the Spanish civil law is admitted by every one, *yet the iniquity of Spanish tribunals, the corruption of Spanish judges, and*

the incomparable villany of Spanish lawyers, is proverbial in all the colonies of Spain. Justice is bought and sold in Cuba, with as much scandalous publicity, as the bozal slaves are bought and sold in the barracones.

Is there a man in Cuba who had suffered wrong in property or in person, who would be mad enough to go for redress into a court of law, and expect to obtain it by trusting solely to the merits of his case? How, then, are we to expect from any code for the regulation of negro slavery, justice for the Creole who has not the means to buy the judge? How are we to expect to restrain the cruelty, or to control the cupidity of men, who have the means to bribe the bench of every tribunal in the land, to make "impregnos," as these solicitations are called, with the sons and servants, the cousins and the familiars of the judges in their cause? Is it, then, to cédulas and laws, to parchment justice, or to statute book benevolence, we are to look for that peculiar character of mildness, which your Report assures us, is the characteristic of slavery in Spanish colonies? Surely, what we know of slavery in every country, where it has existed, should be sufficient to satisfy every enlightened person, that bondage is an evil that cannot be mitigated by any partial measures of reform, so as essentially to serve the slave, to improve the system, to humanize the master, and thus to benefit society at large.

But in Cuba, it is not that I have heard or read of the atrocities of Spanish slavery; I saw them with my own eyes. I lived for a whole year at the Havana, before I could so far disembarass myself of the merchant-planter influence of that place, (that deadening influence of slavery, which steals so imperceptibly over the feelings of strangers in the West Indies), as to form an opinion for myself, and to trust to my own senses alone, for a knowledge of the condition of the prædial slaves. It was only when I visited estates, not as a guest of the proprietors, seeing through the eyes of my hospitable hosts, thinking as they thought, and believing as they saw fit to administer to my credulity the customary after dinner dose of the felicity of slaves; it was only when I went alone, and unknown, and unexpected on their estates, that the terrible atrocities of Spanish slavery astounded my senses. I have already said, and I repeat the words, so terrible were these atrocities, so murderous the system of slavery, so transcendent the evils I witnessed, *over all I had ever heard or seen of the rigour of slavery elsewhere*, that at first I could hardly believe the evidence of my senses.

Nay, I have known men of great intelligence, one in particular, whom it was of great consequence to have been well-informed on this subject, and whom I myself accompanied over several estates in various parts of the country ; and here in Cuba, so terrible were the admissions made by the mayorals or overseers, on the estates we visited, that he could not believe he heard correctly the accounts that were given to us, even by the managers themselves, of the frightful rigour of the treatment they described. Till this gentleman (who is known to this Convention) and myself, made partially known at the Havana, the evils that had come to our knowledge, on the sugar estates especially, there were British and other foreign merchants in that city, who had resided there for years, who said they were utterly ignorant of these evils ; but like the framers of this Report, having read certain laws for the protection of slaves, and seen certain cedulas for the nominal mitigation of the cruelties of slavery, they actually imagined that the laws were enforced, and the negroes happy and humanely treated.

With respect to my own experience, it is not by particular instances of cruelty or oppression, the fact is to be established, that slavery in Cuba is more destructive to human life, more pernicious to society, degrading to the slave, and debasing to the master, more fatal to health and happiness, *than in any other slave-holding country on the face of the habitable globe.* Instances of cruelty enough, no doubt, have come to my knowledge of the murder of negroes, perpetrated with impunity ; of men literally scourged to death ; of women torn from their children, and separated from them ; of estates where an aged negro is not to be seen : where the females do not form a third part of the slave population ; nay, of estates where there is not a single female ; of labour in the time of crop on the sugar properties being twenty continued hours, frequently for upwards of six months in the year, seldom or never under five, and of the general impression prevailing on this subject, and generally acted on by the proprietors, that four hours' sleep is sufficient for a slave.

These cases, were I to bring them before you without a shadow of colouring to heighten the effect of the naked outline of so frightful a detail, I am persuaded, would cause you to marvel that such things could be in a Christian land, could occur in the present age, could be done by men who moved in society, who are tolerated in it, and bear the name and wear the garb of gentlemen ; by a people, in short, professing the religion of Christ, and daring to couple the sanctity of that

name with rapine, murder, and the living death of slavery itself, which are carried on even in its name; for the purpose, forsooth, of making Christians of African unbelievers.

To understand thoroughly the subject of the laws in the Spanish colonies for the protection of slaves, it is necessary to refer to a work, not easily to be met with, being only to be found in the hands of the syndics, which is entitled "*Exposicion sobre el origen, utilidad, prerogativas, derecho, y deberes de los sindicos procuradores generales de los pueblos, por D. Jose Serapio Majorrietta abogado de la real audiencia.*" This book it is to be noted, is printed at Puerto Principe, in Cuba, by royal authority, by command, and at the expense of the Real Audiencia, the highest law tribunal in the island; and it is the legal guide of the syndics, or protectors of slaves, in the administration of justice between master and slave, over the whole island, and by which they are bound to act. The work begins by stating that the Supreme Court, in the year 1766, created the office of syndic; every town was placed under the legal protection of one of these officers: its rights were to be defended by them; and in the words of the cedulas, "When there was any grave or important matter, it should be treated by them, joining themselves with some of the neighbours (*juntandose con los vecinos*) for the consideration of it." Now, here is a most important regulation for the due administration of justice; in fact, one giving to the accused the advantages, to a certain extent, of a jury.

And now let us see how the law authorities of Cuba, as represented in this work, interpret these words. The treatise in question says:—"These words are not to be understood in their literal sense; this method is contrary to the nature of our government; and for this reason, so responsible is the post of a syndic, that he is appointed not by an open meeting (*cabildo abierto*) of the corporation *ayuntamiento*, but by the votes of the judicial body, or the *regidores*. Their duties in the rural districts are to watch over the order and maintenance of the public markets, the prevention of monopolies in corn, meat, &c.; inspecting the accounts of overseers, agents, &c.; protecting the interests of proprietors of estates before the tribunals of the district, by all the legal privileges accorded them, even to the point of demanding the suspension of the royal laws, or ordinances, in which they may hurt or harm some private person," (*hasta el punto de porder pedir la suspencion, de las cedulas y reales rescriptos, en qua se dana a signun particular*).

Behold the value of all the royal laws for the protection of slaves. The syndic, their protector, is likewise the legal defender of his master ; and the suspension of every law that is distasteful to the latter, it is in the power of this officer to demand of the higher tribunals of the law. In fact, the whole secret of the conduct of the Cuban Government, with respect to the fulfilment of the treaties with England, for the suppression of the slave-trade, and the laws which enforce them, is here left out ; and the *shameful duplicity of the Government of Spain, with respect to these royal orders, is disclosed*, for at page 10, of the treatise in question, the opinion of the legal authorities of the island is laid down as to the proper mode of interpretation of the royal cédulas, when these are opposed to Creole interests, or supposed to be so, in these words : “ It has been laid down by his Majesty, that his sovereign will is, (with respect to the laws) that they be obeyed and not fulfilled ;” and reference is made to lib. 16, Nov. Recap. (come se tiene manifestado que su soberana voluntad, es que se obedezcan y nose cumplan). This seems to me to be the very acmé, indeed, of public immorality ; and there is no reason to doubt the duplicity of the conduct here ascribed to his Spanish Majesty, and the weakness of his sovereign will, and that he frames laws for the purposes of delusion, to throw dust in the eyes of foreign powers, or to deceive his own subjects at home, and which are to be obeyed and not executed.

Now, with respect to the jurisdiction of the syndics in the case of slaves, and the mode of interpreting the laws for their defence, this treatise lays down very minute rules, and points out a course of proceeding which is universally acted on in Cuba ; for it is to be remembered this treatise is published with the express sanction and approbation of the judges of the highest tribunal of the land, of the real audiencia. “ It is to be observed,” says the author, “ either the rights which slaves complain of being infringed, are violated by their masters, or a third person. In the last case, their complaint is to be preferred by their masters, by the general rules of right, which subject them entirely to those who exercise dominion over them ; but if the slaves attempt to complain (*intentan presentarse*) against their masters, then comes the authority of the syndics, because by no other mode can there be made a true decision, there being no legitimate litigation of parties, which consists in this, that the plaintiff and the criminal should be different persons. But supposing this distinction to

be made in such a case (as perhaps some one might say it ought to be), it appears the slave ought to have the right of naming an attorney or agent (*personero*), and the law, that so much protects the natural defence of the slave, should leave in his power the exercise of this precious right. But how many inconveniences would not this measure cause? In the first place, slaves have no proper person (*los esclavos no tienen persona*), they have no representation in society, they are considered as things subject to the dominion of man; and ill could such beings name agents or attorneys, who cannot appear in their own character in our courts. And yet, if abating the rigour of fixed principles, we chose to leave to slaves the free election of which we treat, how many and how expensive would be the causes which would inundate our tribunals, and what would be the insubordination alone of this class of domestics, when unfortunately interested men are not wanting to derive the advantage of lucre from such miserable discord. The syndics, however, as chosen by the corporation, should be adorned with all the fine qualities we have already stated, and in the degree that they may undertake to protect the rights of these unfortunates, they will take care to beware of encouraging unjust complaints, by maintaining the slaves under due submission and respect, which system is certainly the most happy that can be adopted, to conciliate the private interest of the slaves with those of the owners of them."

Now the next interpretation of the royal law, or cedula of 1789, which at page 3, ordains the regulation of the daily labour of slaves, "so that it should begin and conclude from sunrise to sunset;" and, moreover, should leave them two hours of the intermediate time for their own use and benefit, is given in these terms; terms indeed most worthy of your profound attention:—"But this is not observed, and neither the magistrates regulate the time of labour, nor do the slaves cease to serve their masters at all hours of the day;" (*Esto no se observa y ni las justicias, ni los esclavos dejan de servir a sus dueños en to das las horas del día*). Well may the expounder of the sentiments of the royal tribunal of the audiencia of Cuba say, the laws are not observed, "the slaves cease not at all hours of the day to work for their masters."

But this second DANIEL, this Cuban commentator on Spanish law, rigidly indeed, as he sticks to the sense of the colonial judges, tells but half the truth, when he says that "the slaves cease not to work for

their masters at all hours of the day ;” he should have said on the sugar estates, during the time of the crop, for upwards of six months in the year, at all hours of the night, with the exception of four for sleep. It did not suit the purpose of the royal audiencia, to startle the ears or astonish the weak minds of the people in the towns, with the frightful announcement, or the appalling statement, that the wretched negroes, *in spite of the express terms of the royal law for the regulation of slave-labour*, were worked to death on these estates for twenty continuous hours, twelve in the field, and eight in the boiling-house or at the mill ; and that even on the coffee-estates, where the necessity for hard labour is so much less, it is a common practice, at certain times of the year, during the bright moonlight nights, to work the slaves at field-work for four or five hours by the “ *Clara de la luna*,” as it is called. But what are the sentiments of the royal audiencia, on the subject of the great privilege on paper conferred by the laws on the slave, in the power nominally given him of purchasing his freedom, or portions of it, by the payment at once, or at different periods, of the price his master paid for him ? It is to be observed, that the payment of a part of this sum to the master, gives the negro the legal right of having that sum deducted from his price whenever he happens to be sold, *and entitles him, as it is most erroneously but generally believed*, to an immediate reduction of labour in proportion to the sum paid.

In the year 1825, this error is fallen into in a very able statement, addressed to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, by one of the British Commissioners at the Havana, on the treatment of the Spanish slaves, and the mode of manumission in the Spanish colonies. And no doubt the origin of this error was the same as of that into which others have fallen, in common with all who estimate the value of Spanish laws by the wording, and not by the execution of them. The paying of a sum of money to a master on the part of a slave towards the purchase of his liberty, renders the payer what is called “ *coartado*,” the meaning of which is, in part manumitted. The word is derived from *coartar*, to cut or separate, and not from *quartear*, to divide into four parts, *as is commonly supposed*.—“ Some syndics,” says the law treatise in question, “ have attempted to alleviate slavery, so as to pretend to concede a half of their time to slaves who are bound in service to their masters,” (when they have paid half of their value to their owners) ; “ but this opinion is not in conformity with the law,

and the syndics should respect the rights of the proprietary power, without allowing themselves to be led astray by a notion of equity badly understood. The coartacion (or part payment made to a master by a slave towards the attainment of freedom) was not established to reduce slavery into halves, but only to prevent any alteration in the price to the slaves. A slave who, being worth 500 dollars, gives to his master 400 by way of coartacion, remains as subject to servitude as any slave who is so entirely. The master cannot be deprived of the proper rights of his authority, and the slave is under the obligation of devoting all his service to him; for such reasons the syndics ought to avoid the wish to establish such demands." Then comes the interpretation of the law of Cuba, as laid down in this treatise, on that most important privilege of all to the negroes in Spanish colonies, the power nominally given by the law to the slave who is ill-treated, or discontented with good cause with his master, to seek another owner, on payment of the price at which he might be valued by the judicial authorities. Now hear the mouth-piece of the real audiencia of Cuba on this subject.

"The question may also be asked, if slaves (*coartados*) have the right to go out of the power of their masters whenever they desire; and the answer is not difficult, if we consider that the slaves (*enteros*) entirely so, are obliged to allege some great reason to compel their masters to sell them. And what difference can there be between one and the other, when we see that the yoke of slavery on all is the same? If the slaves (*coartados*) do not enjoy the rights of freemen, on what principle can they claim the right of changing masters at their pleasure? Is it for some light correction? This is not sufficient to enable them to use this privilege. And, then, could the masters exercise their authority with the due severity which is necessary? By no means: and hence we have seen that the real audiencia has always repelled similar demands, in all the suits that have been promoted on this point and brought for their superior decision. But some persons desire notwithstanding, founding their opinion on the royal cedula of the 8th April, 1779,* that slaves (*coartados*) should be left in possession of the privilege in question. In answer to this, let us refer to the terms of the cedula. We declare, it says, that the masters of slaves (not *coar-*

* In this cedula the precise duties of the syndic are laid down.

cados) have the liberty to sell them for whatsoever price they agree on with the buyers according to their actual worth; that when masters, for just reasons, are obliged by the judicial authority to sell their slaves (those so entirely) it shall be for the price at which they shall be valued by those authorities; but if the buyer wishes to take the slave without valuation, agreeing thereon with the master, they can arrange between them the price, and the authorities have no power to prevent it, although the master is compelled to sell, except that in order to diminish the amount of the alcabala duty (or tax on the sale of property) some collusion between the parties be suspected; further, that slaves who are 'coartado,' or have paid that portion remaining of it, the same obligation being binding on the buyer, that in all cases the seller shall pay the alcabala tax according to the price paid; further, that if the slave 'coartado' by bad conduct give a reasonable motive for selling him, however slight his crime, the addition to it be made of the alcabala tax on his sale; and, finally, that no slaves of any kind, entire or coartados, who redeem themselves by their lawful earnings, ought to pay this tax. The masters shall be obliged, conformable to the custom, to give them their liberty the moment they bring the due price for it."

Now to any ordinary capacity, the plain meaning of the terms of this beneficent law of 1779, is, that slaves have the power of demanding to be sold to another master, if another master can be procured to pay the price fixed on by the judges to the actual owner. In fact, the slave by this means puts himself in the position of coartado, one who has the right to demand his freedom whenever a price has been agreed on, or fixed by judicial valuation; and having procured a person to advance the money, he is content to have his liberty sold again, in consideration of the change of masters. But mark the chicanery by which every practical utility of this benevolent law is frittered away by the interpretation of the judicial authorities of Cuba. The slave who would change owners is first called on to produce a reasonable cause for his application. He alleges severe punishment or harsh treatment, who is to decide whether the slave has been maltreated or not? The syndic. Who is the syndic? A planter himself. And who is the master? The neighbour of the syndic. But what says the real audiencia exposition of the law for the regulation of the practice of these syndics? Why, that the due severity of the discipline of the

proprietary power towards the slaves, is not a sufficient cause for a slave's application to be sold ; and that the only sufficient causes are insufficient nourishment, scarcity of clothing, and dearth of instruction in the Christian religion. Now what does the last obligation on the planters amount to in Cuba ? to the christening of the slave, and to the burial of him with the ordinary rights of the church. This is the whole amount in Cuba of religious instruction, save and except the teaching the newly-imported pagans to repeat, like parrots on certain feasts, the Lord's Prayer, the confiteor, and the decades of the rosary ; but as for having the slightest conception of the meaning of the words they repeat by rote, it would be a folly to expect it, for they are never instructed in religion by priest or layman, except on the estate of (some rare phenomenon in Cuba) a pious planter, a scrupulous master, and a Christian man.

As to the complaint of insufficiency of food, the syndie of course acts on the general opinion, that it is the interest of an owner to feed his slaves well, and to clothe them also, for the sake of the preservation of their health and strength. This sounds well, and it passes for the truth with thousands of people, not only in Cuba but in England. This is an argument stated and re-stated hundreds of times, in answer to the ordinary charge of ill-treatment brought against slave-owners, namely, that it is the interest of a man to give good treatment to the beast (and "pari passu," to the slave) he keeps for use, or sale, or hire. No doubt it is his duty, but is it his interest, according to his ideas, to do this ? Is it the supposed interest of the owners of our own miserable hacks, to treat the animal thus which he lets on hire or rides on daily, or rather, can you persuade the great body of horse-dealers it is their interest to do this ? Unquestionably you cannot. They act on the principle that a quick return of the money outlaid on horse-flesh, no matter how great the wear and tear of the property that is worked or hired, is better than moderate work with small gain, and a longer use of the means from which that return is derived. Why, we might as well go to Connemara, or the shores of Leuce, and talk to Mr. RICHARD MARTIN's venerable ghost of the humanity of the treatment of the hackney-coach horse-owners in England, on the ground of their interests. That honest ghost, if ghosts in Ireland do speak, as they are said to do, would tell you that these persons deny it is their interest to spare their horses, and admit it is their interest to get the greatest

possible quantity of work in the shortest space of time from their hacks, and when they are worked off their legs, to purchase new ones. In fact, it is on this very principle the fast mail coaches are horsed and run.

But I have heard it said, however they may work them, it surely is their interest to feed them well. To this I answer, the universal feeling of the tribe is this, their true interest is to keep them cheaply. True it is, if they gave them treble the quantity of good hard provender, they would last, perhaps, double the length of time, and do half as much more work ; but you cannot persuade these men you understand their interests better than they do ; you may, indeed, easily persuade the owner of a stud of race-horses of the soundness of your opinion, but the high-blooded racers that belong, in England, to gentlemen on the turf, in proportion to the hacks and stage horses, are about in the same ratio, as the slaves in Cuba, belonging to intelligent, considerate, humane proprietors, are to the wretched negroes in the hands of unthinking, unprincipled, and grasping owners. But what says the Creole expounder of the Spanish law on the subject of the most important privilege conferred on the slaves. " We believe," he says, " that a slave not having undergone bad treatment on the part of his owner, having administered to him, food, clothing, and religious instruction, he cannot compel his master to sell him to another." So much for the benefit of the parchment privileges of the slaves in Cuba.

And now for their moral condition, and the administration of the laws affecting it, on the high authority of the work, published with the sanction, and at the expense of the real audiencia of Cuba. " As amongst the Romans," says the author, " there could be no marriage solemnized except among citizens, the union of the slaves was accomplished by concubinage, and the children followed the condition of the mother ; *our district law has adopted the same system (nuestra ley de partida ha adoptado la misma disposicion)* and when recently coartacion was established, the question was discussed ; if the infant of a slave coartado should enjoy the same privilege as the mother, but the doubt has ceased, since the publication of the royal cedula of the 10th of February, 1789, in which we find the point in question definitely settled."

There can be no doubt of the express meaning of the royal law on this subject being what it is described, and there is unfortunately, no doubt that the slaves of Cuba have none of the rights of citizens, that they are not suffered to marry, and that a general system of concu-

binage is that which the Christian law of the *partida* sanctions in Cuba, and to which it condemns nearly half-a-million of human beings. Here I take leave of the Cuban exposition of the Spanish laws for the amelioration of slavery. No one can dispute the authority of the treatise I have referred to, *for the express sanction of the real audiencia is prefixed to it.* It is with no little difficulty I procured a copy of that work, *for I have already stated it is not allowed to fall into the hands of strangers.*

I now proceed to show the extraordinary delusion which has been practised, not only on foreigners who have visited the Spanish colonies, but even sought to be practised on our government, and on the agents of it. It is no wonder, indeed, if the world has been imposed on by the specious benevolence of the Spanish laws, that have never been carried into execution, or are capable of enforcement in any country where slavery exists, and where the interests arising from it are prosperous. And, if the only result of the years of turmoil and painful inquiry I have passed through in the West Indies, were productive of no other advantage than the experience which enables me to address these observations to you, I would fain hope that I have made the best use of my time, and the opportunities afforded me by my position, that it was possible for me to make, in enabling me to disabuse the minds of men, of an opinion so erroneously entertained, that slavery in the Spanish colonies is mild in its character, and that the fact of its lenity is to be established by the laws and ordinances of the Sovereigns of Spain. But on this subject I must briefly refer to another source of information.

In the year 1824, Mr. SECRETARY CANNING addressed a despatch to the Chief Commissioner at the Havana, desiring to be furnished with information on the subject of the manumission of slaves in the Spanish colonies, and enclosing a memorandum which had been presented to our government, at that period, when the question of gradual emancipation in our colonies was forcing itself on the attention of ministers. The document enclosed is in the following terms :—

“ That slaves, (namely, those in the Spanish colonies) are generally appraised at four hundred dollars ; that a slave paying down the fourth part of his value, or one hundred dollars, immediately acquires a right to be *coartado*, that is, that he can work out, paying his master three reals de vellon or bits a day, until he can make a further deposit ; or,

if the master require his service, he can oblige the man to work for him, paying the slave one real : thus a deposit of two hundred dollars gives the slave a right to two reals daily ; of three hundred, three reals, and thus till the completion of the payment of the whole sum in which he had been appraised." A dollar is worth eight reals or bits.—(*Vide* Slave-Trade Reports, 1824-25, Class A. page 63).

In the first place, the common error with respect to the meaning of the term of coartacion, which I have already referred to, is pointed out in the reference made to the question of paying down one-fourth part of the value of the slave. The next error is in the statement, that a slave coartado has the right to work out, or to leave his master's service, paying him wages in a certain proportion to the sum still due for his liberty, the law treatise I have so largely quoted explicitly denying that the slave has any such right against the consent of his master. The next error is, that there is any law which compels the master to pay wages in any proportion to whatever sum the slave may have paid in part liquidation of the price of freedom.

The Chief Commissioner replied to Mr. CANNING's inquiry, October 9, 1824, stating, that he had consulted the most able lawyers and government authorities on the subject of manumission, and encloses a memorandum, a most valuable paper, though by no means to be considered as practically applicable to the attainable privileges of prædial slaves, and that distinction is not sufficiently drawn in the document, but only slightly, and very slightly, alluded to at the end of the memorandum. Nevertheless, the extent and accuracy of information, which it is so difficult to procure on this subject, is surprising to me ; and in referring to it, I have only to entreat attention to this point, that the information has reference to what the laws decree, and not to the practical working of them ; and when it refers to the latter, the experience adduced is entirely of their execution in towns and cities, and especially at the seat of government, the Havana.

Mr. KILBEE, the Commissioner, informs Mr. CANNING, that he has been wrongly informed, that slaves are valued at any fixed price for "coartacion ;" that he has known one sell for 1000 dollars, but that the tribunals discountenance excessive valuation ; that the average valuation of full-grown negroes on estates, is 500 dollars ; that house-slaves are valued at six, and mechanics at still higher prices ; that the statement is incorrect in asserting, "if the master require the service of his coar-

tado slave, he can oblige the man to work, paying the slave a certain sum," the fact being, that in all cases, the master is entitled to the service of his slave, whether coartado or not, without any remuneration whatever. That the wages of a common field labourer is about four reals a day, (there being eight reals "de plata," and twenty reals, "de vellon," to the dollar, the writer of the memorandum previously referred to, having confounded these), and, moreover, that the negro is fed and clothed ; and that as mechanics earn from a dollar and a quarter to three dollars a day, consequently, a coartado slave, who works out, is able to pay his master the daily quota proportioned to his price, and to lay by something towards the further attainment of his liberty. That the regulations for ameliorating the condition of slaves are founded principally on custom which has acquired the force of law, many of which are confirmed by royal decrees.

That when a slave applies to purchase his liberty, the master is not allowed to fix an arbitrary price ; but if he and the slave cannot agree upon it, two appraisers are named, one by the master, and another by the syndic, on the part of the slave, and if they differ, the judge names an umpire ; and in these cases, the slave is exempt from the payment of the alcabala duty, which is six per cent. on the sale of slaves sold in venta real or by public auction. That a master will be compelled to sell a slave, if a purchaser is found to engage to emancipate the slave at the end of any reasonable time ; that ill usage justifies an application for change of masters ; that a slave once emancipated, cannot again be reduced to slavery ; that the master having once given an "escritura de coartacion," binds himself never to demand more than a stipulated sum, though it is less than the actual value, it has no relation whatever to the actual price originally paid for him ; that the coartado slave, when his master allows him to work out on hire, is only bound to pay his master one real a day for every hundred dollars in which he is coartado : thus if his appraised price was four hundred dollars, and he had paid one hundred towards his liberty, he would only have to pay three reals a day to his master ; that a pregnant negress may emancipate her child even when in the womb, at the fixed price of twenty-five dollars, and from the time of its birth, till it be baptised, for fifty dollars ; that the system respecting the manumission of slaves, although in the country parts where there are few magistrates, there may be, and undoubtedly there are, many abuses, yet in the Havana, and other large towns, and in

other populous districts, it is efficiently observed ; and lastly, on the authority of this able statement of Mr. KILBEE, the slave-population of the island of Cuba, in the year 1824, was 250,000 ; the free-people of colour, 115,000 ; and the whites, 290,000.

I have attempted to show you, that the system of manumission, and the regulations in force for ameliorating the condition of the slave in the Spanish colonies, honourable as these are to the apparent intentions of the Spanish government, are of little real benefit to the prædial slaves, that is, to the great body of the slave-population in these colonies. There are exceptions ; there are instances, where slavery has not rendered masters heedless of all laws human and divine, even where their pecuniary interests are concerned, but these are few on the estates. There are instances, where the owners are persons of high rank, and wealth, and standing in society—noblemen, like the Count FERNANDINA, and a few others of his order, where the rights and privileges of the slaves are in some degree respected. These men, however, live not on their properties, and it is only to their occasional visits, the slaves on their properties have to look for justice. It is, as I have said before, in the large towns alone, and for the non-prædial slaves, that the privileges in question can be said to be available, and where manumission can be hoped for, the means acquired of obtaining it, and the opportunity given of applying for it, and for the partial redress of any wrong suffered by a slave. The murder of a slave by a white man, in no case whatever, is punished with death. During my residence in Cuba, some of the most atrocious murders *that I ever heard of*, came to my own immediate knowledge, the murders of slaves by their masters or mayorals, and not in any one instance was the murderer punished, except by imprisonment, or the payment of costs of suit.

During GENERAL TACON's administration of the government in the part of the year 1837, in the village of Guauabacoa, a league from the Havana, where I was then residing, the murder of a slave was perpetrated by his master, a well-known lawyer of the Havana, whose name I consider it my duty to make known, and as far as lies in my power to expose it to the infamy of a notoriety, which it is not in the power of the shackled press of Cuba to give, but which I have reason to believe, the press of Spain will give to these disclosures ; so that the reprobation of his countrymen will reach this gentleman, whom the laws he outraged were unable to reach or punish. The name

of the murderer is MANCHADO, and he moves without reproach in the goodly circles of genteel society at Havana: in that society where the capitalist, who has acquired his riches in the abominable slave-trade, by the especial favour of his SOVEREIGN, bears the title of "*Eccellentissimo*;" where the prosperous dealer in human flesh now retired from the trade, is a noble of the land; where the foreign merchant, who still pursues the profitable traffic on the coast, is the boon companion of the commercial magnates of the place; and where the agents of foreign governments themselves are hailed as the private protectors, and avowed well-wishers of the interests of the trade. The murdered slave of the lawyer MANCHADO, was suspected of stealing some plated ornaments belonging to the harness of his master; the man denied the charge; the customary process in such matters, to extort a confession from a suspected slave, was had recourse to. He was put down and flogged in the presence of his master. The flogging, it appeared by the sworn testimony of the witnesses who were present, given before the COMMANDANT of Guauabacoa, a COLONEL in the army, a gentleman of the highest character, commenced at three o'clock, it ceased at six, the man having literally died under the lash; a little time before the man expired, he had strength enough left to cry out, he would confess if they would flog no more. The master immediately sent for the Commissary of Police to receive his confession; this officer came, and stooping down to speak to the man, he found him motionless; he said, the man had fainted. The brutal master kicked the lifeless body, saying, "the dog was in no faint, he was shamming." The Commissary stooped down again, examined the body, and replied, "the man is dead." The master hereupon called in two physicians of Guauabacoa, and rightly counting on the sympathies of his professional attendants, he obtained a medical certificate, solemnly declaring that the negro had laboured under hernia, and had died of that disease. In the mean time the atrocity had reached the ears of the CAPTAIN-GENERAL TACON, the alcaldis of Guauabacoa were ordered to inquire into the matter; they did so, and the result of the inquiry was, of course, the exculpation of the murderer. GENERAL TACON, dissatisfied with the decision, immediately ordered the military officer commanding at Guauabacoa to proceed to a solemn investigation, *de novo*, without reference to the decision of the civil authorities, and this gentleman, with whom I was well acquainted, proceeded with all the energy and

integrity belonging to him, to the inquiry. The result of this inquiry was an able report, wherein the Commandant declared that the testimony adduced, plainly proved that the negro had died under the lash in presence of his master, in consequence of the severity of the punishment he received during three hours. I have entered at large into this case, because I speak from actual knowledge of the judicial proceedings, and from the authority of the judge in the cause. Now, what was the result in this case. Why, in due time, the CAPTAIN-GENERAL communicates to the Commandant the law opinion of the assessor or legal adviser of his administration, to the effect, that the report was evidently erroneous; inasmuch as the Commandant had examined negro witnesses on the investigation, when their masters were not present, which was illegal, and consequently all the proceedings were vitiated. In plain English, the murderer was acquitted, and the upright officer who declared him guilty was rebuked; nay more, he was ultimately removed from his post at Guauabacoa. The folly of talking about illegality in the proceedings is evident, when it is considered that the setting aside the civil authorities, and putting the cause in the hands of the military tribunal, was a course obviously illegal, but rendered necessary in the mind of the GOVERNOR by the base corruption of the civil tribunal, and the iniquity of its decision. On inquiry into the amount of money paid by MANCHADO in the way of bribes to obtain the decision in his favour, and the cost of suit, I found that the expenses amounted to 4000 dollars.

The next case I have to direct your attention to, has been given to the world in the recent admirable work of Mr. TURNBULL on Cuba, a work which it required more honest and closer observation, and a higher spirit of humanity to produce, than any work on the West Indies that has been given to the public. I happened to be with Mr. TURNBULL, on the journey of which he speaks in reference to this case, when a person who accompanied us on our return from a sugar estate, in the vicinity of Guines, informed us that the estate in question was the terror of all the negroes in the vicinity. Of this fact, what we had ourselves witnessed of the management of the property, and what we had heard from the mayoral himself, left but little cause to doubt; but it was not without surprise we learnt, that this very overseer, who was still left in charge of the estate, had recently been brought before the authorities of Guines, on the charge of flogging one of the slaves

of the estate to death, and that the result of this investigation was similar to that of the case at Guauabacoa. The body of the murdered slave was examined by medical men, and the usual certificate was given in all due form, satisfactorily accounting for the death of the negro, and in the eye of the law of Cuba, the slave that was murdered by a white man, and expired under the lash of legitimate authority, died a natural death. The wretch who committed this act left the Court, of course, without a blemish on his character; and the employer of this man took him back into his service, to the terror of every negro on his estate. This respectable planter was living at ease fifty miles distant from the scene, where the blood of his murdered negro was shed with impunity, enjoying the pleasures of the Havana, and, perhaps, by the urbanity of his manners, and the hospitality of his house, and the indulgent treatment of his domestic slaves, convincing the passing tourist, who was fortunate enough to be his guest, of "the peculiar mildness of slavery in the Spanish colonies."

The next case—I know these horrors are painful to be listened to—but it is a sickly sensibility which refuses to hear details, however shocking to humanity, that must be told by those who have the misfortune to be acquainted with them, or the wrongs they treat of cannot be redressed. The next case of negro murder committed by a mayoral, of which I have to speak, came to my knowledge in the autumn of 1839. I was travelling in the vicinity of Matanzas, accompanied by a gentleman who resided in that district. I was informed by my companion, that he had just received very unpleasant intelligence of an acquaintance of his, a mayoral of an estate on the Pan of Matanzas, who had unfortunately flogged a worthless negro, and the worthless negro had unfortunately died, and the soldiers had just been sent down to arrest the mayoral, and they did not find him. The misfortune of the mayoral touched me, indeed, less than the murder of the slave; but if my sympathies had been ever so strongly directed to the inconvenience the mayoral had been put to by his flight, I might have been comforted by the assurance that he had only to keep out of the way for some time, and the thing would pass over; or, if he were taken, at the worst, he had only to suffer in purse, and, perhaps, in person, by imprisonment for some time, if he was a poor and friendless mayoral. This was only another vacancy in the negro gang to be filled up by the purchase of a new bozal; another life, taken away under the lash, to be

added to the list of Cuban crimes ; another item in the long account that slavery has to settle with a just God. I know it is painful to dwell on these topics, but the report I have alluded to, has proved how necessary it is to enter on them most fully ; and to show how greatly people have been deceived with respect to the subject of slavery in the Spanish colonies.

The last case of murder perpetrated on a slave by a white person, to which I will refer, took place at the Havana in the last year. This crime was committed by an American woman on a poor negro girl, under such horrible circumstances of cold-blooded cruelty, that I doubt if there is any parallel to be found to it in the records of crime in Cuba. The girl that was murdered belonged to a Spaniard of the Havana, who was the paramour of the American. This woman was possessed of property to a considerable amount. She had been long resident in Havana, and was somewhat remarkable for her personal attractions. Her friend, the Spaniard, had sent to her house one of his slaves to assist her, and this girl became, it is supposed, the victim of her jealousy ; for no other adequate reason has been assigned for the cruelties practised on her. The cries of the unfortunate girl had been heard in the adjoining houses ; at length the usual screams were heard no longer, but night after night the sounds of continued moaning were noticed by the neighbours, and at length they gave information of the matter to the police. The Commissary of Police proceeded to the house of the American lady. On searching the outhouses in the yard, in one of these offices, converted into a dungeon, they found a dying negro girl chained by the middle to the wall, in a state that shocked the senses of all who were present, so loathsome and withal so pitiful an object, as the persons who discovered this unfortunate girl never beheld. On releasing her from this dreadful dungeon, where she had been, she could not tell how long, it was found that the chain round her body had eaten into the flesh, and the ulcers in it were in a state of gangrene. She was taken to the hospital, and she died there in two or three days' time. If I have added one iota to the truth, or exaggerated a single point in the statement I have given, I am content that every fact I have stated should be disbelieved ; but in truth, the horrors of the place, and the wretchedness of the condition in which she was found, are understated ; in fact, they could not be described. The monster who committed this murder, when I left the Havana, in October last, was alive and well ;

in prison indeed, but in one of the halls of distinction, (*salas de distinc-tion*), where the prisoner who has money, no matter what his crime, may always obtain superior accommodation. She was visited frequently by persons of my acquaintance. She did not admit that she had committed any crime; and she had no fear for the result of the process that was going on, except on the score of its expense. She looked on her imprisonment as a conspiracy only of the Spanish lawyers to get money from her, because they knew she was rich; and in this she probably was not much mistaken. The *TENIENTE GOBERNADOR*, one of the principal officers of state, was in the habit of visiting her in prison, and encouraging her with the assurance that her suit would speedily be terminated, and that she had nothing worse than banishment to fear. A lawyer of the name of *GARCIA* had defended her some short time before her committal on the present charge, in another case of cruelty practised by her on a slave; and he publicly boasted that if she had come forward in the present case with a sufficient sum, he would have brought her through her present difficulty without any more inconvenience than in the former instance. Such is the administration of justice in the island of Cuba, and the execution of those laws which are thought so mild in their character, and benevolent in their principles, that the slave who lives under them is protected from injustice, and in consequence of their excellence the negroes in Spanish colonies are comparatively happy.

It was said by the late Mr. *CANNING*, that all laws for the partial amelioration of the condition of slaves were necessarily defective, because such laws had no executive principle, inasmuch as the persons who were expected to carry them into operation were interested in defeating them. My experience entirely bears out the assertion of Mr. *CANNING*; and both, I am sorry to say, are at variance with that part of the report to which I have referred, and with the common opinion of the humanity of the system of Spanish slavery, entertained even by well informed persons in this country.

In concluding this subject, I would earnestly desire to impress these facts on the minds of all who are interested in the question of negro emancipation; that the abolition of slavery in our colonies, has given great advantages to those colonies where slavery exists. And that it is in vain to expect a beneficial result from our efforts, while slavery flourishes in Cuba and the Brazils, and leans on the sympathy

and support of countries like America and the colonies of France, whose interests are identified with theirs.

Dr. MADDEN closed by saying

Before I resume my seat, the presence of a gentleman connected with a deeply interesting event induces me to allude to it. When I was last in New York, I found there two American slavers, built at Baltimore, which had been captured by a British cruiser. They were owned by American subjects, and had been sent to the Havana for the fraudulent purpose of changing their papers and giving the vessels a Portuguese character. The captor is in this room, and I think it desirable that he should so fix the fact on these men, as to put it out of their power to deny it. He is the first man who has ventured to go out of the routine of duty, seize vessels hoisting the American flag, and carry them into an American port. I think he should receive some marks of your approbation.

Lieutenant FITZGERALD, R.N. (late Commander of H. M. B. Buzzard).—Very little remains for me to state on this subject; but with the permission of the Convention, I will briefly state the circumstances which led to the detention of these American vessels. In January last, I arrived off a port of the African coast in the ship I commanded, about two o'clock in the morning. I sent my boats to board all the vessels lying in the roads, and among others was the American brig Eagle. The officer perceived that everything connected with the equipment was so suspicious, that he remained on board the vessel for the night. I went on board the following morning, and although confident that she was intended for a slave cargo, yet knowing the tenacity of the American government on the right of search by British cruisers, I forebore for the time detaining the vessel. Another officer seeing the vessel seized her, and sent her to Sierra Leone, but the Mixed Court refused to condemn her, the Captain persisting that she was a regular trader. The officer still refused to give her up, and came to me, being the first senior officer he had met at Fernando Po. I then stated my determination to send the vessel to New York, where the subject would be investigated, and the Captain, if guilty, would in all probability be hung. I went on board, and stated that I should send an increased force to convey her to America. The Captain then said that it was in vain to hold out longer; that she was a Spanish vessel; that he was an American; and that he had hoped to prevent her detention by British cruisers, by displaying the American flag. I immediately put an officer of my own on board. I knew that there was a similar vessel in the Niger, and going there, I sent out my boats. She was armed with six-pounders, loaded up to the muzzle. I declared that if one Englishman was hurt, not a Spaniard should be left to tell the story. Fortunately the Spaniards were in a state of debility from fever, and the mate was absent, otherwise they would in all probability have fired upon the boats, and then every one of them would have been killed. We took possession of the vessel, and the American Captain threatened to complain to his government, alleging that the capture of the vessel would lead to a war between the two countries. I adhered to my purpose, and when the Captain came on board he nearly fainted. He then surrendered the vessel, and added, that a week later there would have been 350 slaves on board. She was a ninety tons vessel, but measured only thirty-eight tons British. Between decks, as measured by myself, the distance allowed for 350 individuals was

but two feet six inches. In corroboration of the horrors attendant on this traffic, I may state, that this very American Captain told me, that on a previous voyage eight or ten of the negroes were so debilitated when brought down to the ship, that the Spanish supercargo saw that there was no probability of their reaching their destination, and they were shot at the barracoen like so many mad dogs. On taking these vessels to New York, I must state in justice to the authorities, that on making an affidavit before the Attorney-General, a warrant was issued for the arrest of the American Captains, but one of them was so ill that he died in sixteen hours, the other was committed to prison ; but in a few days he found the necessary bail and was liberated. I was detained from three to four months, the usual period occupied in the process of the law ; and when the time for the trial arrived, the Attorney-General informed me, that the Captain had requested a postponement of his trial, in consequence of the death of his mother, and it had been granted him. The only observation I made was, that American courts were much more obliging to prisoners, than English courts. I could not remain longer, and my evidence was taken on commission. What has been the result I cannot say. There are noble-hearted abolitionists in America from whom I received every kindness ; but of course the very reverse from slave-traders. One threatened to commence proceedings against me which occasioned me some anxiety, not knowing what might be the result ; but I am happy to say, that within the last three weeks the Admiralty have sent out orders to defend me. I must also do justice to the chief magistrate of America by stating, that when I pointed out to him the abuses which took place under the American flag, that I had vindicated its honour for the time being, and that I would never allow it to be prostrated in such inhuman traffic, he expressed his obligations to me, adding that the two governments could have but one feeling, that of detestation of such traffic ; and that an American man-of-war would have been sent out, but for an occurrence which had taken place. Two have since been sent, and some British cruisers had surrendered vessels to them, before I left, which I was compelled to do in consequence of ill health.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I wish to be allowed to state that our excellent friend Dr. MADDEN, who has introduced this very valuable document to the Convention, has, during the last three years held the office of protector of liberated Africans at the Havana, and has the prospect of speedily resuming his post. Yet he has nobly come forward and stated these facts before the British public. There cannot be a stronger proof of his devotedness to our cause. I wish also briefly to allude to the statement made by our friend who has just resumed his seat, and who has given us some very interesting information. While we feel charity for the views of those who differ from us, it must be recollected that this Convention is based upon the principle, that we are confined to moral, religious, and pacific means in carrying out our object ; and the word “ pacific,” prohibits us from either directly or indirectly sanctioning a resort to arms even against the slave-trader while he holds his victim in his hands. I wish to state this strongly and distinctly, while at the same time entertaining the greatest respect for those who differ from me in opinion ; especially when gentlemen endeavour to discharge their apprehended duty in the noble way in which our friend has done ; and I hope he will not consider that I treat him with disrespect, when I state that, as a Convention, we are bound to the pacific principle.

Rev. JOHN KENNEDY, (of Aberdeen).—Sir, I have been desired to move—

That Dr. MADDEN be requested to place his statement in the hands of a Committee, for its translation into the Spanish language, in order to promote its circulation.

The Convention has been deeply interested in the statements we have just heard. In listening to these statements, I have no doubt that many minds reverted, as my own did, to the circumstances in which the anti-slavery community was placed a few years ago, when our much esteemed and highly honoured friend, Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, and his noble coadjutors laid bare the atrocities of the apprenticeship in the West Indies, Dr. MADDEN is pioneering the way for the ultimate abolition of slavery in the Spanish Colonies, just as Mr. STURGE and others did for the abolition of the apprenticeship in our West India islands. Our friends had in this country, it is true, a very different substratum of feeling and principle, on which to work, from that which Dr. MADDEN will have to work upon in Spain. While we would say nothing offensive to Spanish feeling, and make no comparison that could be considered out of order, even in a meeting which is not British, but universal, we cannot hide this fact from ourselves. Still there remains in human nature, without national distinctions, fallen and degraded as it is, so many fragments of the principle of right and wrong, that the statement we have heard cannot be read without a blush of shame, even by the perpetrators of the cruelties detailed. I have little doubt that that statement going out with the imprimatur and moral influence of this assembly, and made public in the metropolis of the British empire, will cause those who live in honour and respect in Cuba, to feel themselves dishonoured and disgraced in every part of the civilized world. I do entertain very sanguine expectations that great benefit will result from the publication of the document before us, in the Spanish language. It will likewise re-assure the anti-slavery community in this country, that slavery is essentially the same in every part of the globe. It will teach them, that, bolster up the system as you may, ascribe to it all the false charms which can be thrown around it, slavery is still slavery, oppression is still oppression, degradation is still degradation, all the world over. If we required anything like argument to urge us to the adoption of a sentiment which was well put in the able and logical Essay of Mr. GODWIN, namely, that the way to treat slavery is not to mitigate, but to annihilate it, that argument has been furnished this day. We have found, that while humanity can write its dictates of mercy on paper and parchment, the spirit of wanton oppression can inflict wounds and cruelties, almost unheard of, on the very objects of its solicitude and care. We have found, that while men living at least on the borders of civilization, have felt themselves constrained to send across the Atlantic, something like right principles and right laws: these principles and laws have been utterly inoperative and useless, just because there were no bosoms to entertain them, and no hands to work them out. This only corresponds with all our previous experience. Right laws have no power of their own; and where there is no executive principle, where the whole feeling of society is opposed to them, and there is no external power to enforce them, they can never be any thing else than a dead letter. I have much pleasure in submitting this motion to the meeting.

WILLIAM FORSTER, Esq., (of Norwich), seconded the motion.

THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON, Esq.—I certainly, from my long knowledge of Dr. MADDEN, and the great respect which I entertain for that gentleman, should immediately have risen to second the resolution which has just been proposed, if I had not understood that he, in my absence, had expressed some difference of opinion with me as to the extent of the slave-trade in Cuba, and that the same had been done by Mr. TURNBULL. I am not prepared to state my own views on the subject; the calculation rests on documentary evidence, and not being aware that the slave-trade would be this day introduced, I did not bring those documents to the meeting. I shall, however, take an early opportunity of laying my views before the public.* I say no more with regard to the statements which have been put forth by these most respectable gentlemen; with one of whom, I am proud to say, that for many, many years, I have most cordially acted, I mean Dr. MADDEN. I am sure that every thing he states he conscientiously believes; and I have no reason to doubt that the same may be said of Mr. TURNBULL. At the same time Dr. MADDEN's opinions, Mr. TURNBULL's opinions, and my own, must all be tested by the evidence of facts. I will adduce the very facts which are stated by Mr. TURNBULL, and give you an arithmetical demonstration that I am right. I had great doubts and hesitation as to whether I should make my views known; I think we all ought to be engaged in attacking the common foe, and I, therefore, felt reluctant that the common friends of the cause should occupy any portion of their time and zeal in disputing among each other. I approved of Mr. TURNBULL's work generally, though I regretted some observations in it. I was disposed to let the matter drop, but placed as it is before this meeting, I have no alternative but to give, in the most friendly spirit, the facts and calculations on which my statement rests. I have already declared, that I was not aware the subject of the slave-trade was to be discussed to-day. I ought, perhaps, to be ashamed that I was not cognizant of this fact. Had I regularly attended the meetings of the Convention, it would have been notorious to me; but I hope no one will suppose that my absence has been occasioned by any indifference to the objects you have in view. If I had had the command of my own time, there is no employment which would have been more gratifying to me, than to feast upon that mass of instruction and information which has been brought before you. Gentlemen, however, are aware that I am embarked in another institution, the Society for the Extinction of the Slave-trade and the Civilization of Africa, the weight of which rests principally upon myself. It has now arrived at a critical period of its history; and the whole of my mind, my time, and my zeal, are absorbed in it. But I was anxious to be present to-day, that I might have an opportunity of offering, I will not say an apology, but an explanation. I wished to see, not only the assembly itself, but those brave and good men from America who have periled their lives again and again in this cause. I had my humble share of obloquy in former days, when the subject was not so ripe as it is at present. I know a little, but very little, compared with them, of the contempt and derision which attend an honest declaration of adherence to the rights of man. But I have felt the greatest esteem and veneration for those

* This intention was carried into execution in a letter from Mr., now Sir THOMAS FOWELL BUXTON to Mr. TURNBULL, inserted in the abridgment of the former gentleman's book on the African Slave-trade and its Remedy, page 62.

who have stood out in America, in the face of their own countrymen, and denounced this atrocious and cruel system. I know something of the great and heavy sacrifices which it must have cost them in order to do so. I wished also to come here and express a hope, that no one would so misunderstand me, as to suppose that I shared in the slightest degree, in that narrow and mean jealousy which would describe our Society, and that here assembled as rivals and antagonists. Rivals and antagonists they are not, they are sister institutions, they walk in a different road, they use different means, but their object is one and the same. I have not the absurd and blind vanity to suppose, that my bosom harbours a deeper and more intense abhorrence of the slave-trade, than that which is felt by every gentleman in this room. But may I not take the liberty of saying, that I am an enemy to slavery, that some portion of my existence has been given to its abolition; and though I see here men who have made great sacrifices, though I see many more able advocates than ever I could be, I do hope I may say, without vanity, that I see no one from whose breast gushes forth a deeper and more intense stream of desire for the utter overthrow of slavery in every form and in every climate. I repeat the two societies are not rivals; your first blow is aimed at slavery, ours at the slave-trade; you wish to extinguish the demand, we desire to crush the supply; your operations are in one hemisphere, ours in another. There is no possibility of interference; on the contrary, success cannot attend the one without its also attending the other. If God should be pleased to grant the utmost measure of success to your noble efforts, and the demand should greatly abate; what is there which you can more earnestly and intensely desire, than that the supply should also decrease? Of all the horrible tragedies which exist, and which are brought to light by the slave-trade, there is not one so affecting to my mind as this, which now stands upon record, that slaves have been collected in the interior of Africa with dreadful slaughter; they have been brought down to the coast under the harassing oppressions of a march, and the mortality it occasions; and then owing to some cause, sometimes the honest interference of British vessels capturing the ships which were to convey them, they have been left to perish, and there are instances of hundreds having been slaughtered by the knife of the ruffians to whom they belong. I know men who have seen the victims wandering about the coast picking up foetid fish which have been cast on the shore, and at last dying the victims of famine. Stop the demand therefore, without, at the same time, effecting a corresponding diminution in the supply, and these tragedies will occur. On the other hand, supposing it should please God, in mercy to our efforts, and hearing our earnest prayers, to bless us with pre-eminent success, that the supply should be reduced in Africa, and that the Africans should learn that greater benefit is to be derived from labour, than from the sale of the labourer; then what can we desire more fervently than this, that while there is a decrease of the supply, there should also be a decrease of the demand? Unless this be the case, our efforts will merely result in transferring the slave-trade from one quarter to another. The slave-trader will go into another field, and carry famine and sword into new, and as yet, undevastated districts, so that the effect will be to put the slave-trade down in one spot, and cause it to burst out and rage in another. I say therefore, that these two societies are detachments of the same great army; I hope that they will unite together, and that it will please Providence, by their efforts, to produce the overthrow of slavery and the slave-trade,

throughout the world. I can most truly say that it has been my endeavour to suppress any feeling of rivalry of this description, and to promote to the best of my power the objects you have in view. I pray God to bless your efforts ; I pray that his countenance may be lifted up upon you and upon ourselves ; and I do pray that both societies may act in perfect harmony.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I trust I may be indulged in a few remarks. They have no immediate connexion with the resolution before the Convention, but have suggested themselves to me, in consequence of those which have already fallen from the honourable gentleman, (Mr. Buxton) by whose address we have all been so much gratified. I need scarcely say to this Convention, that in the United States his name has been most honourably identified with the abolition movement throughout the world. I rejoiced to hear him declare so explicitly as he did this morning, that there is no conflict or rivalry between the plan to which he has more especially devoted his efforts, and the one which we have more immediately before us ; one which is similar in its object and aim and measures with that with which the American delegates are more especially connected. I rejoiced to hear him say, that although we are pursuing different routes, yet that we are moving on with the same object, and that our aim is wholly identical. I doubt not that our friends on the other side of the Atlantic will rejoice with me in this avowal. But I have a further object in view in thus rising to address you. It may be known to those who have paid particular attention to the anti-slavery cause in America, that from its commencement its greatest adversary has been, what is now known amongst us, as the American Colonization Society. Without going into the facts in support of this opinion, I may venture to say here, that it is decidedly more hostile than any adversary with which we have to contend. I think I may state further, without doing injustice to those concerned, that it is at this time the embodiment of the pro-slavery and slave-holding interests ; and that through it they are acting for the maintenance of slavery and its abominations. I rise not only that full justice may be accorded to the gentleman who has just addressed us, but that he may have an opportunity of placing his opinions in connexion with colonization in so clear a light, that hereafter we may not be embarrassed by seeing his name connected as it has been by the American Colonization Society or Colonizers, with their unhappy scheme. From the attention which I have already had an opportunity of bestowing on his work, and from a conversation which I have had with him this morning, and with a gentleman closely united with him in the civilization enterprise ; I learn with satisfaction that there is no connexion intended between his scheme and the one so deprecated by the friends of the coloured people in the United States.

Mr. BUXTON.—Certainly one does see great changes in this world, but of all the changes which I ever expected to see accomplished, I never did conceive it possible, that any one could have supposed that I was a friend of the American Colonization Society. In the first place, in my house was written that letter which was signed, first by WILBERFORCE, then by CLARKSON, I believe then by ZACHARY MACAULAY, than whom Africa has had no more sincere, no more laborious, no more disinterested and effectual friend, and then by others, calling upon our friends in England not to assist in that cause, seeing its defects so far as American slavery was concerned. Again, I am not aware that I have published one single word which can be misconstrued into an approbation of that scheme. I held at that moment, and ever have held, that, so far as the negro in America was concerned, it was a fatal

delusion. I will not enter into motives, I will not accuse any man who may have honestly engaged in that scheme, but it is plainly an erroneous scheme, calculated to produce the very worst effects on the interests of the black population in America. Moreover, in consequence of its having been represented to me that much misuse of my name and influence had been made in America, I addressed a letter to a friend of mine in this room, declaring that there was no change in my opinions on the subject, and that I still hold the doctrines I have ever held with regard to the Colonization Society, as far as its operation extends within the United States. I have a letter from Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON, in which he declares that my sentiments were all he could wish, and would produce the very best effects. But while I say this, I wish to be candid. We made a distinction when it first began, as to the effect of the Colonization Society upon the negro in America, and to him we considered, that it would be most injurious, not to say fatal, and as to the effect it was likely to produce in Africa, where we felt that it would be difficult to trace out what its results would be. I have found some statements in the writings of one gentleman belonging to it, in which I fully concur, and I should feel ashamed, if in this assembly I did not avow it ; I allude to what he states as to the capability of Africa to be cultivated, and the disposition of the people to labour. There is much in the reports from Liberia, which has deeply interested me ; and, generally, I can hardly go so far as to say universally, I have approved and rejoiced in the operations of the Colonization Society, as far as Africa is concerned ; there, if I am to believe their accounts, they have abolished all distinctions of colour ; there they have abolished slavery ; there they have allowed the energies of the black man to have full scope ; and there, therefore, they merit our approbation. But disposed as I am to do justice to one part of their scheme, I will not shrink from declaring, that from the beginning of the Society up to the present day, I have been and am an utter enemy to the Colonization Society, so far as its effect upon the coloured population of the United States is concerned.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I have no doubt that the expression of opinion just given will be productive of the most salutary effects in America.

Lieut. FITZGERALD.—I feel that I am incurring great hazard in presuming to differ from the two last gentlemen who have spoken, with regard to Liberia. Having visited the colony last February, I have formed an opinion regarding it, and not without some right to do so. At present the colony extends a distance of 250 miles along the coast, and from all I could see and learn, I solemnly believe that neither Cuba nor any other country can obtain a supply of slaves from thence. I cannot say what may be the influence of the colony on American slavery ; but I have no hesitation in declaring my firm persuasion, that if we had free colonies at the mouth of every African river, Spanish vessels could not lie there for three or four months, watching their opportunity to escape with a cargo of slaves. GOVERNOR BUCHANAN insisted upon the barracoons, or the pens in which the slaves are kept until they are put on board the vessels, being destroyed ; and there is not a chief within the district who would think of erecting one.

Mr. SCOBLE.—I wish to ask LIEUT. FITZGERALD :—First, whether slavers have not been captured at Liberia ? Secondly, whether slave-traders cannot at all times be supplied there with shackles or other materials which they require for the purpose of carrying on their nefarious traffic on the western coast of Africa ? Thirdly, whether DE SOUZA has not a house at Liberia

where he can draw any amount of money he pleases, in order to carry on his operations on that part of the coast over which he has jurisdiction ?

Lieut. FITZGERALD.—I never heard of a slave ship being captured at Liberia, but it is not improbable, that when the colony was first established, and was therefore in a state of weakness, a Spanish vessel with a crew of fifty or sixty men, might obtain a cargo, in spite of every effort which could be made to prevent it. But I believe that now a vessel might as well proceed to Sierra Leone as to Liberia, for that purpose. With regard to DE SOUZA, I never heard by report, or otherwise, that he has an establishment at Liberia ; nor did I ever hear that shackles could be procured there. I again repeat my firm conviction, that there is not a single slave exported there, unless it is done in the most rapid manner. At the present moment, there is such a system adopted that it is scarcely possible, in all instances, to avoid it. I know a case, in which a slaver within four hours got 450 slaves on board ; she never anchored, but sailed immediately for Cuba. In such a case, the GOVERNOR of Liberia could do nothing. But as for a vessel lying three months in the river, with her cargo on board, watching the British cruisers, no such thing can take place on the coast of Liberia. I was once out in a river four days with my boats, having received information that there were two slavers in the neighbourhood. I landed, and saw within the distance of half a mile three barracoons. I was surrounded by black men, among whom was the KING's brother, who spoke as good English as myself. I asked him, if he could give me any information about the slavers ; to which he replied "No," and if he could, he would not. I then inquired, if he was not ashamed of being a slave-dealer, to which he answered, "No ; I owe no allegiance to QUEEN VICTORIA, and there is no law against it here." That river is not half a mile wide, and if a colony were formed at its mouth, no slaver could go in or out of it. That is the case with many other rivers which I have visited. The river Bonny alone, in 1836, sent out 30,000 slaves, in spite of all our cruisers. But during the last two years there has not been a slaver seen there, and the palm oil trade is flourishing rapidly.

Mr. BUXTON.—Some misapprehension must have occurred in the mind of LIEUT. FITZGERALD as to what I stated. I said that so far as the Colonization Society operated on the negroes in America, I thought it most injurious. I am not qualified, perhaps, to pronounce so positive an opinion with regard to its effects in Africa. My information on this point, is derived from their own publications, but if I am to credit these, and I see no reason for distrusting them, I am bound to acknowledge that there, I think, they have done good.

Lieut. FITZGERALD.—To show the anxiety of GOVERNOR BUCHANAN to put an end to the slave-trade, I may state that a few weeks before I reached Sierra Leone, he visited it, to ask for assistance to attack a strong slave-holding position ; the small force at his control not being sufficient for the purpose, and it was refused him.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I dislike as much as any gentleman to be troublesome, but from the testimony already before the meeting, given by LIEUT. FITZGERALD, I feel reluctant to leave the case in its present position. On the two points which have been particularly adverted to, I have almost accidentally some slight evidence in my hand. It will occupy a few minutes only in reading. Before doing so, I wish to exempt the Colonization Society at home, and the present as well as the former GOVERNORS of Liberia, from any charge of being concerned in the slave-trade, or of wishing its con-

tinuance. They have been unable to restrain the colonists from giving aid and countenance to the slavers. I equally believe, and I feel myself authorised to assume, the respectability of the parties whose evidence is contained in this pamphlet. It is entitled, "The Colonization Scheme considered, &c., in a letter addressed to the Hon. THEODORE FRELINGHUYZEN and the Hon. BENJAMIN F. BUTLER," both American citizens of the first respectability and influence, and both distinguished for their zeal in the colonization cause. I will not detain the meeting by giving all the testimony, but adduce a few of the most prominent parts. ASHMUN was among the first GOVERNORS of the colony, a man decidedly of a very superior mind, and in writing to the board of managers in America upon the subject, he says:—

"It is not known to every one how little difference can be perceived in the measure of intellect, possessed by an illiterate rustic from the United States, and a sprightly native of the coast"—"the fact certainly is, that the advantage is oftenest clearly on the side of the latter." "An unlimited indulgence of appetite; and the laboured excitement, and unbounded gratification of lust, the most unbridled and beastly, are ingredients of the African character. Such is the common character of all; and it operates with all the power of an ever-present example on the colonists * * * from the moment of their arrival in Africa. It must produce its effects. It HAS produced them, and without a powerful, counteracting agency, it must, at no great distance of time, as surely leaven the whole mass, as human nature shall continue what it is. Colonists thus suffer a double disadvantage; are subject to all that is contaminating in the character of the natives, at the same time, that they have passed beyond the reach of the corrective example of enlightened Christians."

In February, 1834, the Rev. Mr. PINNEY, (the GOVERNOR), writing from Monrovia, says:—

"The natives are perfect *menials*, I mean those in town, and sorry am I to be obliged to say, that, from my limited observation, it is evident, that as little effort is made by the colonists to elevate them, as is usually made by the higher classes in the United States, [the whites], to elevate the lower [the coloured people]. Nothing has been done for the natives, hitherto, by the colonists, except to educate a few who were in their families in the capacity of servants."

The same gentleman in 1836, publicly stated:—

"The colony has existed now for fifteen years, and yet the 20,000 Africans around it, have not materially altered ANY of their manners; they dress in the same negligent way [their only clothing being a piece of cloth around the loins], they dwell in the same poor huts; they have the same mode of agriculture, as when we first came here."

The late GOVERNOR SKINNER, in 1837, says :—

“ But few of the natives have been civilized. I have known but FIVE instances ; two of them are professors of religion.”

On the other point, as to the slave-trade, it is stated here :—

“ Since the settlement of the colony, PEDRO BLANCO, one of the largest slave-traders in the world, has established himself at the mouth of Gallinas river, between Monrovia and Sierra Leone, within fifty miles of the former, and about treble that distance from the latter. What PEDRO BLANCO’s opinion is, (and doubtless, it is a very sound one), as to the effect of the colonies on his business, the naked fact of his establishing himself in their neighbourhood, sufficiently indicates.”

In a letter from the GOVERNOR of Liberia, dated 8th January, 1836, it is said :—

“ I have had constant difficulties with the natives, in consequence of the wars in which they are engaged, and the capture of persons to sell as slaves, *some of whom have been taken from our purchased territories.* Boats have been sent from Spanish slavers into the St. Paul’s, and slaves have been bought in that river.”

CAPTAIN NICHOLSON, in a report to the Secretary of the Navy, says :—

“ Within a year four slave factories have been established almost within sight of the colony,” [Monrovia].

The British Parliament have lately published various documents relative to the slave-trade, among them is an intercepted letter from the CAPTAIN of a slaver to his owner in Cuba. The CAPTAIN writes, (28th September, 1838), from Little Bassa, (Liberia), as follows :—

“ To-morrow the schooner sails for New Sestos, (believed to be also in Liberia), to take on board a cargo of slaves which I have ready there. I have been obliged to have one hundred sets of shackles made at Cape Messurado,” (Monrovia).

GOVERNOR BUCHANAN, on the 10th of August, 1839, writes :—

“ Before my arrival here, business of every kind in the colony had become exceedingly dull, and the general impression was, that the patrons in America were losing their interests in affairs here, and that poor Liberia must go down. In this state of things, while our mechanics could find no employment at home, *the slavers offered them plenty of work, high wages, and good Spanish doubloons for pay.* The temptation was irresistible, and some whose necessities were too strong for their principles, *went among them* ; but I recalled all the *wanderers* as soon as I came here.”

I will detain the meeting with but a single extract from the *Liberia Herald*, for May, 1838:—

“The first requisite to the advancement and prosperity of the colony, is the suppression of the slave-trade in our vicinity. *This trade has been gradually acquiring strength for the last four years. Its ravages have been more fearful, and the vessels engaged in it more numerous, than at any former period of the COLONY’S history. An exterminating war has raged over an extent of fifty miles AROUND US; nearly all communication WITH THE INTERIOR has been cut off; lands have remained untilled, every article of food has advanced 200 per cent. in price, and HORROR AND CONFUSION HAVE RAGED ON EVERY SIDE.*”

Mr. FULLER.—It is nothing more than justice that the meeting should know who the last speaker is; he was once the authorised agent of the American Colonization Society.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—And the man who said, he never should have liberated his slaves so long as he held to his colonization principles.

Mr. PRICE.—I am desirous of offering a few observations with reference to the subject of slavery in Cuba, and consequently on the slave-trade as encouraged thereby. I have heard with deep interest the description which has been given to this meeting by Dr. MADDEN. I cannot but believe, that its translation into the Spanish, as well as all other European languages, will be of considerable service; and I, therefore, very cheerfully support the resolution which has been moved and seconded. As another opportunity may not, perhaps, be afforded of offering some further remarks upon it, I should regret losing the present occasion for giving a little information which I happen to possess confirmatory of the statements made by Dr. MADDEN, with reference to slavery in Cuba. My residence being in that part of South Wales in which copper is principally manufactured, it affords me an opportunity of communicating with persons who have visited Cuba; captains of vessels and others, bringing home copper-ore from that island to be smelted in my own vicinity; and I have availed myself of these means of obtaining some information on the subject of slavery. I have also had access to an individual who has resided there for a considerable time, and who was sent out from this country, for the purpose of superintending the work in one of these copper mines. I have also a personal acquaintance with individuals engaged in those copper mines in Cuba; and I will do them the justice to say, that I am ready to believe they persuade themselves that their mines are not worked by slaves. But from the mouth of an individual who has been several years superintendent of one of these copper mines, I have distinctly learned the contrary. I also learned from him, that the proprietors resident in this city, and in other parts of Great Britain, do intend to steer clear of the ownership of slaves, that they are themselves not proprietors of slaves, but the practice which obtains there, is, to hire them from those who own them. I made a memorandum of the facts as he communicated them. The mine on which he was engaged is worked chiefly by slaves. They are principally hired from planters, at the rate of about 10 dollars each per month, equal to about £25 per annum, as he was informed by one of their overseers, besides their clothing and food. They are fed on

fish, sweet potatoes, and Indian corn boiled up in a mess, and are kept in good condition. He was employed as other Cornish miners are, in directing a number of them how to work, and keeping them on at their work. Some free natives are also employed at the mines; not many, he thinks about one in twenty; they are not fond of much work. There were about forty negroes brought up to the mines from a captured slaver while he was there; he believes they were slaves, being treated, and fed, and worked as such. He does not know whether they were bought by the adventurers in the mine or how. He has been shocked at the severe flogging; he has seen a woman undergo 200 lashes of a heavy long whip, which fetches blood every stroke. She was afterwards carried into the negro house to take her course. He knew a man slave who stole a pig, and ate part of it; he was promised a flogging for it; he dreaded it so much, that he went out and hung himself up to a tree and died. He thinks no one would be found in Cuba to take an interest in terminating slavery. They will not allow missionaries. The slaves are encouraged to work on Sundays, by a shilling each for themselves to enable them to make merry, and dance, &c. in the evening. Worship is wholly neglected. I wish to avail myself of this opportunity of discouraging individuals from participating in the copper-mines, while slavery and the slave-trade are encouraged by them, as tending to perpetuate those monstrous evils; while 10 dollars per month, or £25 per annum are paid for the service of one of those slaves, and a guarantee given by the owners of the mine, that in the event of accident and death, the full price of that slave shall be paid, there will necessarily be persons found ready to embark their capital in slaves for the purpose of getting rapidly rich. I have been told, that even the widow of a mining captain has been known to embark property in slaves for the purpose of deriving a revenue for her support. I have been further informed, that even the captains of some of our vessels, have ventured to embark their property in slaves worked in this manner. It is obvious, the employers of slaves under these circumstances, are very directly encouraging, not only slavery, but the slave-trade. I earnestly desire that every one who hears me, or reads this statement, should wash his hands clear of this crime. Let them employ persons who are entirely free. If they would give to free men the same remuneration which is given to slave-owners and their slaves in food and clothing, how rapidly would they contribute to raise up a free set of miners, who would become a valuable body of men, and thus exhibit a light in Cuba which would contribute ultimately to promote the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the island! Our hopes, do not rest on the employment of force, but on strictly religious and moral means for promoting the extirpation of slavery, and therewith the entire abolition of the slave-trade. I am persuaded, that any of our friends who delude themselves with the idea, that they can destroy the slave-trade without destroying slavery, will find that they are utterly mistaken. While persons can get rich by carrying on the trade, I am persuaded that it will be carried on; and, therefore, the only effectual way is to lay the axe to the root of the evil tree, to cut it down; I am very fearful that the effect of their labour may be exceedingly prejudicial, inasmuch as it contributes to raise the character of these individuals, it makes them so much more valuable for transportation across the Atlantic. In my apprehension, the first object to which we should turn our attention, and to which we should steadily direct it, is the abolition of slavery by strictly religious and moral means. I

rejoice, therefore, in the document put forth by Dr. MADDEN, and which is about to be translated into the Spanish and other languages. I hope there will be a strong persuasion cherished, not only in this assembly, but throughout Great Britain, that slavery must fall sooner or later, and that we can look with confidence for the blessing of Almighty Providence upon those measures which we adopt, knowing that they are in strict accordance with his Divine will.

JOHN STURGE, Esq., (of Birmingham).—I have risen, with the permission of the CHAIRMAN, to ask Dr. MADDEN a few questions with reference to the subject brought before us in his paper. I wish to ascertain the state of the free black population of Cuba; their amount, their condition, and the share which they take in raising the productions of that island. The accounts we have hitherto had of Cuba and the Brazils, have seemed to present an anomaly in the history of slavery, by asserting the existence of a state of society quite inconsistent with our general principles. We are told by ADMIRAL FLEMING, in his evidence before the House of Commons, that in Cuba, free-labour and slave-labour were going on *pari passu*; that slaves and freemen were seen working in the same field; and this was coupled with a statement of the exceeding lenity with which slaves are treated in Cuba. We were led to believe that the two systems were perfectly compatible with each other, *under the same circumstances*; that, in fact, they were going on together, and were about equally profitable. ADMIRAL FLEMING goes on to state, that it was a matter of indifference to the planter whether he imported slaves, or employed free blacks; that he had, in numerous instances, seen both engaged in the production of sugar, &c. I need not point out how utterly inconsistent this is with the encouragement given by Cuba to the slave-trade, and the fearful loss of human life which there takes place. I heard with great interest the statements of Dr. MADDEN, because they reconciled the state of things in that island with our principles, and showed that slavery was there, as elsewhere, a destructive and atrocious system in every respect. I hope that, if possible, some further light will be thrown upon the subject, in order that we may draw some inferences on the economical as well as the moral bearings of the question.

The Convention then adjourned.

FIFTH DAY'S SITTINGS, WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

W. T. BLAIR, Esq., in the Chair.

Mr. TURNBULL.—It was suggested by the paper read by my friend, Dr. MADDEN, that I had conceived a plan for the suppression of the African slave-trade. I am unwilling to detain the meeting with a long speech, especially as I should be obliged in a great measure to repeat what I have laid before the world at my leisure, in a work so often referred to this morning. I may however state, that soon after the appearance of that work, the Minister for Foreign Affairs did me the honour of addressing to me a letter, desiring me to lay before the Government of this country the particulars of that plan. I,

of course, most cheerfully complied, and with the permission of the Noble Secretary of State, I shall now lay the substance of that paper before the Convention.—From the great and increasing amount of the African slave-trade, the evils of which have only been aggravated by the various attempts that have hitherto been made to restrain it, I submit, I am entitled to assume that the true principle on which an effective measure of abolition should be based has not yet been disclosed. I will not assert, that the plan I am now to bring forward is free from all difficulty; but I confidently maintain that there is no difficulty attending it which cannot be easily surmounted, if the Government will consent to apply to it the mere moral force at its disposal. Mr. Buxton's mode of arriving at the suppression of the slave-trade is, by the civilization of Africa. A gallant officer (LIEUT. FITZGERALD) believes that it is possible to effect it by colonizing the coast, and guarding the mouths of the rivers. It will be seen that I do not rely either on the efficacy of a blockade, or on the tardy process of African civilization. The lever, with which I propose to overthrow this colossal grievance, is to be found among the simplest elements of economical science. It is by cutting off the demand for victims that the supply is to be suppressed. It is by making the purchaser and the possessor of an African slave insecure in the enjoyment of his unlawful acquisition, that he is to be deterred from paying the price. It is by demonstrating to the slave-dealer, that imported Africans will no longer be a marketable commodity, and by that process alone, that he will willingly abandon a trade which has ceased to be profitable. The great consumers of African slaves are the empire of Brazil, and the colonial dependencies of Spain. I beg to impress this point strongly on the Convention, that all the countries formerly so deeply engaged in this accursed traffic, have been driven from it with the exception of these two. The white inhabitants of the Brazilian empire begin to be sensible of the imminent dangers to which they will expose themselves, if they persevere much longer in adding to the disproportionate amount of their negro population, by the toleration of the African slave-trade. With the example of St. Domingo before their eyes, we have a reasonable guarantee of the sincerity of the professions of his Imperial Majesty's government, in favour of a system of absolute suppression. The case is somewhat different with regard to the colonial dependencies of Spain. In Cuba, the white and coloured portions of the population are nearly balanced in numerical strength. On this point there is some little difference of opinion between Mr. SCOBLE and myself. He believes the numbers now existing there to be somewhat greater than I make them to be. As the difference, however, has little or no bearing on the principle I desire to support, I shall not detain you by contesting it. In Porto Rico, the negroes are far outnumbered by the inhabitants of European descent. In both islands, but especially in Cuba, the natural desire for independence has of late years been stimulated into passion, by the intolerable burden of the fiscal exactions which have been levied for the purpose of defraying the charges of a war in another hemisphere, in which they feel no interest. It is in consequence of this state of things, that the sincerity of the professions of the government of her CATHOLIC MAJESTY, on the subject of the suppression of the slave-trade is liable to reasonable suspicion. The planters of Cuba and Porto Rico, wherever their estates are fully and properly peopled with a just proportion between the sexes, in place of desiring the continuance of the slave-trade, have a direct and obvious interest in its suppression. On the neighbouring continent of North America.

within two days' sail of the Havana, the average value of a field slave is at least a thousand dollars. In Cuba, the effect of the competition of the slave-dealers with each other is to reduce the value of an imported African to less than the third part of that amount. The high price of slaves in those States of North America which adjoin the Gulf of Mexico is still maintained, in spite of the well known fact, that, in the breeding districts of Maryland and Virginia, the negro population is found to increase in a duplicate ratio, as compared with the inhabitants of those regions of European descent. The planters of Cuba are aware, that the negro population of Virginia has long been doubling itself every twelve years and a half, while the white inhabitants require twenty-five years to accomplish the process of duplication. There is nothing in the climate of Cuba to prevent a similar rate of increase of the negroes. There is nothing, in short, but the cheapness of labour, arising from the toleration of the African trade, which prevents the proprietors of old plantations in Cuba from throwing themselves with confidence on the principle of propagation. Here I would desire respectfully to guard myself against the supposition of my being the apologist of slavery under any circumstances, or with any degree of modification. My present business is to deal with the African slave-trade, and to suggest a practicable mode of accomplishing its suppression. In the proper place, and at the proper period, I do not despair of being able to demonstrate, that by a resort to sound principles, the practice of slavery itself may be rooted out, in those very countries whose social and political institutions are now so intimately blended with it. I have not engaged in this conflict without endeavouring to measure the strength of the adversaries with whom I shall have to contend. Of these I perceive there are several classes:—The mere dealer in slaves—the man who invests his capital in the building and outfit of fast sailing clippers, in manning them with their ruffian crews, in loading them with their cargoes of rum or gunpowder, and in devoting himself to the study of international treaties, and preventive laws for the sole purpose of evading them, is not by any means to be regarded as a very formidable antagonist. The terms “coward” and “capitalist” were never more truly convertible than in the person of the trafficker in slaves. He may hire the bands of ruffians and outcasts to hazard their lives in his service; but his money he will not peril without the assurance of a profitable return. That object he finds the means of accomplishing, either by spreading the risk over a sufficient number of separate adventures, or by abandoning a portion of the gain he contemplates in the shape of premiums of insurance, to Joint Stock Companies or private Underwriters. Another class of opponents will be found among the ministerial and judicial servants of the Spanish Government. Their superiors in the mother country have ingeniously made it the interest of a great number of these public functionaries to evade the execution of the laws, and to convert that evasion into a fruitful source of profit, the better to secure the retention of the island in her CATHOLIC MAJESTY'S dependence. Inasmuch, however, as the existence of the Court of mixed commission at the Havana, with all its acknowledged imperfections, has had the effect, during the twenty years elapsed since its creation, of disappointing the cupidity of those venal functionaries to a very considerable extent, I see no reason to doubt that, with the improved machinery I propose to introduce, this iniquitous source of profit will be completely dried up and extinguished. Before entering on the specification of the nature of this machinery, it may not be inconvenient to indicate the first

and most important step of the process which I propose should be followed. It is asserted by many of our most eminent philanthropists, that, according to the spirit of our existing treaties with Spain, we are entitled to demand the instant liberation of every individual consigned to slavery, in any part of the Spanish dependencies, since the date of the first of these Conventions. To this argument it would not be easy to offer a satisfactory reply. For the present, however, I am content to cut off the source of future importation, and to leave this an open question, to be agitated by others. Should my humble voice be ever entitled to share in the decision, I trust I need not say with what cordiality would I give it in the affirmative. Let us not embarrass ourselves, however, with too much work at a time. The most convenient moment for discussing this separate question will be after the channels of importation shall have been cut off, and after the enormous masses of capital at this moment engaged in the trade to Africa shall have been finally drawn off, to find their due level in the great money markets of the world. According to the views I am now to submit to your Society, the Courts of Mixed Commission at the Havana and Rio de Janeiro, which under the operation of existing treaties have gradually been sinking into a state of listless inactivity, will at once be raised to a degree of efficiency and vigour, which they have not possessed at any period of their existence. The plan I have conceived is, by the negotiation of new conventions or of additional clauses to existing treaties, to confer on these Courts the power of enforcing the laws of the country in which they sit, by declaring that A, B, or C, the inmate of a barracoon, or a labourer on a plantation, is not a native Creole, but has been introduced into the country in violation of law and treaty. I am further to propose that the onus of proving a lawful dominion over the slave should be thrown on the party claiming it, that, in short, there should be a legal presumption in favour of freedom ; and I think there can be the less objection to introduce and recognise this principle in the treaty I recommend for negotiation, inasmuch as I have been informed by the eminent Spanish juriconsults with whom I have advised on the subject, that the presumption of freedom, in the absence of proof to the contrary, is already the right of every inhabitant of her CATHOLIC MAJESTY'S dominions. Happily, however, for the interests of humanity, it is matter of notoriety, among persons conversant with the subject, that a fresh imported or bozal negro can, for many years after his arrival in America, be distinguished at a glance from the native Creoles. The distinction is in fact so clear, that the mere presentation of the individual in Court, without a word of evidence as to the place of his birth, would in most cases be sufficient to determine his condition. Should her MAJESTY'S Government be induced to enter on such a negotiation, the true grounds and motives for the opposition to be expected from the Government of her CATHOLIC MAJESTY will not, in all probability, be openly avowed. It will never be admitted that a clandestine encouragement of the worst practices of the slave-trade is rendered necessary by a sort of political necessity, in order to repress the aspirations of the Creole population of Cuba, for that sort of independence which the other Spanish provinces of America have already achieved. Neither will it be pretended that the continuance of the slave-trade is necessary to the successful cultivation of the soil, in presence of the fact already alluded to ; the rapid increase of the negro population in the neighbouring states of the North American Union. The ostensible ground of opposition will probably be confined to a pretended fear of discon-

tent and insurrection on the part of those slaves who will not be entitled to a declaration of freedom in their favour, in consequence of the place of their birth, or the date of their introduction. Her CATHOLIC MAJESTY'S Government have constantly professed as ardent a desire as our own to concur in the measures of suppression already proposed ; and the fact is undeniable, that, in the place of being diminished or modified by any of the measures of restraint which have heretofore been resorted to, the evil is actually on the increase ; a position satisfactorily established by the progressive nature of the official returns of the amount of the slave population. The arguments that may be drawn from a pretended fear of discontent and insurrection may be answered by the fact, that it is the wild and savage African alone whose removal we propose ; and that it is no part of our plan to disturb the condition of the comparatively civilised Creole. It is, besides, by units, and not by cargoes, that the process of liberation will take place ; so that the proceedings under the new treaty will be much less alarming in their general aspect, or their individual amount, than those already sanctioned by existing Conventions. As the proceedings of the Court of Mixed Commission, moreover, have hitherto been conducted in strict conformity with the Spanish principle of closed doors, written pleadings, and secret deliberations, it might possibly be advisable to adhere to the established practice ; inasmuch as the presence of a British prosecutor, and one or more British judges, would afford a sufficient guarantee for their perfect regularity. The mere existence of the Court for upwards of twenty years, in the course of which, discussions have frequently arisen affecting the freedom of entire cargoes of Africans, without producing a single practical evil, to give the CAPTAIN-GENERAL or the Government any substantial chance of complaint, appears to me to afford a broad basis on which the demand for the enlargement of the powers of the Court may be conveniently founded. The great advantage of proceeding by units, and not by masses, is, that every individual liberation would amount to the assertion of a vital principle, without affording any reasonable pretext for apprehension or alarm. It may not be easy to suggest any better expedient than that recognised by treaty, for the case of a difference of opinion between the two Commissary Judges. It is true, that in doubtful cases, a decided leaning has been observed, on the part of the Spanish Members of the Court, towards the acquittal of the prizes brought up for condemnation ; and there may, therefore, be some reason to apprehend a corresponding disposition, to resist the liberation of the negro clients of the British prosecutor, as often as a sufficient air of doubt can be thrown over the case, to justify the hesitation of the Spanish Commissary Judge. On the very worst supposition it is possible to conceive, the drawing of lots for the choice of the arbitrator would be resorted to in every case, without a single exception. I make this hypothesis in the full conviction that such a degree of pertinacity on the part of the Spanish and Brazilian judges, is not to be apprehended. It would at least be wholly inconsistent with all that has yet occurred in these countries : for it is only when a case has acquired a certain air of doubt or difficulty, that the foreign judges, whatever their leaning or inclination may have been, have gone so far as to divide the Court and call in the arbitrator. The practice of the Spanish Judges, however indefensible in many particular instances, has never yet been carried to this systematic extreme ; and, in fairness, it cannot be said there is any just reason to anticipate such an unheard of design of pertinacity for the future. But suppose

for a moment, that the Spanish judge and the Spanish arbitrator were to be for ever deaf to the calls of duty, and the evidence of fact, it results from the mere doctrine of chances, which, when applied to thousands of cases, becomes infallible, that one-half of the whole of those to be thus presented to the Mixed Court for adjudication, would be decided in favour of the liberty of the slave. Now, the systematic liberation of one-half only of the future importations would be perfectly sufficient to prevent the planter from paying a remunerating price to the dealer or importer, and hence it is demonstrated, that the system I propose must be fatal to the trade. Objections of a dilatory nature may, of course, be expected on the part of her CATHOLIC MAJESTY'S Ministers, at the outset of the negotiation. The necessity or convenience of consulting the GOVERNORS or CAPTAINS-GENERAL, of their transatlantic possessions, will probably be urged as a reason for withholding their immediate assent to a proposition, which is calculated to affect the future interest and prosperity of the Spanish West India colonies. To render this pretence unavailing, I am strongly of opinion, that the past and future importation of slaves into these colonies, should be separated from each other by a broad line of distinction; and that the object of the proposed negotiation, should be exclusively confined to the case of future importations. The most convenient *terminus a quo* would probably be the date of the first official note of the British Ambassador, directing the attention of her CATHOLIC MAJESTY'S Government to the subject. I need not trouble the Convention with a detail of the collateral advantages, for the most part of a political and governmental nature, which I thought it my duty to suggest to her MAJESTY'S Ministers, as additional reasons for entering on this negotiation. Nor would I think myself justified in endeavouring by the force of mere authority, to persuade the Convention to adopt the views I have brought forward. I may be allowed to mention, however, that the periodical press, in reviewing my work on the Spanish West Indies, in which this plan of slave-trade suppression was originally disclosed, has been all but unanimous in its approval of the principle. Even the Westminster Review, whilst taking Mr. Buxton and myself to pieces, admits that my plan would be so effectual, that the apprehension of its consequences would induce the Spanish Government to withhold its consent from the treaty, the negotiation of which I have recommended. I have no doubt of the good disposition of her MAJESTY'S Ministers, and their general sympathy with the views of this Convention, on the leading topics submitted to your consideration. If the plan I have now brought forward shall have the good fortune to meet with your approval, the expression of that approval in the form of resolutions or otherwise, will, doubtless, secure for it more careful consideration, and afterwards a chance at least of its obtaining a fair trial.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE.—It is with extreme reluctance that I appear before you on two following days, but I have been requested to say a few words on Mr. TURNBULL'S plan. Mr. TURNBULL'S intention we all know to be excellent, his talents we can bear witness to, and I am sure that his zeal is surpassed by none. It is, therefore, with great regret that, while I acknowledge the importance of his plan, I am bound to express some doubts of its ultimate success. What is his plan? Precisely the one that we have tried at the Mauritius, and which did not succeed. This is my justification for appearing before you. We had it in operation there for years, and yet it failed. The theory is no doubt a tempting one; as it invalidates the title

to an imported slave, to the last moment of that slave's existence; from the day that he is withdrawn from Africa to the day he expires, the title to him in law is never recognised. So far it is excellent; but when you come to its practical operation, you must recollect where its principles are to be carried out; and the difficulty in finding an executive principle in any slave community, or under any modification of slavery. At the Mauritius we had Governors of the highest rank; we had Judges selected from your best men; and as to the zeal of your public prosecutor, I happened to be that prosecutor, so you must judge for yourselves; all I can say is, that I engaged most heartily in that duty. But still we failed, the temptation was too strong; we did not abolish slavery; on the contrary, when the apprenticeship system was introduced, 30,000 persons were paid for by British money, whom we knew had never been slaves. Then, how could I remain present at this Convention, and hear a measure of this nature propounded, without bearing my testimony to its inefficiency, or to the dire position in which we should be placed, if that were the only means left us for suppressing the slave-trade? For who are to carry out the measure at the Havana? The SPANISH GOVERNOR, and the Mixed Commission Court; but what confidence are you to place in either? Most of you have heard of the case of the GENERAL LABORDE recorded in Mr. BUXTON's book. What do we find there? The Mixed Commission Court, by the most wretched of quibbles, by the mere circumstance that the supercargo's wife and children were on board, pronouncing the negroes all passengers, for the wife was a passenger. And this is the Court which is expected to do its duty, and to pronounce every negro who hereafter enters such a country free. They will not perform even their minor duties, how then can you expect that they will fulfil those more important functions, which by this plan you would devolve on them? All the minor officers, all the subordinates, at least, are leagued against you; public opinion is universally opposed to you, and even among superior officers all such would be discarded from society as should perform their duty. Such was the case at the Mauritius. And so it will be in all such communities. But it strikes me that there is also an objection to the principle of the plan. Here I fancy may have been, though I have seen no one on the subject, the objection of the Foreign-office. What are you aiming at by this proposal? To induce the Spanish Government to allow foreign Judges to determine a question which they will call, whatever you may term it, a question of property, arising among their own subjects, within their own territories. This, I think, is perfectly unheard of. The KING OF THE FRENCH, it is stated, seems inclined to favour this plan. Now how do we stand with that nation, in reference to the slave-trade itself? Where is the defect of the French treaty? It is this; the KING OF THE FRENCH will not even allow of a Mixed Commission Court, he will not allow a Court composed partly of foreigners to try French subjects, though taken on the high seas, if on board a French ship. How then can we expect Spaniards to allow questions of property (arising in the colonies themselves) to be tried by foreign judges? We, indeed, do not admit that slaves are property; but before a foreigner will adopt this principle, he must have annihilated slavery. Up to that moment he will feel that this is a question of property. The sea has been justly termed the common highway of nations, and by treaty with such powers, your Mixed Courts are permitted to interfere with cases of slave-trading as with cases of piracy. But even this is too much, both in France and America.

How, then, can you reasonably expect that any foreign government will allow you to interfere in their internal affairs? Admiring the principle of the proposed system as I do, feeling that if the Spanish legislature could be induced to pronounce, that for the future any slave imported illegally, shall be considered as held illegally through the whole period of his life, as well as his issue, (which was the case at Mauritius), they will deserve great credit for good intentions at least; and acquiescing in Mr. TURNBULL's views to that extent, I am prepared to uphold any proposition to that effect. But yet, from the experience I have had in the Mauritius and elsewhere, of the impracticability in a slave community of working out plans of this nature, I must still acknowledge, in rendering the fullest justice to Mr. TURNBULL's zeal and intention, that he has not, in my humble opinion, discovered the panacea for the terrific scourge which has so long hung over the world.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I wish to say a few words on the proposition before the Convention, believing that it is perfectly consistent with our principles to take it up. Whether it can be carried out or not is another question, on that point I agree to a certain extent with JUSTICE JEREMIE; but I think that the Convention should, as far as possible, endeavour to get the principle asserted, both by English and Foreign authorities. I understand the point to be this, that a system of registration should be adopted in slave-holding countries, which will throw the *onus probandi* on the slave-holder, that the slave is his; and not that the slave should be obliged, as he was even in our colonies, to prove his right to freedom. If we could only get that principle asserted, I think it would be productive of great benefit, but I would make it retrospective; for I believe that if the spirit of our treaties with Brazil, Cuba, and other places were carried out, every slave who has been imported there since they were entered into, and whose master cannot prove that he is a slave, ought to be at once set free. My friend TURNBULL's proposition only goes to a system of registration, which from the present time shall oblige the master to prove that the negro is a slave. I think, however, it is a most important point, and one which the Convention should take up.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON.—I have been struck in the course of this discussion with what I consider a departure from principle. If I understand the point, we are in danger of attempting to modify slavery, whereas we are met on the grand principle, that it should henceforth cease. I am afraid of sacrificing principle to something like expediency. If we do that, we shall afford a shelter to our enemies for entrenching themselves behind our own regulations. I would have the Convention seriously to look at this, before they enter into any resolutions on Mr. TURNBULL's proposal. I think there is danger in it.

Dr. BOWRING.—I feel that the Convention is not at present in a condition to adopt the proposition now brought before it; but it is due to Mr. TURNBULL, and to the great zeal and labour which he has brought to bear on this very important question, that it should be referred to a Committee to examine into its general bearings. It will then be ascertained whether there are such practical difficulties in this plan as to prevent it from coming into operation. I certainly cannot forget, that about twenty years ago, there was in the capital and in the cortes of Spain, a great desire to abolish slavery and the slave-trade. I was present during a great many of their debates; and resolutions friendly to the blacks, and apparently tending to the overthrow of both these evils were passed, but every body acquainted with the colonies, knew that they were as the idle wind which they regarded not. My

friend has put that difficulty most honestly forward. He says that you must have co-operation in order to give effect to his proposal, and he anticipates that difficulty which every one acquainted with despotic governments in their connexion with slavery and the slave-trade in every part of the world knows is immense, if not invincible. But I do not think that we should do my friend justice, unless an attentive ear were lent to his proposals, and they were examined in all their details. I would therefore propose,

That the plan of the slave-trade suppression, submitted by D. TURNBULL, Esq., be referred to a committee, consisting of JOSEPH STURGE, J. G. BIRNEY, J. JEREMIE, JOSIAH CONDER, WILLIAM FORSTER, WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esquires. Dr. BOWRING, and Dr. MADDEN, to consider and report thereon.

JOSIAH CONDER, Esq.—I think we should be a little on our guard against rejecting a feasible measure, merely upon the ground that it may not prove an efficient remedy. If we were to take up any secondary means under the idea of thereby accomplishing our great object, great mischief would result; but while we are looking mainly to the extinction of slavery, I hope if there be any plan which would lessen existing evils, we shall not be deterred from encouraging it, merely on the ground that it will, in our opinion, fall short of accomplishing all the good that others may sanguinely anticipate from it. I believe none of us calculate that Mr. TURNBULL's scheme would accomplish much towards the abolition of slavery; but, as a subsidiary measure, it may be well worth attention. On that account I am happy to second Dr. BOWRING's proposition.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—I am sorry to intrude myself upon the notice of the Convention, but I do think that if we leave the high ground of principle which we have assumed, and consent in any degree to adopt or countenance a plan which only goes to mitigate and alleviate slavery, and may, therefore, tend to prolong it indefinitely, we lose that moral influence which we now are enabled to employ for the speedy termination of the system. I think the statements made by the learned Judge (JEREMIE), show that the plan before us would have but little influence in leading foreign nations to take immediate measures for the entire abolition of slavery; and depend upon it, that if we countenance a system which embodies in it expediency, however little of it there may be, it will weaken the influence we should otherwise exert on the nations of the earth. If we recognise a principle or system, (that even by implication) acknowledges that slavery has a right to exist, we certainly shall sanction a great evil; I would, therefore, give no countenance to the adoption of any such plan.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I should be sorry to say one word in support of any suggestion which could be considered in the least degree a compromise of our great principle. But I will endeavour to illustrate the view I take of the subject, by putting a case with regard to murder or the taking away of human life. I conceive that under the gospel dispensation, we are forbidden to take human life under any circumstances; but while I assert that general principle, I believe it is my duty, in every individual instance, to attempt to avert the evil itself. Now, while we assert the general principle of total and immediate emancipation; and if any document is issued from this Convention to foreign powers, I trust that principle will be fully stated; yet I believe it is

our duty to try to lessen the number of victims placed under bondage before this great end can be attained.

Rev. Dr. MORRISON.—There seems to be a great principle in the movement itself. I think if Mr. TURNBULL's proposal be fairly and logically put, it asserts the right of the slave to his liberty. In addition to this, and I am persuaded that I am giving it the right interpretation, these propositions are things which we must naturally look for as arising out of this Convention. I think we shall not effect much, unless we put ourselves in communication with the world. I have no idea that government protocols will effect the object we have in view. My firm conviction is, that the moral power of this body, if we work it out as we ought to do, will be felt by France, by Spain, and by our own Government. If you do not utterly fail in your object, you will commence a process of illumination which will tend ultimately to achieve that triumph at which we are all aiming.

SAMUEL SOUTHALL, Esq. (of Leominster).—I came here with the intention of not speaking if I could avoid it; but I do fear that if we adopt the plan now proposed, we shall in some degree be listening to expediency. If I understand it, the first thing proposed to be recommended, is a system of registration, that is to say, a system for the modification of slavery. I admit that the object is in itself exceedingly good, but I think it is not likely to be carried into effect. I merely wish to call the attention of the Convention to this point, that we should do nothing which can in any way compromise our principles.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I feel reluctant to speak, yet I am constrained to say that the sentiments uttered by that brother, are those which have passed in my own mind. If the entire recommendation of Mr. TURNBULL should be carried into effect, what will be the result? To say the least, a system of registration will be gone into, and if anything be effected by it, it will occupy a series of years to accomplish it. Now, while we have put forth our voice, demanding in the name of heaven and righteousness, full and unconditional emancipation, may it not be said, if we adopt such a measure as this, they did not expect that voice to be heard; they have themselves suggested measures, for its continuance for a season? I feel that there may be a compromise of the great principles on which we have set out in making this movement. If the Spanish government are disposed to ameliorate the condition of their slaves, let them do it on their own responsibility. We should go for immediate emancipation and that alone; let us not peril our great object.

Dr. BOWRING.—The reference to a committee does not imply an approval of the course recommended upon the authority of my friend who is labouring with us in the promotion of our great object. If his views are correct, and effect can be given to his plans, we shall finally and completely emancipate multitudes of slaves. Supposing there are in the Spanish colonies 50,000 or 60,000 slaves wrongfully detained in bondage, do we not further the object we have at heart by effecting their deliverance? But even if this were not the case, may not this committee be charged to consider whether this project is compatible with the great principle upon which this Convention acts? I confess, the difficulties I feel are great. I wish I could anticipate so much concurrence on the part of the Spanish authorities, as to lead to the loosening of the chains of so many of our fellow-men; but I cannot indulge that hope. There are, however, individuals whose judgment I honour, who think that the plan is worthy of attention, and therefore we ought not hastily

to reject it. We ought not to decide *a priori* and without examination, that there is in the scheme itself a violation of the principles on which the Convention is acting. It does not appear that the objections to a committee are of sufficient weight to induce us to refuse inquiry into proposals emanating from the zeal and knowledge of our friend.

FRANCIS BARKER, Esq. (of Pontefract).—We are met from all parts of this country, and many parts of the world, to secure, if possible, universal liberty, immediate emancipation; and to this position we must adhere. If we begin to enter on minor questions, they will be endless; and we shall injure ourselves on the grand question on which we are assembled. Our only hope of success is in keeping to the great principle on which we have set out. Without our issuing a definite motion on the subject, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society can do, as they have often done before, communicate with the government, or adopt measures for bringing the case before foreign powers, which will answer every end. I would not have obtruded myself on the Convention, had I not feared that our principles were in danger.

Rev. J. KENNEDY.—It has struck me during the course of this discussion, that there are mistakes operating on the minds of those who oppose Mr. TURNBULL's plan, on the ground of principle. First, they seem to regard it as a plan for the abolition of slavery, instead of the slave-trade. Mr. TURNBULL's design is simply to render the possession of slaves insecure, and thereby diminish the stimulus of high profits which at present renders the slave-trade so frightfully extensive. I do not pronounce any opinion as to its ultimate success; but where is the departure from principle, or the resort to mere expediency in such a measure? Then, a word to which we all attach importance, seems to operate injuriously on the minds of some of our friends—the word “immediate.” We are all averse to anything gradual in schemes for the abolition of slavery; but we must not be led away by terms. We do not expect that our voice will immediately, in the moment of its utterance, break the manacles of the slave. We call upon governments immediately to emancipate their slaves, because it is their duty. But we know that they will not do it at once, and we only hope, ultimately, to bring them to the discharge of their duty. The means we employ will, in this respect, be necessarily but gradual in producing their effect; but no one supposes that we compromise the right of the slave to be emancipated to-day, because we labour to emancipate him twelve months hence. Now, we have only to ascertain in what respects there is anything gradual in the operation of Mr. TURNBULL's plan, to see that it involves no violation of the doctrines we hold on the subject, of unconditional and immediate freedom. It does not abolish the slave-trade by a stroke. It does not banish the man-trader at once, and for ever from the coasts of Africa. But if it shall lessen the demand for his stolen goods by rendering the possession of them insecure, it will contribute materially to the destruction of the trade; and in this, its leading design, our views of immediate emancipation have no bearing upon it at all. Then as to its operation, in leading to the positive abolition of slavery itself, we may draw an illustration from the South American states. It is our desire that all these states should at one and the same time, and that immediately, emancipate all their slaves. But if we heard that from the adoption of some particular measure, in itself lawful, a number of individuals, in a few of the states, had either voluntarily, or under the compulsion of the law, emancipated

their slaves, we should rejoice in the fact, even though thousands still remained in bondage. Apply this to the case in hand. Mr. TURNBULL finds a multitude of slaves in a certain place, he says these are entitled to their immediate freedom ; but the alleged owners will not grant it. He then says, many of these slaves, as I can prove by their very faces, have been brought into this place illegally within a certain period, if you will not grant me the immediate and entire abolition of slavery throughout your country, I beg and claim that this portion of your bondsmen may at once be loosed from their chains. Such seems to me to be Mr. TURNBULL's plan, and whether practicable or not, it involves no principle which is not in obvious harmony with our acknowledged and established doctrines.

The CHAIRMAN.—It would be exceedingly improper for me as CHAIRMAN to take part in any discussion ; but I trust I shall not be exceeding proper limits, if I say that I think it is only due to Mr. TURNBULL that the subject should go to a committee.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. BACKHOUSE.—I have to present the Report of the committee on the volume of American papers. We think they are too valuable to be lost. I hope you will adopt the resolution I now beg to move, and I trust that the publication committee will not expunge any part without being thoroughly satisfied of the propriety of that measure. I move

That the replies to queries of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society on slavery in the United States, furnished by the Committee of the American Anti-Slavery Society, containing most valuable and very important information, be now received, and referred to the publication committee, to publish the whole, or such parts as they may deem expedient.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to unanimously.

Dr. BOWRING.—The sub-committee appointed to consider what resolutions should be proposed to the Convention, on the subject of slavery in Mohammedan countries, suggest that the following be adopted.

That the present moment, when the European powers are exercising so great an influence on the affairs of the Ottoman Empire, is peculiarly favourable to the intervention for the suppression of slavery in the regions of the East ; and that a memorial be presented to LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, entreating his LORDSHIP's assistance in obtaining such declarations from the SULTAN, as are likely to lead to the entire suppression of slavery in the countries subjected to the SULTAN's government.

That this meeting has learnt with deep interest, the measures adopted by the VICEROY of Egypt, for the suppression of the abominable slave-hunts by his HIGHNESS's troops, and especially the declaration of

his wish to aid in bringing about the extinction of slavery. That the thanks of this meeting be communicated to him, with the assurance that the friends of civilization throughout the world, will hail with delight every step taken by the VICEROY, in furtherance of his just and generous purposes; whether by impeding the importation of, and the traffic in, slaves, by the encouragement of agricultural productions in central and eastern Africa, by the abolition of the slave market in his dominions, or by any other legitimate and pacific measures which may facilitate the manumission of slaves, and the entire overthrow of slavery.

I stated in the address which I had the honour to submit to you yesterday, that there can be no doubt a great deal of religious influence still attaches to the Caliphate; that there never was a period in which that influence was so likely to be well and happily directed, as at the present moment; that there never was a period in which the affairs of the Ottoman Empire were so much in the hands of Christian powers. And, I believe, they cannot exercise their influence more beneficially than in endeavouring to obtain from the GRAND SEIGNIOR, some declarations grounded on the Mohammedan law, and pointing to the abolition of slavery as a religious duty. This would be a noble result of that great influence they have obtained in the direction of the policy of the SULTAN. I endeavoured, in explaining the religious position of the SULTAN, in the eyes of the Mussulmans in the East, to show that it greatly resembled that of the POPE in the West; and knowing that considerable effect has been produced among Catholic nations, by a bull which has lately emanated from his Holiness, I desire that an Ottoman bull should in the same spirit also be issued, which is now attainable, and cannot be without great influence in the Mohammedan world. The second resolution refers to the state of things in Egypt. I am desirous that the Convention should give encouragement to the VICEROY of Egypt to continue that course which he has begun; and that public opinion, for which he has great respect, and to whose influence he is perpetually referring, should reach him in an emphatic shape, telling him that the eyes of the civilized world are upon his conduct, and that if he lend his assistance and co-operation in furthering our great work, it will add to his name a distinction, a reputation, and a glory, more brilliant than any of his victories have ever obtained for him. It is known to the Convention that a Parliamentary document exists, in which it is stated, that the PACHA declared to our CONSUL GENERAL, in an interview at which I had the honour of being present, that he had heard with sorrow of the miseries caused by the existence of slavery and the slave-trade; and that he desired that an end should be put to the slave-hunts. I may be allowed to state, that the present minister of public instruction, EDHEM BEY, whose name has been honourably mentioned in Parliament, and with whose person some of my friends around me are acquainted, gave me an assurance that he hoped the day would come when he should build a school on the locality now occupied as a slave-market.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I request to have the honour of moving the adoption of the resolutions brought up as a report by Dr. BOWRING.

Mr. J. BACKHOUSE.—I beg to second it.

Rev. J. ACWORTH, A.M. (of Bradford).—I have nothing to add to

what Dr. BOWRING has so appropriately uttered. I believe it is well known to most of the members of the Convention, that we may anticipate success from this measure, as largely and as speedily as from any other which the Convention has adopted, or is likely to adopt: for I believe it is a pretty well known fact, that the PACHA of Egypt is as favourable to liberal measures as most of the Christian governments to which we are making appeals. He has, I believe, at this moment youths in certain parts of the British Empire, supported at his own expense, for the express purpose of learning our sciences and arts. I lately came in contact with one of these youths, from whom I learned that the PACHA was extremely desirous of standing favourably with the English people.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Rev. T. SCALES.—The resolutions which have been carried contain a recommendation that a memorial should be drawn up, and that the thanks of the meeting should be given to the VICEROY of Egypt. I beg therefore to move,

That the resolutions just passed having recommended the preparation of a memorial founded on them, the subject be referred to the same committee, to prepare the memorial and appeal referred to.

Mr. J. BACKHOUSE, seconded the motion, which was put and agreed to

Rev. J. ACWORTH.—I rise for the purpose of moving,

That a committee consisting of WILLIAM FORSTER, and J. T. PRICE, Esquires, with the mover and seconder, be appointed to prepare a memorial to Government, deprecating and strongly reprobating the holding of slaves by British functionaries abroad.

We have been preferring requests and presenting memorials to our own Government to use their best influence with foreign powers, for the suppression and extinction of slavery all over the globe. It is of the very first importance that our own Government should stand pure in the eyes of foreign nations, in regard to the matter in question; and it is impossible that they can do so, so long as the functionaries they employ are slave-owners. It is therefore the business of the Convention, to memorialize Government that these functionaries be properly dealt with.

Dr. MADDEN.—Mr. ACWORTH says it is improper that a British functionary should be a slave-holder; he might have said, that any British functionary in a Spanish colony should be a slave-dealer, because no slave-holder can keep up a sufficient number of labourers by natural increase, he must be an annual purchaser in the slave-market, and consequently every slave-holder is a slave-dealer.

JAMES STANFIELD, Esq. (of Belfast).—I second the resolution.

Mr. TURNBULL.—I have seen the evils attendant on the system of British functionaries holding slaves. I therefore support the motion.

The resolution was then put and agreed to.

Mr. R. ALLEN.—I beg to move,

That THOMAS SWAN, CAPTAIN MOORSOM, Dr. MADDEN, PETER CLARE, ISAAC CREWDSON, J. H. TREDGOLD, R. PEEK, J. G. BIRNEY, W.

FORSTER, W. SMEAL, GEORGE BRADBURN, D. TURNBULL, J. C. FULLER, and JOHN MURRAY, be appointed a committee to inquire

1. Whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country?
2. Whether large quantities of inferior fire-arms are also manufactured in Great Britain, to be sold to the Africans for their slave wars?
3. Whether cotton goods of a particular fabric and to a large amount are manufactured in this country, and solely intended for being used in barter for African slaves?
4. Whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian and other mines which are worked by slaves?
5. Whether any British Joint Stock Banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails?
6. What are the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world, respectively?

I am very glad to have an opportunity of moving the appointment of a committee to investigate this branch of the subject. I have long been of opinion that while we were speaking strongly against those abroad who are connected with slavery, we, ourselves, as a nation, were not entirely clear of the guilt. I believe that we must try and root out all participation in it. This is more particularly necessary now that we are going to call on American churches and others to take strong measures against slave-holders. I wish also to bear my testimony to the warm and active co-operation which the Hibernian Anti-Slavery Committee have received from Dr. MADDEN, since his return to his native country. He has more than once left his family in Dublin to visit different parts of the country, with a view to arouse them on behalf of the slave. I also wish to call attention to the particular position in which Ireland stands with regard to American slavery. There is an immense number of my countrymen annually emigrating to America, and it appears that they generally go out in complete ignorance of their duty, as regards the anti-slavery cause. And what is the consequence? They very readily become inoculated with the slave-holding spirit. If the Convention aid us in disseminating a right anti-slavery spirit in Ireland, it will exercise a powerful influence in assisting our American friends in abolishing slavery.

Rev. J. H. HINTON, M. A.—I beg to second the motion; it is one to which I attach the utmost importance. It is, undoubtedly, a fact of which evidence may be obtained, that all the things alluded to in the resolution take place; and that the slave-trade is at this hour actually maintained by British capital. There is no question about it. It has been stated upon authority, that there are in this city sleeping partners in the mercantile houses of Cuba; and these traitors to humanity are the main pillars of slavery and the slave-trade. If we could only get at the names of these men, they deserve to be immortalized. An immortality of infamy belongs to them. They ought to be exhibited to universal execration. If there be any members of the Society of Friends connected with colonial banks, which uphold and assist in carrying on the slave-trade, let them bear the full share of the public

odium that belongs to them. These are the men who paralyze our hopes and expose us to the taunts of the slave-owner. Slave-owners in the Brazils and at Cuba laugh at us, while they can have British capital to support them in carrying on the slave-trade. I trust the inquiry will be extended to the quantity of gunpowder exported. I have a return from Liverpool, which shows, that by far the larger quantity of gunpowder shipped from that port last year was sent to Africa, no doubt for the purposes of the slave-trade. I have reason to know that one colonial bank has a branch at Puerto Rico ; and will establish another if it can at Cuba, where the current interest of money is 12 per cent. People are thus betrayed into a support of the slave-trade ; and ladies and gentlemen, widows and orphans, are deriving a large return for their money embarked in these banks, through this atrocious system.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I believe it must be one great object of this Convention to drag out these atrocities to public light.

Mr. W. FORSTER.—I attach great importance to this resolution ; but I fear that the branches of the inquiry are too numerous. I do not know whether, if it could be divided into two or three committees, the work would not be more effectually done. It is a particular satisfaction to me, that persons in this country holding slaves in Brazilian operations, have been brought before the Convention. It does appear to me, that almost every one of the mining companies is guilty of the sin of slave-holding.

Mr. FULLER.—The inquiry ought not to be limited to Birmingham, which appears to be the intention, whereas it should take in the district of Sheffield, from whence the bowie knife is sent to New York, which has inscribed on it, "Death to abolitionists."

Dr. GREVILLE.—I think it would be a great pity to divide this resolution ; but at the same time it is quite clear that its object cannot be attained during the sittings of the Convention, and I, therefore, think that it had better be left in the hands of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. I think it desirable that there should be no limitation, but that the inquiry should be as extensive as possible. I consider it a point of so much importance, that if the motion had not been previously seconded, I should have felt honoured in doing it.

Mr. TURNBULL.—I am desirous of stating a fact, which, not long ago, fell under my notice. I had put into my hands the copy of a balance sheet of one of these mining companies, most of the shareholders of which reside in this city. In that balance sheet the chief item was £45,000 charged for "live stock," which must mean men, women, and children.

A DELEGATE.—Are you quite sure it refers to men ?

Mr. TURNBULL.—I have not the slightest doubt of it. The animals to carry the copper are hired.

Captain MOORSOM.—I think it would be advisable to refer it to the Auxiliary Anti-Slavery Societies to make these inquiries, they can report to the Committee of the Parent Society, who can render the information thus obtained available for general purposes. A full report could not be made during the sitting of the Convention.

Rev. T. SWAN.—I fully concur in the sentiments advanced by Captain Moorsom.

Mr. W. FORSTER.—The committee now proposed to be appointed might bring in a resolution for the adoption of the Convention, referring the subject to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

JAMES HAUGHTON, Esq. (of Dublin).—If the committee arrive at an affirmative conclusion, they may suggest to the Convention the best mode of turning the information acquired to a practical result. I fear that the mere expression of indignation will have little effect upon the minds of those who are so base as to be engaged in the traffic. I hope some plan will be adopted of so bringing the matter to bear on their minds, that they will be induced to give up this shameful business.

The **CHAIRMAN**.—I would refer it to a committee in the first instance to make a report.

Rev. T. SCALES.—Should a committee be appointed, some of the American delegates should be placed upon it. Many of the evils have come under their notice, and they would assist greatly in ferreting out the offenders.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—I believe that Glasgow is involved in the sin to the extent of £60,000 per annum. On inquiry of a man in Birmingham what was his trade, he told me, "a dog-collar maker;" but I have reason to believe they were negro collars which came upon his anvil.

Mr. STACEY.—I presume the proposed committee is not to be an executive body, but to collect and furnish information which may throw some light on the subject.

The resolution was then put and agreed to, and the Convention adjourned.

SIXTH DAY'S SITTINGS, THURSDAY, JUNE 18, 1840.

(MORNING).

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in the Chair.

The **CHAIRMAN**.—Perhaps I may be permitted to say, that I never felt myself more out of place than on the last occasion when I occupied this Chair. I trust that I shall receive the kind indulgence of my friends to-day, inasmuch as the question which was then agitated is again to be brought before us. I have no wish to discourage any necessary discussion on the resolutions which will be brought up; but as the subject has already been rather fully considered, I trust that our friends who may address the Convention will be as brief in the expression of their sentiments as circumstances will admit. There are some very important questions yet to come forward, and there are many gentlemen here whose time is exceedingly valuable. I hope that if I should appear in the course of the day to press points of order, I shall receive the support of the Convention. Hitherto—and I will take my full share of the blame—I do not think we have paid sufficient attention to that subject.

The minutes of the previous day having been read and confirmed,

Rev. J. A. JAMES brought up the following report:

The Committee to whom was referred the paper of **Mr. GODWIN**, "On the Essential Sinfulness of Slavery," with instructions to prepare

resolutions thereon, taking "the resolutions of the Rev. CHARLES STROVEL" as the basis, take leave respectfully to recommend to the Convention the adoption of the following:—

1. That the paper of the Rev. B. GODWIN, "On the Essential Sinfulness of Slavery," be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society for publication.

2. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

3. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed in a great degree, to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the Western world, which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

4. That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities, the terms of their fellowship, respectfully, yet urgently recommends them to consider, whether it is not their incumbent duty to separate from their communion, all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery; a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

5. That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of this Convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world.

Rev. J. H. JOHNSON.—As a clergyman of the Established Church of this country, I feel a very deep interest in this question, and I hope, that after the discussion which has taken place, we shall unanimously come to the determination, that so far, at least, as we are concerned, we will give no

sanction, directly or indirectly, to slavery in any shape or form. But before I proceed to move the adoption of the report which has been brought up, allow me to read a letter from JUDGE JAY of New York, addressed to J. G. BIRNEY, Esq., on the duties of ministers of religion in reference to this subject. My principal reason for reading it is, JUDGE JAY is an Episcopalian, and says, that slavery has tainted his church. As an Episcopalian myself, I am ashamed of that church, and would not for one moment give the right hand of fellowship to any American clergyman who is in any way identified with this system. I fear that I shall occupy your time longer than I ought, but the letter is of great importance, and therefore with your permission, I will read it verbatim.

New York, March 28, 1840.

MY DEAR SIR,—I have been favoured with your official notice of my appointment to represent the American Anti-Slavery Society, in the General Anti-Slavery Conference of Delegates from different parts of the world, to be held in London, in June next.

Please, Sir, to present to the Committee of your Society, my acknowledgments for this mark of their confidence, and assure them of the high gratification it would afford me to unite in council with the philanthropists of various climes and nations, for the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade. But there are domestic and other duties which have a paramount claim on my time, and which deny me the pleasure of accepting the appointment with which I have been honoured.

You will, I am confident, excuse me if, on an occasion like the present, I take the liberty of offering a few suggestions for the consideration of the Committee. The proposed Conference may, and I trust will, in various ways, exercise a most salutary influence on the abolition question generally, without in the least interfering with the sovereignty and independence of the several nations to which its members belong. No American in that body could, with propriety, sanction measures in any way derogatory to the rights of his own Government; and I have no apprehension that any such measures will be proposed.

The action of the Conference is to be of a moral nature, and its influence is to be that of OPINION. This is an age in which Governments, as well as individuals, are amenable to PUBLIC OPINION, whether foreign or domestic. We ourselves have been instrumental in commencing a mighty temperance reform in Great Britain, and have received the thanks of the present youthful and interesting occupant of the Throne, for placing our publications in her hands. May the people of Great Britain reciprocate our good offices, by uniting with the intended

Conference, in bringing the opinion of Europe to press heavily upon American slavery. There are various ways in which this may be legitimately effected. I will only allude to the influence the Conference may exert through the church in this country.

That the American church is the great buttress of American slavery, is a fact no less certain than it is deplorable. The great mass of our clergy seem to acknowledge, in relation to this subject, the impious maxim, "*Vox populi, Vox Dei.*" You know that in 1835, the slaveholders of Charleston, after sacking the Post-office, and burning the anti-slavery publications found in it, voted at a public meeting their thanks "to the Reverend Gentlemen of the Clergy, who have so promptly and so effectually responded to the public sentiment, by suspending their schools in which the *free-coloured population* were taught; and that this meeting deem it a patriotic action worthy of all praise, and proper to be imitated by the other teachers of similar schools throughout the state."

And so these ministers of the Lord Jesus Christ, crouching before a wicked and cruel *public sentiment*, tamely relinquished a right conferred on them by the laws of God and man, and expelled from their Sunday schools all their pupils with black skins, literally driving these lambs of their flock out of the church, to perish upon the world's bleak moor.

Among the various denominations which are distinguished for their earnest endeavours to "keep abolition out of the church," and caste and slavery in it, that to which I myself belong, the Protestant Episcopal Church, holds a prominent, but I rejoice to say, not the chief place.

I beg leave to ask your attention to some facts respecting this church, for a purpose to be presently stated.

BISHOP BOWEN, of Charleston, South Carolina, fully partaking of the spirit of "the Reverend Gentlemen of the Clergy" of that city, volunteered, not long after the meeting already mentioned, in an address to the Convention of his diocese, a denunciation of the "malignant philanthropy of abolition," and contrasted "the savagism and outlawry" consequent on abolition, with "domestic servitude under the benign influence of Christian principles and Christian institutions!" principles and institutions which denied Sunday School instruction to free-coloured children, and which, at the very time of the address, tolerated the offer

in the *Charleston Courier*, of fifty dollars for the HEAD of a fugitive slave ; principles and institutions which led Mr. PRESTON to declare in his place, as Senator of the United States, "Let an abolitionist come within the borders of South Carolina ;—if we can catch him we will HANG him." Against the "savagism and outlawry" of *slavery*, the good BISHOP did not think it expedient to raise his voice.

In 1836, a Clergyman in North Carolina, of the name of FREEMAN, preached, in the presence of his Bishop, two sermons on the rights and duties of slave-holders. In these, he essayed to justify from the Bible, the slavery both of *white* men and of negroes ; and insisted, that without a new revelation from heaven, no man was authorised to pronounce slavery "*wrong*," and that while masters ought to instruct their slaves in religion, it was not necessary to teach them to *read the Bible*. The sermons were printed in a pamphlet, prefaced with a letter to FREEMAN from the Bishop of North Carolina, declaring that he had "*listened with most unfeigned pleasure*" to his discourses, and advising their publication as being "urgently called for at the present time." The *ex-cathedra* proclamation of the divine right of slave-holders, must have been exceedingly grateful to the owners of human chattels throughout the diocese, and tended strongly to attach them to the Episcopal Church. This high and authoritative sanction of slavery was too important to be enjoyed exclusively by a single diocese. "The Protestant Episcopal Society for the advancement of Christianity in *South Carolina*," thought it expedient, and unquestionably with BISHOP BOWEN's approbation, to re-publish FREEMAN's pamphlet as a religious tract ! Thus did these Carolina Churchmen seek to *advance Christianity*, by fortifying an institution, which, by converting human beings into merchandise, opens a market for the sale of men, women, and children ; necessarily annihilates marriage ; abrogates the rights of conscience ; seals up the volume of inspiration ; and practically establishes Heathenism among about one-third of the whole population of the slave states. That the church at the north is far from guiltless of countenancing and fostering the abomination of desolation, is evident from two striking facts, among others : first, that the Bishop of North Carolina, who so gratuitously and unqualifiedly endorsed FREEMAN's sermons, is a native of New York, and had removed to the south only a few years before ; and secondly, the course pursued by the *New York Churchman*. This periodical is edited by a Doctor of Divinity, late an instructor in our theological

seminary, and it enjoys the especial patronage of the Bishop of this diocese, and was recently officially recommended by him to the favour of the Convention. Yet has the editor frequently assailed the abolitionists in his columns, in bitter and contemptuous terms. He has even volunteered to defend the most cruel and iniquitous enactments of the Slave Code. In reference to the legal prohibition of teaching the coloured population to read, the editor says:—"All the knowledge which is necessary to salvation, all the knowledge of our duty toward God, and our duty toward our neighbour, *may* be communicated by *oral* instruction; and THEREFORE a law of the land interdicting other means of instruction, *does not trench upon the law of God.*" That is, because a blind man may acquire a knowledge of Christian truth, *provided* he has kind friends, with intelligence and leisure to instruct him; THEREFORE it is no violation of God's law to say to THREE MILLIONS of our fellow-countrymen, "Ye shall NOT search the Scriptures:" no impiety in southern legislators, to shroud in darkness the souls of nearly one-third of their population! You know we are often rebuked for our agitation, by the assurance that the preaching of the Gospel is the legitimate and effectual instrument for destroying slavery; but surely the poor slaves have small cause to look for their emancipation from the Gospel, when preached by such men as those I have now mentioned.

It is not, however, the *slave* alone, who finds in the Episcopal Church, Right Reverend, and other apologists of his wrongs. The persecuted and despised *free* man of colour feels his degradation, both sanctioned and deepened by members of the same Church. I am credibly informed that a certain congregation in this diocese, holds its cemetery by a tenure which forbids the interment in it of any coloured person; so that should an Episcopal coloured clergyman happen to die in that parish, he would be indebted to others than his Christian brethren for a grave!

But what is this indignity to the lifeless remains of a fellow-man, to the insult offered in the name of the whole Church, by the Trustees of the Theological Seminary, to every coloured disciple of the Redeemer? You are aware that I allude to the formal, deliberate exclusion of Mr. CRUMMELL, a candidate for holy orders, from the Seminary, solely and avowedly on account of his dark complexion.

But this is not all. There are instances of regularly ordained Ministers, Rectors of Parishes, men having as valid a commission to

preach the Gospel, as any other Presbyters in our Church, who are virtually denied a seat in our Ecclesiastical Councils, solely because they are not of the orthodox hue. The Rector of a coloured Church in Philadelphia, is excluded by an express canon of the Diocesan Convention.

My object in troubling you with these details, is to show the propriety of taking measures to bring fully before the London Conference the action of the Episcopal Church in behalf of slavery and of caste.

Would it not be well for the Committee to cause all the publications relative to Mr. CRUMMELL's exclusion from the Seminary, together with FREEMAN's sermons, and the commendatory letter of his Bishop, to be laid before that body?

These documents may then, through the printed proceedings of the Conference, be brought to the consideration of the British and Irish Bishops, and of the Divines generally of the Established Church. No portion of our whole community is so sensitive to foreign influence, as is the Episcopal Church here to the opinion of the Church of England. The reception here given to the Oxford Theology, fully confirms this assertion. From the documents I have mentioned, the Established Church would learn with astonishment the conduct of her daughter; and be assured that all the reproofs of American abolitionists, will fall powerless on the ears of the daughter, compared with the reproaches of the mother. Let the doors of the Archiepiscopal Palace of Lambeth be closed against pro-slavery Bishops and Clergymen from this country; let the Oxford divines refuse to acknowledge as true churchmen, men who would measure the rights of an Ambassador of Jesus Christ, by the tincture of his skin; and we shall have no more decrees from our Bishops and Clergy, forbidding a coloured candidate for orders from listening to a theological lecture in the same room with young gentlemen of high caste; no more exclusion of coloured Clergymen from our Conventions; no more Episcopal sanctions of slavery.

In justice to myself, permit me to observe, that in my opinion, the Clergy have full right to decide for themselves on the expediency of joining an Anti-Slavery Association; and that it also belongs to them to determine how and when they will bear their testimony against the pollutions and abominations of slavery. But I do hope that the intended Conference will bring down upon such as are guilty, the

censure of the Christian world, for their wanton and gratuitous perversion of their sacred office in vindicating, as the ministers of a holy and merciful God, such a stupendous system of iniquity and cruelty, as American slavery ; and for giving their high and official sanction to the most revolting form, in which the wicked prejudice against colour exhibits itself ; in insulting and degrading the Christian ministry, and in erecting the barriers of caste in the church of HIM who was anointed to preach the Gospel to the poor, and sent to heal the broken-hearted, and preach deliverance to the captives, and recovery of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bound.

I rejoice to know that there are bishops and clergymen in the Episcopal Church to whom my remarks have no application, and also that this Church, as a whole, has been less active in defending slavery than several others. Those others, I trust, will not be forgotten by the Committee. Let their conduct on this subject be made known to the London Conference, and through it to the world. I anticipate very salutary results from bringing upon the pro-slavery Church of this country, the reproaches of Christendom.

Regarding, as I do, the Christian ministry as one of the best and greatest gifts of God to a fallen world, most thankful shall I be to foreign Christians for their efforts to awaken our clergy, to the great truth, that it is their holy office to promote love, and peace, and righteousness among men ; and that they most grievously mistake their mission, when, in the name of their Divine Master, they pronounce his benediction on the bondage, ignorance, and degradation of any portion of the human family. I am, my dear sir, your's very truly,

WILLIAM JAY.

To JAMES G. BIRNEY, Corresponding Secretary of the American Anti-Slavery Society.

I most cordially agree with every word in that letter. I am perfectly horrified that any one should stand forth before the Christian world, and declare that slavery is sanctioned by the New Testament. If that fact could be established, we might as well return home at once to our several occupations, nay better, than attempt to overturn what God has sanctioned. But, further, we are told that there is a difference between the slavery of the present day, and that which prevailed during the labours of the apostles, that the latter was right, that the former is wrong. What was the condition of slaves in former times ? Take the following instances of their situation ; they were held *pro nullis, pro mortuis, pro quadrupedibus, for no men, for dead men, for beasts*. What was the treatment of these men ? They had no head in the

state, no name, tribe, or register; they were not capable of being injured; they could not take property by purchase or descent; they had no heirs, and therefore could make no will. With the exception of their *peculium*, every thing they acquired belonged to their masters. They could not plead nor be pleaded; were not entitled to the rights of matrimony, and could consequently, have no relief in case of adultery; they could be sold, transferred, or pawned as goods, for such they were deemed to be; they might be tortured for evidence, punished whenever their masters thought proper, and even put to death by their sole authority. The slaves of the Greeks then were in a condition to the full as deplorable as those of our own times. Will any one tell me that the Apostle sanctioned slavery of this description; that it is in accordance with the benign principles of the Christian faith? We must have a *new revelation* before we can pronounce such a system right. But let us see what the New Testament says? Apart from my books, I must necessarily speak from recollection, but with perfect confidence. The Apostle, when speaking of those whom he describes as "disobedient, ungodly, unholy and profane," specifies several characters to whom he applies these general epithets. Mark what they are. "Murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, manslayers, whoremongers, them that defile themselves with mankind," and then, "*men-stealers*." I will attempt to shew that our translators have not given the full force of that word. They translate the word *Ἀνδραποδιστής* as referring to men-stealers only; but the reference here is to the restricted sense of the Attic law, in which the *δικὴ ἀνδραποδισμοῦ* was a criminal prosecution for the distinct crime of kidnapping, and punishable by death. But the word *ἀνδραποδιστής* when used in its common and popular acceptation, meant a dealer in man, so that the slave-trade is positively and certainly condemned by name in the New Testament. I have the authority of the learned EUSTATHIUS for thus explaining the word; and I think I remember that BISHOP HORSLEY, many years ago, in an eloquent speech on the slave-trade, made the same statement in the House of Lords. Now if dealers in men were placed in the same category of criminals with murderers of fathers, and murderers of mothers, by St. Paul, what must be the fate of the person who makes a market for slaves? Can any one convince me that it is wrong to steal and to sell men, but not wrong to hold and to detain men in bondage? I must take leave of common sense, to say nothing of Christian principle, before I can admit this for a moment. But then I am told that we have the Epistle to Philemon, and from thence are led to the conclusion, that there were those in communion with the Christian church who were slave-owners. I make no question, I never can doubt that the word *Δούλοι* does mean slaves in a qualified sense, that is, those who were in a state of servitude; but these must not be confounded with the slaves properly so called, because they occupied a kind of middle rank between slaves and free citizens. Slaves so long as they were governed by their masters, were called *οἰκέται*: but after they obtained their freedom they were termed *δοῦλοι*, and were only obliged to the performance of some trifling services as a grateful acknowledgment: see Chrysippus de Concordiâ. In some places they farmed the land, and were only required to pay a moderate rent, which it was considered disgraceful on the part of the proprietor to attempt to increase; instances of which custom are frequent in Plutarch; and such *δοῦλοι* would render a grateful willing service. The word *Δουλεῖω* is used in the parable of the prodigal son, where the elder son says, "These many years do I serve thee. Is it

slavery for a son to regard and obey the precepts of his father? The probability is, that in the case of ONESIMUS, he was a bondman in the qualified sense I have mentioned. There were bondmen for a season, bondmen for life, bondmen to pay their debts. Men sold themselves to get out of pecuniary difficulties. We find that is now the case in India. Then what right have we to assume that he was any thing else but a bondman for a season, if indeed he were a bondman at all, except as contrasted with the *oikérai*, and especially in the face of the doctrine taught by our Lord, that all men are brethren? As members of Christian communities, it is not the coloured man, or the white man, the poor man, or the rich man; but "ye are all one in Christ Jesus." As a member of the Established Church of this country, I wished to read this letter from JUDGE JAY: and I thank you for the attention you gave to it. I wish to see it in the hands of all clergymen, from the highest to the lowest, that whenever any one who calls himself an Episcopalian clergyman comes from America to this country, we may be able to ask these questions. Have you driven the coloured children from your schools? Have you a negro pew? Do you exclude coloured men from your burial grounds? Do you shut out coloured students from the ministry? If he answers in the affirmative, let us rejoin, go back then to America, that is the country where alone you can be received. Pollute not the soil of Britain with your unholy feet. But I would further ask him, Is there a negro pew in heaven? Is there to be a separation between coloured men and white men there? If there be, the coloured man will be higher than you. These are my reasons for hoping that this report will be received and adopted. We dictate to no one. As an Episcopalian I would not submit to dictation. An Episcopalian, however, might raise this objection to such an exercise of church discipline—You cannot refuse a slave-holder access to the Lord's Table, provided that he is in other respects qualified: at least, if you do, you will be reported to your BISHOP. Very well; let the report go forth. It is proper that there should, in our church, be control over individual pastors. But I refuse—assigning the reasons which I have already adduced. If the BISHOP were to say, "You must admit him;" I would respectfully reply, "*No, my Lord, never!*" One such martyr as this would settle the question; and though I am not ambitious of being a martyr of any kind, yet I would rather be a martyr in this than in almost any other cause. I leave the matter with you, hoping that if there be a difference of opinion, we shall not shew the slave-owner that we quarrel amongst ourselves. Let all be done in love.

Mr. BIRNEY.—The writer of the letter just read is the son of the late JOHN JAY, at one time Ambassador to this country from the United States, and afterwards appointed Chief Justice of the United States by General WASHINGTON. Chief Justice JAY was not more illustrious for his high professional distinction and intellectual attainments, than for his unaffected Christian piety. With FRANKLIN, and RUSH, and BENEZET, he is to be classed among the early abolitionists of America. His son WILLIAM JAY, is the worthy offspring of such a father. At a very early period of the present anti-slavery movement in the United States, he connected himself with it. But few have rendered such important service as Mr. JAY. Besides aiding the anti-slavery cause liberally with contributions from his pocket, his pen has been employed in promoting its objects. His inquiry into the claims of the African Colonization Society to the support of the benevolent, did more, perhaps, than any other work to open their eyes to its iniquitous operation.

His view of the action of the Federal government on the subject of slavery, while it demonstrates the supremacy which the slave interest in the United States has usurped in the administration of the government, is doing much to bring about its overthrow. The life and writings of Chief Justice *JAY*, together with the works just mentioned, have given him a place among the authors of his country; whilst the confidence of his countrymen has shown itself, in their having conferred on him the judicial office, which he now fills.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I do not know that I ever rose in my life under sensations similar to those which at this moment possess my mind. The question before us has assumed a grave aspect. It is one which concerns the church of Christ. For a number of years, through the mercy of God, that church has been my home, and whatever concerns it, affects most deeply its character, its condition, its influence in the world; because it is intimately connected with the honour of Him, in the merits of whose blood I hope. I enter upon this subject with great trembling. I know it is expected that all the delegates from America should enter into it largely and thoroughly. We are on the ground, we feel its bearing, and its influence; and its pressure has made us regard it as others have not regarded and felt it, who have stood at a greater distance from the scene of conflict. It appears to me that the anti-slavery world has long mistaken this subject, and that Christians have been involved in the error. Our conduct has resembled that of a man who would pour water on the fiery streams which roll down from Mount *Ætna*, with the view of quenching the burning mountain. We have been assailing the evils of slavery, while we have let slavery itself alone. Till recently, we have scarcely assailed the root of the whole matter; the single abstract right of the relation of the master to the slave, which is sanctioned by the slave-laws of every slave-holding community. We have been finding fault with abuses and with cruelties. Our flesh has quivered as we have sat together, and heard the horrid details of the cruelty perpetrated under slavery. You may pass through the length and breadth of the southern states, complain of them all, and every slave-holder will agree with you. But then he will shrug his shoulders, and throw off the blame by saying, that it attaches to his neighbour, not to him. However persecuting and cruel a slave-holder may be, yet having asserted the right of the relationship, he pleads for what he has done, as rising out of the necessities of the case. Hence all our reproofs have fallen powerless. This has recently brought us in America to fight the battle on narrow ground. The question is not, whether the thousand circumstances which surround slavery are wrong; but whether, under any circumstances, however palliating, a man can hold his brother man in slavery, and not commit sin. When you once allow, even under the most guarded circumstances, that a man may continue to maintain the relationship of master to a slave, you have yielded all that the fiercest slave-holder asks for. I shall confine my remarks to one point; the right of appeal to our churches. I trust that there will be no discussion on the subject, but that we shall all be agreed. There is no body in existence, under whose Clergy injustice is sheltered, whom it is not competent for the humblest individual to approach. The courteous language in which the resolutions are framed, will, I trust, prevent debate. The right of approaching clerical bodies is one question involved in the resolutions; but the other, and the main question is, is the holding of man as property, under all circumstances, a sin? I shall not enter into a critical examination of particular passages of Scripture. My brethren have touched on some,

and gentlemen who follow may touch on others, but I shall go into the general argument. I hope it will be distinctly understood that I do not enter into the consideration of that relationship which God established between the Jew and his hired servant, or between the Jew and his bondsman. Those relationships are well defined, and if I had time to go into them, I would show that they were arranged for the protection of the poor man, and not to enrich the master. The whole arrangement was a covering of the Lord thrown over the unfortunate. But it will be remembered, that in connexion with that law of Moses, another law was given ; and it was this, "he that stealeth a man and selleth him, or if he be found in his hand, he shall surely be put to death." Another enactment was, that every Jew who made merchandise of his brother should be put to death. Now the relationship I discuss, is that relationship. Whatever quibbles may be raised to attempt to draw me from that point, there I stand ; and if I succeed in shewing that slavery, as it now exists, comes under the condemnation of that law, then the curse of God will fall upon it ; and the relationship of servitude, which the Bible justifies, applies to something else, but not to the matter under the consideration of this Convention. Does this relationship of slave-holding come under the term, "man-theft?" By the Congress of the United States a law was passed making it piracy to take a man in any way from the shores of Africa, or any other shores, except our own, and bring him into the country for merchandize, for the purposes of slavery. It was constituted felony, and the penalty of death was annexed to the crime. And, why? For the same reason that South Carolina has her law ; for she would refer to the Bible if she could, which says, that every man who steals a man shall be put to death. Now, if you, Sir, should go into South Carolina, and buy a man, a man of promising intellect, and take him into the free states, educate him, and throw around him the blessings of Christianity, a South Caroliner would follow and arrest you, and before a jury of South Carolina men you would be put on your trial for life and death, for stealing the man. They would not hang you for stealing 400 or 500 dollars' worth of property ; but if under the circumstances I have mentioned, you purchase a man, they will carry the extreme sentence of the law into execution. Now, whence originated slavery? Somebody stole the man at first ; and I care not, though he has passed 10,000 bills of sale, every one who has attempted to give a title in him has given a thief's title ; and I have yet to learn, that a felonious title by transfer becomes virtuous and valid. If, then, I could get a slave-holder before a South Carolina jury, and they would be honest to their oath, they would hang every slave-holder in the land. They hold unto that title, and it is man-theft. When we talk of slavery, what is the relation? It is not that of master and servant merely ; to that we object not. What is it? It is not starving a man, or withholding wages from the labourer ; that is not slavery. I doubt not but that many are guilty of that who hold no slaves. I doubt not but that in British manufactories you might find children suffering that injustice ; you will find them in America, but thank God they are not slaves. All kinds of injustice are perpetrated by man ; but that is not slavery. It may follow under slavery, slavery may open the flood-gates to all these iniquities ; but slavery stands prominent, lifted up, rank, and odious, above the whole. It is the relationship for which so many apologies are attempted. Allow me to refer with great reverence to the creation of man. When God made the world, and the sun, and the moon, and the stars, and the cattle

upon a thousand hills, He pronounced them all "very good." But when He put an intellectual being into man, and said, "Let us make man." How? Grovelling like the animals, and destitute of intellect and of moral faculties? No; "Let us make man in our image," and "in the image of God created He him, male and female created He them." Man was distinguished, and when He had made him He gave him an inventory of property. What is the inventory? It is the catle on the hills, the beasts of the forest, the fowls of the air, and the fishes of the sea. It is a large inventory; but look it over. Do you find man put in that inventory? Is man to be accounted property? No. This inventory was rehearsed by DAVID in the Psalms; but man is not reckoned. Now why should God establish the penalty of death for stealing a man? In connexion with that law you will find another. Pardon me for dwelling so long upon the relation, but I wish to get the definition. If man may be the property of man, then his value may be found out. Another law was annexed to the law to which I have alluded. If a man stole an ox, or a sheep, was he to be put to death? No; he was to restore five oxen for an ox, and four sheep for a sheep. Why? Because there was not the same relation in the one case as in the other. Man holds a higher relation in the scale of being than cattle, and, therefore, is not, and cannot be made, the property of his fellow. I know it will be urged here, that the law which was thrown around a servant to protect his life, says, "If a man smite his servant, or his maid, with a rod, and he die under his hand, he shall be surely punished. Notwithstanding, if he continue a day or two, he shall not be punished; for he is his money." The term has often been used, that nobody has a right to hold property in man. I think in one sense he has. If I pledge myself to any man for six months' labour, that man has an interest in my bones, and sinews, and muscles. If I die he loses that property. That was the case here. You will find on examination, that he was the Jew's hired servant for six years; he had money vested in the man, and the man owed him a certain amount of labour. But no Jew could sell either his bondman or his hired servant; he could not traffic in man. The root and essence of slavery, I conceive to be, the taking of an immortal man—a man endowed with intellect, and on whom is stamped JEHovah's image,—a rational, immortal, responsible being, having certain inalienable rights established coeval with his being, blotting out this relation and reducing him to a property relation. When once you have established the right of one man over another, as men have right over property, you have blotted out all human relations and claims. You have changed the constitution of man and made him property. That this is the relation of man in slave countries none can doubt: it is claimed and exercised. In WELD's slave law, there are several legal judgments, proving this fact. One case, I remember, occurred in North Carolina. A person of the name of MANN was tried for the murder of his slave. He attempted to inflict corporal punishment on a woman; she fled; he took his gun and shot her. The judge in that case directed an acquittal. The evidence was clear, the judge goes into it, and he talks in one point of view like a Christian, in another like a crazy man. Most deeply he could feel as a man, most deeply he could feel as a Christian, and he states that if he were sitting there to judge as a moralist, his course would be plain; but, he adds, while slavery continues, the power of the master must be absolute. If on the principles of morality you begin to strike at the power of the master, where can you stop,

till you have rooted up the whole system? There has been a going forth without the enclosure of the rights of morality, but security is found within the establishment of the relation. Let me briefly inquire what is the peculiar sin of this relation. It strikes me that the great sin is not that it injures man. I can feel that most deeply, I do at this moment feel it, for the millions who groan in bondage. It is an outrage on all the rights of man, but to me this appears not the greatness of the sin. When DAVID had slain URIAH with the sword, what was his confession? He had injured URIAH; he had done exceedingly vile in the matter: but where lay his sin? Oh, he felt himself in the presence of an infinite God, who had stamped his image upon that URIAH. "Against thee, thee only, have I sinned, and done this evil in thy sight." We should never forget that sin arises from the violation of the divine precepts. When a man sheds the blood of a beast, he may by so doing invade the rights of his neighbour; but when he sheds the blood of a man, the injury done to man is nothing in comparison with the invasion of the rights of JEHOVAH, whose image is enstamped upon man. He who takes a man, and reduces him from the intellectual position in the scale of being where God has placed him, to a thing, a chattel; desecrates JEHOVAH's image. Every slave-holder in the world has got his foot, I speak it with reverence, upon God's representative, upon that being whom He has been pleased to stamp with his own image, and God is directly dishonoured whenever man is attempted to be made a thing. I hope that this view of the subject will fasten itself upon the mind of every Christian. By establishing the very relation, whether he be kind or unkind is immaterial, he has committed the great sin against God, he has taken his image and put it under his foot; and when he takes him to the market, he makes merchandize of the representative of God. A shuddering comes over me when I think of this subject. When the slave holder shall come before God, he will find that his war has been not with the poor man trembling in the dust, but with that God who made man his representative. Another sin resulting from this relation is, that it at once deprives the victim of all the rights and claims predicated of his position in the scale of manhood. Whatever he receives is gratuitous. When once you have consigned man to thingship; then the thingship relation is the only one that can attach to him. The law has made him something else than he was originally, and with one fell swoop has blotted out that law which God has written concerning him. Hence, it is the law of America, that a slave can neither plead nor be pleaded for, he cannot be known, save in his master; and therefore he is goods and chattels to all intents and purposes whatever. Whatever is withheld from him, it is congenial with the relation established; the relation demands that it be withheld. I would put it to any gentleman who may stand up in this Convention, and defend the relation under any possible circumstances, whether he can put his finger upon any rights of manhood left me when I myself am sold. A few days since I met with a countryman from Savannah, who contended that the slaves had the rights of manhood left to them. I inquired, "Do your brethren sell their brethren?" He replied in the affirmative. I then asked him, "When your brethren have sold the soul and body of man, what rights of humanity can be left to him? if he gets them it is gratuitous. If the relation be a righteous one, he gets a gratuity; but if it be an unrighteous one, those who establish it are unrighteous, and not those only, but the relation itself shall be accursed. Again, this relation establishes a defined, recognised right to all the means and inflictions

necessary to conform the victim to the relation. Why all those horrible laws in America? Why all those abominable laws in every slave holding country? Is it because slave holders are notoriously more unkind than other men? Is it because they love to inflict punishment for cruelty's sake? Oh! no. The necessity arises out of the relation which has been established. You must hold me in the relation of a slave; I do not stay there naturally, I must be held there with violence. The slave must be crushed to his condition; one thing after another must be taken from him, till he will consent to be a thing. Let the profoundest religionist hold a slave, and let that slave attempt to get his freedom, *there* is the issue between us. If the religionist be right, the slave is wrong. If the slave be wrong, then the master is justified in using all the inflictions necessary to secure the continuance of the relation. Hence, all the horrid catalogue of evils, inflictions and privations which make the slave districts, dark, and gloomy, and dreadful, are but the legitimate result, the necessary and never-failing result, of the relation established. There has been in our country a number of attempts to enlighten the slaves, to give them education. Christians have started up and said, "We cannot endure this,—we must enlighten and instruct our slaves." But the moment they begin to enlighten the slave, they undermine the relation. Light and slavery cannot live together. Could you take this Convention to America, and by any process under heaven, make its members slaves? Could any of us be made slaves? No. Why? We have been favoured with light and knowledge. Impart those blessings to slaves, and could you hold them in slavery? In our country the knowledge of the North Star, that agitator of the south, has liberated more slaves than all other means together; for they have found out, that under its light there is a land of freedom. Thus, when you have established the relation, you have established the necessity of shackling the mind in darkness. Hence all slave legislation in America has been directed to that end. They have gone as systematically and as mechanically to work to crush man's mind, and hold him in ignorance, as if they had got a machine to take off his skull, to pare off the phrenological bumps, and leave but just enough intellect to plant a sugar cane, or rear cotton in the field. It has been a systematic effort which has grown out of the relation: you cannot continue the relation and improve the intellect. Again, the establishment of this relation puts it out of the power of the owner, either to be kind to his slave, or to protect him, if he wishes it, in any of the rights of his manhood. This may be thought to be taking very strong ground; but we have learned to take strong ground. If I have a battle to fight with an enemy, and there is a hill between us, I will go to the top and not stop half way up it. To illustrate the impossibility of a master being kind to his slave, let me put this case. When a man has robbed me of my whole estate, and holds it in his grasp, and I am poor, and with my family lacking bread, can that man do me an act of kindness? Suppose, under these circumstances, he were to come and say, "I do not like to see your family suffering, and therefore I have brought you a loaf of bread." What would I say? Don't come to add insult to injury; give me back my own, and I shall not want the loaf from you: be just before you are kind. What greater injury can a man do me, than to take me and make me a slave! When he makes me a slave, he withholds from me the right of labouring for myself. I ask, if he by possibility can do me a kind act. He cannot. Every act of professed kindness is hypocrisy and insult. Talk of a kind slave-owner,

it is a thing unknown. In other respects he may be kind, but he never can be a kind slave-holder. He must first do an act of justice, he must give me back my own, and then he may talk of being generous. But it is out of his power to protect me. Let me give you one or two cases. Sometime since a Doctor in one of our Western States, out of kindness, purchased a man, intending to give him his freedom, when he should have worked out the price he paid for him. At the time the abolitionists raised up a shout against it; their testimony against the Doctor was, that he was holding an unnatural relation. A complaint was made that we were unkind; that, forsooth, it was a very kind act on the part of the Doctor. But we contended that the Doctor had no right to sanctify present evil with good intentions, that he had no right to hold a hair of his head in slavery; that he might die or break, and therefore he held the man in jeopardy. It so happened, that in some of his speculations the Doctor did fail, and now poor AMBROSE is toiling in the cotton field. He could not prevent that man from being sold, he could not protect him. Another instance; In 1832, I was in the city of Richmond. A friend, five miles off, sent his barouche to fetch me to breakfast. The driver was a coloured man, and on the way, I asked him if he knew any thing about Jesus. He replied, "I do, Sir; I have for many years been a member of a Baptist church in Richmond, and am a legalised preacher of the gospel." What! said I, and a slave too? "Yes." What a sensation it created in my mind! Do you preach now? "Yes, on the plantation; there has been a reformation there," and he mentioned circumstances which I will not stop to relate. I asked if he had a wife. He said, "Yes, and two children." Does she belong to your master? "No, but to a widow woman yonder, who is a member of the church." Is she a good woman? is your master kind? "Yes, he gives me hours to go and see her, and her mistress loves her like a sister; she is very good." I expressed pleasure that their master and mistress were so kind, and that he could go to see his little ones. "Oh," he said, "there is a bad thing; her mistress is poor, I expect every day that she will break, and my wife will be sold;" and he paused; "perhaps to the south, and I shall see her no more;" and he paused again, and added, "perhaps to some wretch who will abuse her." What a hateful, cursed relation to that sister in Christ, that mistress that continued the relation of property! A change in the price of cotton and tobacco, and she could not retain her in her possession. Trace the history, and what is the result? The price of cotton fluctuates, it goes down, her mistress breaks, and the woman is brought under the auctioneer's hammer. There stands, perhaps, the deacon of a church of which she is a member, and bids for this good woman; the wife of a minister of the gospel,—a religious woman. Is not that putting Christ in the market? All this is under the necessitous control of the law. She must take the fate of property; it is out of the power of her mistress to protect her. If she were abused, if she were insulted, while she continued the wife of that minister, where is the redress? If she is injured in her labour, her mistress can get redress; but she cannot protect her virtue, her religion, her morality. There is no law for their protection; they are not known as men and women; they are only known as things, property, goods and chattels. This unnatural relation is the root of all the evils which legitimately grow from slavery. I have been much pained since I have been in this Convention. I never can treat the land of my birth lightly. You may consider me an enthusiast if you please; but I believe that, notwithstanding

these evils, America is as good as any other land. You may think it strange that I should enter into what may appear to some an apology for the slave-holder. If I were to come to the mercy seat, beside the slave-holder from the south to-day, I would get into the dust as low as he did, and I would say, "Lord, though in mercy I have been awakened, and brought to repentance, yet for years I justified the relation in which my brother stands, and which has resulted in all the evil that flows from it." The abuses of the relation I have shown to be the result of legislation. Our legislators have to do, what? To frame the very laws, to carry out that unnatural relation which causes confusion, and discord, and destruction, in whatever community you thrust it; and England has been aiding us, and British Christians have been justifying the relation, and admitting the right. We have been attempting to carry out a relation, which no one can carry out. And what has been the result? Our country suffers the reproach. At this moment there are thousands in the slave-holding community who deplore the existence of so great an evil, and they talk of mending it. When you speak of destroying it, they say "PAUL sent back ONESIMUS." When you talk of pulling up the whole tree, "Oh MOSES had slaves, and ABRAHAM, the good old patriarch, had slaves; you must not touch the relation." While by the sanction of the world they are cherishing the relation, they are mourning like you over the desolations spread around it, and you must bring your whole power to bear on the relation itself. Let me say a word for the church of Christ. I have wept with members of the church over this evil in the night watches. It has brought me to the dust; our churches have felt it, and they feel it now. Our brethren come here, and how are they received? A slave-holding minister comes from the south, and you say, "Sick of the evils of slavery as I am, cannot you make it better?" "I am trying to do it—I treat mine like children." And what do you do? You send that man back with his chains and manacles on, and you have strengthened him in his attempt to maintain the relation that brings these horrid evils. Change your voice, and let it be uncontrolled by personal interest. Tell him that the relation is wrong. When you meet a brother, say, Are you from the slave states? "Yes." Do you hold slaves? "Yes, I have one, he had a cruel master, and he wanted me to buy him." Do you hold him as a slave? "I do." The question is, what you must say to him. If you give your sanction to the relation, you support all that we hold evil in the land. You must tell him that the evils of slavery are all germinated in the root of slavery, Say to him, "Brother, you have no right to hold that man as property; go back, and do justice by giving him his freedom." When the church from north to south, has been made to feel this; then, and not till then, shall we cure the evil of slavery. We have been made to feel the evil more deeply than our brethren in England; we are, as I before said, nearer to the battle-field. I hold in my hand a document, which has arrived from America to-day; the address of the American Baptist Anti-slavery Convention to the southern Baptist slave-holders. I will read the conclusion of the address. "We have had labour after labour, toil after toil, to bring the matter to this point. They would agree to go for curing the evil, but not to refuse fellowship with the man who holds property in man; but thank the Lord they have come to it now." "Finally," say the Convention, consisting of 110 persons, assembled from thirteen states, at the written call of more than 400 ministers, and between 200 and 300 laymen, "Finally, if you should

(which heaven avert)! remain deaf to the voice of warning and entreaty ; if you still cling to the power-maintained privilege of living on unpaid toil, and of claiming as property the image of God, which Jesus bought with his most precious blood, we solemnly declare, as we fear the Lord, that we cannot and dare not, recognise you as consistent brethren in Christ. We cannot join in partial, selfish prayers, that the groans of the slave may be unheard ; we cannot hear preaching which makes God the author and approver of human misery and vassalage ; and we cannot, at the Lord's table, cordially take that as a brother's hand, which plies the scourge on woman's naked flesh, which thrusts a gag into the mouth of man ;" (let me say here, that the Congress of the United States, in solemn conclave assembled, have resolved that slaves shall not petition, that they shall not pray) ; " which thrusts a gag into the mouth of men, which rivets fetters on the innocent, and which shuts up the Bible from human eyes. We deplore your condition ; we pray for your deliverance ; and God forbid that we should ever sin against him by ceasing so to pray." We begin to see the dawn of brighter days. Hearts hitherto cramped, and fettered, and pained, lift up the expectation that freedom will come at last to the church of God from this act of justice. We have been fettered at every step. You know that men high in authority in the church or in the state are not the men for reform. When they are at the top of the wheel, they care not that it should revolve, lest they should come down. These always stand out against reformation ; and so it has been in the denomination to which I belong. I cannot say, like the author of the letter, from which I have just read, that our churches are a great cause of the continuance of slavery in our land ; but I must add, that there are men, I believe, in those churches, deeply implicated in the sin, and when we have attempted to speak out, an effort has been made to place a gag on our mouths. There are some sitting here from my own shores, who know what we have to meet, and I can better appreciate the course of my brethren than many who have spoken of them on this side of the water. " Why come," it is said, " to a Convention of the leaders of any church, and begin to touch upon this ;" and the hand is upon your mouth ; " we know all about it ; we live here, we feel as much opposed to slavery as any men can do ; but do not say a word about it, or you will hurt the cause of the slave. The hoary head will shake the reverend locks upon you with fearful rebuke." Notwithstanding such expostulations, we got out a call for the Convention, and the leaders of the missionary operations in New York took the pains to appoint their meeting on the same day, and at the same hour. I was then met in the city with a remark of this kind, " Had you not better give up your meeting ? Let it pass over. You will hurt the anti-slavery cause if you hold it at the same time with the missionary meetings." We shook the head, we had been inveigled enough. We declared our determination to go straight forward with what we had in view ; and if we had but a few, we knew that they would be a tried few. We took our station, 150 friends were present from different parts of the United States, our meeting was full, and the dignitaries had empty seats to which to preach. The people were found in our body, and they came together like Christians. I have read you the close of their address to the south. They have taken up the matter in earnest ; and let me say, that I cannot express with what deep solicitude they look to their brethren of different denominations in this country that love the Lord. They look to you, expecting that you will stand by them on that ground, to which they have made their way with so much

toil, and refuse connexion with those who profit by all the evils of slavery wherever it exists. They look to you to take them by the hand. We feel we need it. Many have been aroused to stand up in the cause of the down-trodden slave. We have felt great pleasure in coming to this Convention. The cordiality with which I have been received in England has cheered me, and I shall go back refreshed, to toil in America. I went to one church to preach, and a good old man said, "I wonder if he is an anti-slavery man." Let the question be put to every man who comes here from our side of the water, and you will materially strengthen the cause.

Dr. GREVILLE.—After the expression of feeling which has been elicited by the stirring address just delivered, I hope you will not imagine that I am about to bring forward anything which can tend to repress that feeling. I propose, however, to substitute another resolution for the fourth, and, I hope, it will be one which will fully meet the views of those gentlemen who, it will be recollected, felt some scruples on the subject when it was before us on a former occasion. I think it will be admitted that I have not compromised in any degree the principle for which we contend. As a member of the Established Church of this country, I am of opinion, that whenever church discipline can be exercised against this sin it ought to be put in operation; but there is no way, that I am aware of, of exercising discipline in such a case in the Church of England. We have been informed that a similar difficulty exists in the Church of Rome, and there may be other churches similarly situated. I think it desirable, therefore, that our resolution should be so worded as not to compromise the principle in the slightest degree, and yet press with equal force on all churches. The amendment is as follows:—

That this Convention feels bound to declare its solemn conviction, that slave-holding being a sin against God, those Christian communities which withhold their testimony against it, or refuse to exercise such influence, authority, and discipline as may belong to them in their respective churches over individuals guilty of that sin, with whatever mitigating circumstances their conduct may be attended, give the support of their own example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.*

Mr. STANFIELD.—As a member of the Church of England I rise with mixed emotions, emotions of pleasure and satisfaction at the manly and Christian sentiments which have been expressed by the Rev. Mr. JOHNSON; feelings of shame, and if I may be permitted to say it, indignation, against my brethren of the Episcopal church of America, for lending their sanction to the abominations of slavery, and for their blasphemous perversion of sacred Scripture, in order to give authenticity to that traffic which is directly contrary to the spirit and the genius of Christianity. I anticipate great good from the publication of that admirable letter of Mr. JAY, which bears so strongly upon the subject before the Convention. I expect that it will have a

* This amendment originated in a mistaken reading of the fourth resolution. It was subsequently withdrawn, and the Convention ordered a memorandum to that effect to be inserted in the minute book.

double effect ; that it will excite the indignation of the Episcopal clergy of this Empire, and that it will rouse them to greater exertions than they have hitherto made in the anti-slavery cause. I am sorry that in the Protestant Church of Ireland there have been so few who have come forward to endeavour to set their fellow-creatures free. In the town I inhabit, I have made an effort to induce the members of that church to take a part in the struggle for the rights of humanity. I spoke to a distinguished minister of the church, at the time we were exciting agitation to put a stop to the cruelties of the apprenticeship system. He stated that he knew nothing of the question, but at his request I furnished him with documents, and on perusing them, he said that he had no idea that such crimes were perpetrated under the system. I thought that I had made a proselyte, but when our anti-slavery meeting was to be held, and I waited upon him, accompanied by a learned Doctor, to request that he would take part in the proceedings, he declined. My friend said, "I suppose you think that it would be as well to let the apprenticeship system die a natural death," to which he replied affirmatively. What was his reason for not joining the Society ? He thought it a good thing, but unfortunately LORD BROUGHAM, and the honourable member for Dublin had taken part in the cause, and that he considered a sufficient reason for standing aloof. I therefore approve of resolutions as strong as you can make them, issuing from this Convention, for the double purpose of awakening the Episcopal ministers of the church of America, and arousing the ministers of our own church. As dignitaries have come forward upon a recent occasion, I hope that gentlemen who formerly held back, will now follow in their wake.

Rev. T. BINNFY.—I wish to say a word upon this resolution. I suppose that what I had the honour to suggest to the Convention on Saturday, has given somewhat of a turn to the observations which fell from the mover and seconder of the resolutions this morning. The latter gentleman made many references to the Greek Testament. I too, have carefully examined every passage in the Greek Testament which bears upon the subject, and I am just as much convinced as I am of any truth in religion, that there were owners of slaves in the primitive church. I hold, however, that opinion in connexion with such considerations, that I intend to give my support to these resolutions. In the view I take of the matter, I believe that I can admit the simple fact to which I have referred, without at all involving Christianity in the sanction of slavery. I believe that there were men in the early Christian church, who had two wives, but I do not think that this sanctions polygamy. A member of any of our churches taking two wives, ought to be expelled. As to arguments derived from the Old Testament, I do not think they have much to do with this subject. All the laws of Moses were directed to the mitigation of an evil which he found existing, and we are not to draw a sanction for it from them. It appears to me, then, as I have said, clear, that, as a matter of fact, there were men in the primitive church who held slaves ; but, as in these resolutions you take the proper ground, namely, that slavery is opposed to the principles and spirit of the Christian religion, I give them my support.

Rev. W. ROBINSON. I had the misfortune to be one of two or three persons who made some allusions, which were not very favourably received by the meeting on Saturday, but I beg to express my hearty concurrence with the resolutions as they are now brought forward, and I hope it will go forth to the world, that they have been passed most

unanimously. May I refer to one more topic ! After Mr. BINNEY's very clear explanation, as it seemed to me on Saturday, one of the delegates from Massachussets rose and said, by quite an unintentional mistake, that it had been affirmed in this assembly, that the New Testament sanctioned slavery. I hope it will not go forth to the world, that any such statement was made. Nothing of the sort was said.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I wish to explain, otherwise from the remarks just made, I shall be involved in rather an unpleasant predicament. These words were used here on a former occasion, that the primitive Christians did hold property in man, which I said was the American definition of slavery ; and let me add, that those who made this assertion were about to vote for a resolution, recommending churches to exercise discipline over those members, who, at this time, hold property in man. I inferred that Christianity did sanction the holding of man as property, in the judgment of those persons, otherwise they should have told us why the early Christians were not disciplined ; and also why they would discipline Christians now for doing those things which the primitive fathers in the church sanctioned.

Rev. Dr. HOBY.—I may be thought by some ambitious of exposing myself to the severity of censure ; but can assure you I feel bound in conscience to offer a few remarks. I approve of these resolutions as a general rule, but think there are many cases to which they ought not to be applied, and cannot, therefore, give my vote for them without explanation. I agree with the Rev. Mr. BINNEY in his views of many of the terms used in scripture, and as to the facts mentioned ; and, therefore, feel an objection to the use of the words, "Sin against God," in this universal application of them to the fact of holding property in man. I allude to them as used in the first resolution, because that is connected with the third, with the intention of proposing an act of excommunication from the church of Christ. We are not here to discuss the terms of Christian communion. We are not a body competent to do so ; for we do not sufficiently recognise each other's sects as churches, and all of us do not adore the same Divine Lord and Head. But if we were, it must be remembered, that the church of Christ is not a legislative community, it is merely executive. His disciples, in questions of communion, must be governed by His laws. We are, therefore, not at liberty in this way to pronounce, that in every instance, to hold property in man is to sin against God, or to justify excommunication from the church, when we know, or at least some of us believe, that there were, (however mysterious it may seem), both slaves and slave-owners in the primitive churches, and therefore tolerated by apostolical authority. I am expressing my own opinions. I hold that the whole system of slavery is most iniquitous ; it is sin against God, and so utterly incompatible with Christianity, that slavery and Christianity cannot long co-exist. But I have heard abolitionists admit, that there are cases in which the difficulties in the way of manumission are almost insuperable. I hold that opinion from what I have heard from American abolitionists. And there are slave-owners who continue to hold property in man, only in consequence of these difficulties ; and upon the principle of doing to others as they would be done unto. I do conscientiously believe that there are very many instances in which men, acting on that principle, do retain property in man, and I should be happy if the expression, "Sin against God," could be omitted in the resolution. They could not, otherwise, save them from hopeless and fatal slavery, perhaps in regions where the sacrifice of human life is said to be after the rate

of 33 per cent. per annum. I am an advocate for immediate, total, universal emancipation, but cannot consent to make this act of excommunication universally obligatory. Rigid and equal discipline in the church, without regard to human laws, would of itself destroy slavery independently of this measure. I believe that the slaves are well entitled to emancipate themselves. I wish that Texas could be occupied by 50,000 blacks.

The CHAIRMAN.—It may save the time of the meeting by stating, that Dr. HOBY has not sent up any amendment.

Rev. N. COLVER.—Just let me add that Dr. HOBY has not hurt the cause; for he has put HOBY against HOBY, and neutralized his own statement.

Rev. H. GREW.—I am in favour of this resolution; but before I offer a few words in support of it, I beg to make a remark or two upon the position which we, as Americans, occupy in this Convention. I hope that I shall be excused for this, as I did not occupy the time of the Convention when the subject was before you on a former occasion. We have not left the joys of the domestic hearth, the objects of our tenderest love, and all the endearments of home to come here and stand in self-complacency, and delight to accuse our beloved country; but we come in the character of an affectionate son, whose mother is diseased, seeking a remedy. Our country, like the man that fell among thieves, is by the monster slavery, wounded and ready to die; and we come to you, doubting not that you will act the part of the good Samaritan; and while our own priests have passed by on the other side, we shall obtain a hearing from you, whose hearts are open to the sufferings of humanity throughout the world. While I would advocate this resolution, I desire to feel that we stand on holy ground; that it is an important matter to speak on the high privilege of any one entering into, or going out of, the church of the Lord Jesus Christ. But while it is a solemn thing to exclude a man from that church, we must also remember, that we are charged as the disciples of Jesus Christ to maintain the purity of that church, "to have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather to reprove them." We stand not here to dictate to any church, but simply to recommend the adoption of measures calculated to promote the essential purity of the church of Jesus Christ and its spiritual prosperity. In addition to these inducements to pass the resolutions, let me say, that I conceive it lays the axe to the root of the tree, because the apologies and sanctions which emanate from the nominal church of Christ, constitute the main pillars of the abominable system of slavery. I do hope that you will be guided by heavenly wisdom, to send forth, in a kind spirit, to the church of the United States, your affectionate, but decided recommendation. Go as far as you can consistently with the liberty wherewith Christ has made his church free, in bearing a holy testimony against this iniquity, which is disgracing the Christian church in America. In considering this subject, two questions arise. What is slavery? What is the church of Jesus Christ? I will not occupy the time of this Convention with any extended definition of slavery, but will state my views in a few words. A beloved child, now in the realms of light, was at an early period of life reading this passage of holy writ, "Eve became the mother of all living;" but by mistake read it, "Eve became the mother of all evil." That is my definition of slavery. As to the character of the church of Jesus Christ, we all know that it is, "righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." The simple characteristic, therefore, of the church is, righteousness, whereas the characteristic of slavery in the opinion of the whole world is

unrighteousness. I wish, if possible, to remove the difficulty resting on the minds of many with regard to the fact of there being the masters of bondmen under the yoke in the primitive church. I do maintain that slavery, under the Roman dominion was absolute ; and, therefore, we can draw no distinction between it, and that slavery which we now define to be holding property in man. I wish to be clearly understood. I do maintain the principle of my brethren, that the holding of property in man is sinful under all circumstances ; and I was glad to find, that one brother who addressed us acceded to the principle, although he entertained objections on some points. We all agree, therefore, that the spirit and the precepts of the New Testament are opposed to slavery, which we define to be holding property in man. Now the objection is, that there were in the primitive church—and that the Apostle PAUL recognised the relation—master and bond servants, those who were under the yoke.

Rev. J. A. JAMES.—I rise to order. The remarks of the Rev. Gentleman, (Mr. GREW), apply to the first resolution, on which no amendment has been moved.

Rev. J. YOUNG.—I rise to second the amendment of Dr. GREVILLE, and shall occupy your time but for a few moments. I feel myself placed in a somewhat false and disadvantageous position ;—innocently indeed, I am sure, on the part of the speakers,—by the course of the remarks which have been this morning made. I refer to the mover, seconder, and supporters of the original resolutions. I am anxious to have it most distinctly understood, that although I oppose the fourth resolution, I do not oppose the speeches made upon it ; in almost every word of them I can most entirely concur ; but I think that the speeches do not support the position which is maintained with regard to the sin of slavery. I am one with all the members of the Convention. I think it cannot be expressed in too strong language. In regard to the inconsistency of Christian churches retaining members in their communion, who possess slaves, or have any connexion with slave-property, there too I am one with all the members of the Convention. As a member of an individual church, I am ready to say all, and more than all, if that were possible, that has been advanced, as to the unchristian, the unscriptural character of such an act. As a member of the Presbyterian church, I should not cease to lift up my voice if there were a single member of that church who had the remotest connexion with slave-property. And here allow me to state, that I totally differ from the remarks of Dr. HOBY on this point, and though with him objecting to this resolution, I would not be considered as identifying myself with his reasonings. I think that on the sin of slavery the Convention has a right to pronounce ; and, on this simple ground, we have been called together to this Convention, avowedly, as Christians, agreed on the great principles of Christianity, holding the Bible to be the word of God, and testing our sentiments by that criterion. It is competent, therefore, to this Convention to pronounce against slavery as a sin against God, and totally opposed to the principles of the New Testament. But while we have common ground in the word of God, we have not common ground on the subject of church communion. The Church of England has been already adverted to ; and, without offence, I may again allude to it. The principles of that church most essentially differ from those churches to which many of us belong. It is a well-known fact that every one by being a member of the community is, *ipso facto*, a member of that church, and cannot legally be excluded from it. It may be said this

is wrong, and I should respond to that sentiment ; but this is not the place, and we are not the body for so doing. There are differences as to terms of communion in all churches ; and what I contend is, that the Convention has no right to take upon itself to pronounce what are, and what are not, proper terms of Christian communion. That is my principle. In the remarks which fell from the Rev. Gentleman who seconded the original resolution, I entirely concur. I admired his spirit, I admired his piety, I admired his courage, that, as a member and a clergyman of the Church of England, he could speak out. He had a perfect right to do so. I, as a Presbyterian, can express the same sentiments ; and I have a right to do so. A member of a Baptist church would have an equal right with both of us. But here we are not met as individuals acknowledging any ecclesiastical constitutions, or any principles of Church communion. The reason why I support the amendment is, that while it declares slavery to be sin, and, as such, utterly inconsistent with Christianity, it, at the same time, does not interfere with churches, in determining what are and what are not to be the terms of communion. There is another thing ; it strikes me that all we seek to gain will be obtained by this expression of general opinion. Such is my feeling. I look upon it, that if this be an unconstitutional and improper interference with the rights of churches, as I think it is, it is more apt to irritate than do good. I have no doubt, that in some communities the effect would be that it would irritate. I deplore the state of the churches in America. Every man that has listened to the statements which have been so powerfully made, must have felt, not only his Christianity, but his nature shocked and outraged, and violence done to the immutable and eternal principles of right and wrong. If the state of those churches be as it has been represented, I think this resolution will prove of as much value as the idle wind. The whole mind of the churches is utterly wrong ; they have to begin at the first elements of Christian truth ; they profess to reason and to defend themselves upon apparently Christian principles : and before touching their discipline we must go to the very elements of their creed, to their principles of interpretation and of reasoning. I do not object to addressing churches on the sinfulness of slavery, and its inconsistency with the Christian profession. We have proposed to address different nations, to address different parties, and there is an equal propriety in addressing churches ; but the question is, what are the terms in which we should address them. If we speak to them of the sinfulness of slavery, and its inconsistency with Christianity, to my thinking, we keep within our proper province ; but if we go beyond, and determine terms of communion, we go beyond our province.

Rev. H. GREW.—I shall occupy the attention of the Convention but for a few moments. I desire to connect with my preceding remarks, something which I think will meet the difficulty arising from the several statements brought before us. One statement is, that there were in the primitive church bondmen, those under the yoke, and that this relation was recognised by the inspired apostle ; and a difficulty has been brought before us, which I desire should be well met, namely, that we condemn that as sinful now which the apostle recognised as existing in the Christian church, and certainly, in some sense compatible with it. Now, whilst I maintain with you that the holding of a fellow-being as property, is in all cases sinful, I deny that persons were so held in the Christian church ; and I call upon the objector to our view—our view being, that it is inconsistent to hold in the fellowship of the

Christian church, a man who claims property in his fellow-being,—I say, it behoves the objector, upon just principles of reasoning, to prove that the case to which the apostle referred, was of that specific kind. The burden of proof lies on him, for we present the eternal principles of righteousness, the precepts of the New Testament, and all its purity and law, as opposed to the unrighteous principle of holding property in a fellow-being. Thus, we stand on good ground until the matter of fact is made to appear, that there were actually and positively held, in the Christian church, persons as property. Now can any man prove that this was the case? We all know that in ancient times there were different kinds of servitude; we know that there were some of an extremely atrocious, and others of a milder character. I think it is sufficient for me to say, that I have never seen the evidence, and never seen the man who could produce the evidence, that the slavery we wish to abolish, is of the kind sanctioned by the apostle. I contend, therefore, that we stand on tenable grounds when we refuse the fellowship of the holy church of the Lord Jesus Christ, whose bowels of compassion yearned over the suffering and the dying, the poor and the needy, to men who claim property in their fellow-men.

Rev. J. BURNET.—It appears to me that the original resolution ought to be accepted by the meeting. The amendment which our worthy friend has proposed, would, I think, injure the very end which he himself has in view. The amendment calls upon individuals belonging to the churches in which there are slave-holders, to act so far as the authority of those churches will allow. Now you will find that a number of individuals will say, each for himself, "I am nothing in the church, I have no authority, I cannot help it," and thus men who are conscious that they cannot move the large body to which they belong, will shelter themselves under the amendment, which has a qualification about it, while the original resolution has no qualification whatever. But it may be said, some churches are so constituted, and the amendment anticipates this, that they cannot act like other churches. Then, if I am a thorough anti-slavery man, and believe that slavery is a sin against God, I believe that, that is a sinful church which sanctions slavery, and I must leave it. Any other sin might be taken up by a church, and it might place itself in such a position by its constitution, as not to visit that sin by its discipline. Am I to be allowed to say, here is one sin—slavery; here is another and another; and the church to which I belong is so constituted, that it cannot visit those sins? Then I must seek a body that has the power of its own purification. I would not, therefore, through the adoption of the amendment, sanction the excuses which will be offered for not cutting off the evil. I know that our friend did not intend that it should be a covert for such men; I am fully aware of that. I give him credit for possessing as much anti-slavery feeling as myself, every whit; but at the same time, I think he has been mistaken in supposing, that this would operate in doing good, in churches which are so constituted as to prevent them doing good. We must call upon Christian people and Christian churches, against whom it would be a severe imputation to say, that there is any crime of which they cannot purge themselves. The amendment, therefore, has not my support, and I shall vote for the original resolutions. With regard to striking out some clauses in them, which our worthy friend, Dr. HOBBS, proposed to cancel, I cannot dispense with those clauses. We should have in these resolutions, were those clauses struck out, a body without a soul; and you know that

when we meet with such a thing, we bury it as quickly as we can. Then I should say with regard to slavery not being held up in this point of view, viz., as a sin against God ; and with regard to any sanction which is alleged to be given to it in the New Testament, its great Author has said, and which our friend repeated, and which was certainly a reply to his own remarks, "Do unto others as ye would that others should do unto you." If I met with a man who being a slave-holder, came forward and said, "I wish to be done unto as I am doing to my slaves ;" then I should have a practical case before me. But I never saw such a man, I never expect to see him ; and were I to explore all the wonders of the wild woods of America, I think I should not find him. If any slave-holder said that he wished to be flogged, as he flogged his slaves, that he wished to be worked to death, as he worked them to death ; I should desire to see such an individual offer himself as standing chairman of the Society of Odd Fellows. I do therefore submit to the Convention, that the best thing they can do with the resolutions, is, to adopt them just as they stand. I would add one word on the question of the terms of communion. The resolution recommends these churches to do—what? Not to excommunicate, but to consider whether it is not their duty to do it. If they do not see it to be their duty, they need not do it. We only ask them to take up and consider the subject ; we are not dictating terms of communion to them. As an anti-slavery man, I should object to such dictation, because I do not wish to make churches the slaves of this Convention. But it is quite right in us to call upon all churches to do their duty ; it is right to call on governments to do their duty. If the churches say they have principles, but they are in great difficulty and cannot work them out ; I would reply, that like sinners who have been sinning long, and find themselves in difficulties, the only thing they can do is to break through them all, and become honest men. We cannot make allowances for their difficulties ; if we do, we must continue to make them till the human race has expired, and the day of doom has come upon us. I would say, let no suspected irritation that may be excited by them, induce the meeting to forego these excellent resolutions. If individuals hear a plain and calm statement from which they may be disposed to differ, they care little about it, and do not read it ; but irritate them, and they will inquire and read. If we can do anything to create counter-irritation among these people, for they have been long irritated by the slave-trade and slavery, if we can create counter-irritation, I am sure it will be wholesome ; and therefore, for the very purpose of effecting it, I would recommend the meeting to adopt the resolutions.

Rev. T. BINNEY.—I think it probable that the amendment will not be understood by the Convention. I cannot comprehend Mr. YOUNG's speech in connexion with his amendment. I think that if the two were put fairly before the meeting, the original resolution would be considered Mr. YOUNG's amendment, as being in accordance with his speech. The amendment is this, "This Convention feels bound to declare its solemn conviction," &c. The whole speech was directed against dictating terms of communion, and the amendment condemns churches for not casting slave-holders out. The original resolution commences thus, "That this Convention while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities the terms of their fellowship ;" this will do for Mr. YOUNG's speech. There is then a clause in writing, on which Mr. BURNET spoke, but there is one in pencil which alters it.

Rev. T. SCALES.—The clause in pencil is not before the meeting. It does not form part of the resolution.

Dr. GREVILLE.—I supposed that it was; and for this plain reason, the corrections are in pencil. In that case I take a different view, and withdraw the amendment.

Mr. STANTON.—I do not feel anxious to discuss the question; I am aware that we have occupied a great deal of time regarding it, but I find that this Convention is composed mostly of British abolitionists, and the resolutions though not directly, yet indirectly, will have the effect of turning out of the pale of the church about nine-tenths of the American professing Christians. Therefore, I wish that you should have some additional facts before you, previous to taking this step. I do not say that you are about to excommunicate us, but you are about to take measures, which if carried out in America will substantially end in that, unless repentance should roll its waves through the land. Although I was opposed to the amendment which has just been withdrawn, I wish to submit another on the same resolution, because I think it is not quite strong enough. The amendment is to put in lieu of the words: "Respectfully, yet urgently recommends them to consider whether it is not their duty" to do so and so; the words, "respectfully submit that it is their incumbent duty," to do so and so. It may be said, that we are not a church court; but may we not declare what is the duty of man in reference to moral principles? On what ground do we stand here? To lay the corner-stone of the entire anti-slavery fabric, namely, that slaveholding is a sin against God, and ought to be universally repudiated. Surely then, we may adopt my amendment. I wish the Convention to listen to a few facts concerning slavery in the American churches. I have not risen to adduce arguments, but to read a few facts which I think are much to the point. But, first of all, let me say, that in America, three questions which have been argued here to-day, we consider entirely settled. First, that holding man as property is invariably sinful. American abolitionists have left off the discussion of these first principles; I am, therefore, astonished to hear them canvassed here. Another question which we have settled, so far as impregnable argument can settle it, is, that the Hebrew servitude sanctioned by God, did not recognise the right of one man to hold his fellow-man as property. THEODORE D. WELD has published an argument on that subject, which the pro-slavery Doctors of Divinity in America have not dared to assault, proving that that servitude was instituted, not that man might exercise the right of property over man, but to do his brother, in a lower state than himself, good. I wish gentlemen, who think that Hebrew servitude resembled the present systems of slavery throughout the world, would read that book. I am persuaded they would obtain some light which they have not yet discovered. We are now establishing in America the principle, that the New Testament gives no sanction to the claim of man over his fellow-man as property. An argument on that subject has been published, more than a year since, by the Rev. BERAH GREEN, the PRESIDENT of one of our colleges, and thrown broad cast over the land; and an answer to it has not been attempted, on the part of any Divine who pretends that slavery is sanctioned in the New Testament. If some gentlemen present would read that argument, they would be compelled to admit that the foundations of their present belief were washed from under them. It is entitled, "The Chattel Principle," and is from the pen of one of the first

Biblical scholars in America. I did not rise, however, to make a speech, but when I see the Convention about to take measures which will place the American churches in a delicate and peculiar predicament, I am bound to ask my brethren, to be fully aware of what they are doing ; to pause before they act, and then, when the clergy whom they denounce here, come to this country, not to give them the right hand of fellowship. When I look around me and see on these seats, clerical gentlemen of much distinction and influence, I hope they are not going to vote for one thing in this Convention, and then do another thing elsewhere. Therefore it is, that I wish the reverend gentlemen here to have the facts of the case on which to refuse American ministers admission to their pulpits. Permit me to premise another thing. The Rev. R. J. BRECKENRIDGE, who is known to some gentlemen in this country, (particularly to Mr. GEORGE THOMPSON) although he does not agree with the abolitionists of our country in all respects, has put into our hands a complete answer to one of the main objections brought against anti-slavery movements in America. "If you would cure slavery in the south," say southern clergymen generally, "send us the gospel;" overlooking the fact, that the religion they have in the southern states upholds slavery, and the more they have of it, the stronger that system stands. Therefore, Mr. BRECKENRIDGE has declared, that southern Christianity will not abolish slavery; and he insists, that in order to abolish slavery in our southern states, they need a religion different from that now prevailing amongst them. I must add, that in the southern states, where there has been an abundance of preaching, either the Christian religion is not adapted to destroy slavery, or they have it not amongst them; for, under the preaching they have, slavery has increased within sixty years past, from half a million to nearly three millions in number. There are more slaves now held in America than the entire amount of our population, at the time we announced to the world the sublime declaration that all men were born free and equal. What we need then is, that the doctrine, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," should be preached with pointed reference to the slave; and that ministers from this country who may be among us, should preach that doctrine, and, by way of application, say, There is thy neighbour, in the person of that down-cast and degraded slave. So much for general statement; now for facts. Every human being, I believe, would denounce holding slaves for gain. Some may say, that holding them for their good is allowable, but that it is horrible to hold them for mere money, a disgrace to the human nature we bear; and every one who does it, is unworthy of the name of Christian. The following fact will show to what an extent professing Christians among us, are engaged in the actual holding of slaves for gain. The person who gives this evidence, is a minister of high standing in the Presbyterian denomination in the south, and has been for many years the stated clerk of a presbytery in Mississippi. "If," he says, "slavery be a sin, and if advertising and apprehending slaves, with a view to restore them to their masters, is a direct violation of the Divine law; and if the buying, selling, and holding slaves, for the sake of gain, is a heinous sin and scandal, then verily," now mark, "three-fourths of all the Episcopalians, Methodists, Baptists, and Presbyterians, in eleven states of the union, are of the devil." Now take care what you do, or you will hurl three-fourths of these denominations without the pale of the church, and declare them to be of their father, the devil, according to the declaration of this gentleman. He goes on to say, "They hold, if they do not buy and sell

slaves ; and, with few exceptions, they hesitate not to apprehend and restore run-away slaves when in their power." That gentleman is certainly a good authority on this point. I select one or two other facts of the same character, and pass over columns of them. The Charleston Union Presbytery, which represents an important part of South Carolina, avow their opinion as follows :—"Resolved, That in the opinion of this Presbytery, the holding of slaves, so far from being a sin in the sight of God, is nowhere condemned in His holy word ; that it is in accordance with the example, or consistent with the precepts of patriarchs, prophets and apostles ; that it is compatible with the most fraternal regard to the best good of those servants whom God may have committed to our charge ; and that, therefore, those who assume the contrary position, and lay it down as a fundamental principle in morals and religion, that slavery is wrong, proceed upon a false principle." That is the doctrine of one of our presbyteries, and a large and influential one, in the southern states. I might multiply such extracts as these almost indefinitely ; for there is hardly an ecclesiastical body of any note throughout the slave-holding states, which has not repeatedly given its sanction to the system of slavery. I will adduce one of the same character from the Synod of Virginia, which covers the entire of that state, and embodies in it much of the learning, I will not say much of the piety, of the Presbyterian Church. This Synod declared on the 29th August, 1835, "Resolved Unanimously," *Unanimously* !—"That we consider the dogma fiercely promulgated by abolitionist associations, that slavery as it actually exists in our slave-holding states, is necessarily sinful, and ought to be immediately abolished, and the conclusions which naturally follow from that dogma, are directly and palpably contrary to the plainest principles of common sense and common humanity, and to the clearest authority of the word of God." Mark that word, "As it exists," not in the abstract. At the same session, the Synod recommended in that state a day of fasting and prayer, not to "undo the heavy burdens, and let the oppressed go free," but, for purposes thus set forth in the declaration of the Synod ; "To give to our brethren and all others in the north, who are embarked in the unscriptural cause of the abolition of slavery among us, right views of the course pursued by our Lord and his apostles, under a similar state of things, when they were upon the earth ; in imitation of whose example, we hope it shall hereafter be found, that instead of scattering firebrands into the southern portions of the union, and stirring up a servile war, they may endeavour to 'keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace.' " Surely, this is fasting "to smite with the fist of wickedness." I will now read a testimony from the *Southern Christian Herald*, one of the leading religious periodicals of the south. A large meeting was assembled in Lancasterville, South Carolina. It was addressed by the Rev. J. H. THORNHILL, and the Rev. Mr. CARLISLE. It was a religious body composed of all denominations, and passed the following resolutions :—this was in 1836. "Resolved unanimously : First, That slavery as it exists in the south, is no evil, and is consistent with the principles of revealed religion ; that all opposition to it arises from a misguided and fiendish fanaticism, which we are bound to resist in the very threshold." It is with no pleasure that I stand here to lift the curtain, that you may see these horrid deformities of my native country ; in regard to which I can say—

America !—"With all thy faults I love thee still."—

"Secondly, That all interference with this subject by fanatics," that is, abolitionists, "is a violation of our civil and social rights, is unchristian and inhuman, leading necessarily to anarchy and bloodshed, and that the instigators are murderers and assassins." I have chiefly given you Presbyterian testimony till the last item; and I hold in my hand a copy of a letter, a portion of which I must not omit to read, though it still further exposes the iniquities of that church. A minister of Virginia, one who was bound to teach the principles of "peace and good will to men," in 1835, addressed a letter to the sessions of the West Hanover Presbytery. It will show how a minister in the southern states closes his letter, when he comes to the fraternal part thereof. He says, "If there be any stray goat of a minister among us, tainted with the blood-hound principle of abolitionism, let him be ferreted out, silenced, excommunicated, and left to the public to dispose of in other respects. Your affectionate brother in the Lord, ROBERT N. ANDERSON." The latter part of this letter had a bloody meaning. The hand which wrote the latter clause, might have appropriately wielded the bowie knife, or any other weapon of murder. It was written in the year 1835, when violence and outrage, and blood, were prevalent through the land; and the abolitionists were placed beyond the pale of legal protection. This was the year when AMOS DRESSER was seized at Nashville, on suspicion of being an abolitionist, by a self-constituted committee, almost a majority of whom were professors of religion; and who, in a speech before that Lynch Club, in vindication of himself, said, that he had taught no doctrine, but that of "love thy neighbour as thyself;" and then they inflicted upon his naked flesh, twenty lashes in the open streets, and banished him from the state. This was in the year when DOCTOR REUBEN CARREMDER, went to our proud capital, the city of Washington, on professional business, and because an anti-slavery tract, written by one of the fathers of the Republic, now dead, and whose sepulchres are built by their degenerate sons, because such a pamphlet was found in his possession, he was imprisoned eight months within the walls of a damp prison; his life's-blood ebbed by degrees; consumption seized him; he came to the north; winter approached; he could not endure its chills; and because he could not go to the south to enjoy its warm breezes, he was obliged to fly to Jamaica, and there seek protection under the shadow of a MONARCH's throne. There his remains sleep quietly in one of its sunny valleys. Mr. ANDERSON says, "Let him be ferreted out"—mark! this was in 1835, when it was almost certain death for an abolitionist to appear in the south, "and left to the public to dispose of in other respects." What think you now does that mean? He ought to have written that line in blood: for I repeat, it had a bloody meaning. I now bring forward some testimony with reference to the Methodist Episcopal Church. If the Presbyterian Church be one pillar in the temple of slavery in the United States, side-by-side with it stands another, which I think equally strong—to wit, the Methodist Episcopal Church. The Rev. GEORGE W. LANGHORNE, a Methodist minister in North Carolina, writes a letter under date June 25th, 1836, to the editor of "*Zion's Watchman*," a Methodist Anti-Slavery Newspaper, published in the city of New York. Some one had sent an occasional copy of the newspaper to him in the southern states. The reverend gentleman writes to the editor as follows:—"I, Sir, would as soon be found in the ranks of a banditti, as numbered with ARTHUR TAPPAN and his wanton co-adjutors." ARTHUR TAPPAN, who has enrolled his name highest on the record of good works.

"Nothing is more appalling to my feelings as a man, contrary to my principles as a Christian, and repugnant to my soul as a minister, than the insidious proceedings of such men. If you have not resigned your credentials as a minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church, I really think that as an honest man, you should do so at once. In your ordination vows, you solemnly promised to be obedient to those who had the rule over you ; and since they have spoken, and that distinctly too, on this subject, and disapprove your conduct, I conceive that you are bound to submit to their authority or leave the church." Further, to show how blind our churches have become, I will read the following :—A public meeting was held at Orangeburgh, in South Carolina, in July, 1836. It was called for the purpose of considering what should be done in regard to a copy of "*Zion's Watchman*," which had been sent to the Rev. J. C. PASTELL, a member of the South Carolina Conference of the Methodist Church. That gentleman wrote an address to the meeting, which was adopted by it, from which the following is an extract. Mr. PASTELL himself, is one of the most active ministers of the Methodist Episcopal Communion. "From what has been premised, the following conclusions result :—First, that slavery is a judicial visitation. Secondly, that it is not a moral evil. Thirdly, that it is supported by the Bible. Fourthly, that it has existed in all ages." They might have added, So have lying, stealing, and so forth. Again, "It is not a moral evil. The fact that slavery is of Divine appointment, would be proof enough with the Christian, that it cannot be a moral evil." Now, mark ! "So far from being a moral evil, it is a merciful visitation ; it is the Lord's doing, and is marvellous in our eyes ; and had it not been for the best, God who is alone able, would have long since overruled it. It is by Divine appointment."

Rev. T. SCALES.—That is not true ! it cannot be !

Mr. STANTON.—My co-secretary says, "This is not true ;" if he will come to America he will say with the QUEEN OF SHEBA, "The one-half has not been told me." Again, Mr. PASTELL, writes to the editor of *Zion's Watchman*, Mr. SUNDERLAND, whose only fault is, that he has in his newspaper maintained abolition sentiments, and is a member of the Anti-Slavery Society, a man whose heart is as pure as that of any man on earth ; Mr. SUNDERLAND had alluded in his newspaper to that portion of the discipline of the Methodist Episcopal Church, which declares that slavery is an evil, and asserted that it was the duty of Conference to avow its opposition to slavery ; Mr. PASTELL, writing in reply says, "Did you calculate, Mr. SUNDERLAND, to misrepresent the Methodist discipline, and say it supported abolition, when the General Conference in their late resolutions denounced it as a libel on truth ? 'Oh ! full of all subtlety—thou child of the devil.' 'All liars,' says the sacred volume, 'shall have their part in the lake of fire and brimstone.' I can only give one reason why you have not been indicted for libel. The law says, the greater the truth the greater the libel ; and as your paper has no such ingredient in it, it is construed but a small matter. But if you desire to educate the slaves, I will tell you how to raise the money without editing *Zion's Watchman*." There is a dreadful significancy in what I am now going to read—"You, and old ARTHUR TAPPAN, come out to the south this winter, and they will raise 100,000 dollars for you." To what does the 100,000 dollars refer ? To the rewards which have been offered in the south for distinguished abolitionists, viz.—5000 dollars for the head of the Rev. A. A. PHELPS ; 100,000 dollars repeatedly for ARTHUR TAPPAN ; 25,000 dollars for WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, and so on.

The letter continues, "New Orleans for herself will be pledged for the whole amount. Desiring no further acquaintance with you, and never expecting to see you but once in time or in eternity, which is at the judgment, I subscribe myself the friend of the Bible, and the opposer of abolitionism. J. C. PASTELL." Mr. PASTELL refers to the judgment. When he and his co-adjutors appear there, and Christ says, "I was an hungered, and ye gave me no meat; I was thirsty, and ye gave me no drink; I was a stranger, and ye took me not in; naked, and ye clothed me not; sick and in prison, and ye visited me not: Depart!" methinks, Mr. PASTELL will reply, "Lord, when saw *I* thee an hungered, or athirst, or a stranger, or naked, or sick, or in prison, and did not minister unto thee;" and Christ shall respond, pointing to the oppressed, down-trodden slaves, "Inasmuch as thou didst it not unto one of the least of these my brethren, thou didst it not unto me." I have read this extract, mainly to show how ministers in America can trifle with these sacred things. Ours is a horrid condition, and we need all your aid. I might adduce similar testimony for hours; but I will conclude by stating one or two other facts, of which I have before me the positive proof. The treatment of slaves in America is cruel in the extreme, and that treatment, I believe, is equally severe on the part of ministers of the gospel. One Baptist minister, when his slave ran away, deliberately shot him. The name of this man was given and published in America, no one daring to deny it. A member of a Methodist church, for some offence on the part of his slave, took an axe and cut off the slave's fingers. Another member, I forget of what denomination, accused a slave of stealing sixty dollars. He was whipped dreadfully, thrown into an out-house, and was found dead the next morning, having fallen a victim to these cruel inflictions. One member of a Baptist church in Virginia, who sat at the table of the Lord with the slave in question, on the Sabbath-day, sold a husband, from his wife and little children, for 500 dollars the next morning. The book from which I am now reading, teems with such facts, but I will not detain the Convention at the present moment by adverting to them. I will, however, refer you to testimonies from ecclesiastical bodies. I have before me the resolutions of the Harmony Presbytery of South Carolina, showing how they pervert the Scriptures on this subject. They are somewhat amusing. I will cite one or two. "Resolved: That slavery has existed from the days of those good old slave-holders and patriarchs ABRAHAM, ISAAC, and JACOB, (who are now in the kingdom of heaven) to the time when the apostle PAUL sent a run-away slave home to his master PHILEMON, and wrote a Christian and fraternal epistle to this slave-holder, which we find stands in the canon of the Scriptures; and that slavery has existed ever since the days of the apostle, and does now exist. That as the relative duties of master and slave are taught in the scripture, in the same manner as of parent and child, and husband and wife, the existence of slavery itself is not opposed to the will of God: and, whoever has a conscience too tender to recognise this relation as lawful, is righteous over much, is wise above what is written, and has submitted his neck to the yoke of man; sacrificed his Christian liberty of conscience, and leaves the infallible word of God for the fancies and doctrines of men." I will not disgust you by reading any more of such testimony; though our publications have teemed with it for the last five years. I hope the time has arrived when a Christian, but at the same time, a strong rebuke will be given by all the religious bodies in this country, to those who entertain such

doctrines. Our names in America are cast out as fanatics, but I might mention the names of many British ministers, members of this Convention, who are held in high esteem in the Independent and Baptist bodies of America. If these distinguished brethren would speak out, and all the religious denominations to which they belong re-echo the appeal, I am convinced that American slavery will soon be at an end. We need something beside the eloquent denunciations of DANIEL O'CONNELL, strong, I might almost say, fiercely strong, as they are. We need Christian rebuke, and above all, we need that when our distinguished ministers come among you, you should say, "Brethren, we love your zeal, we love the prosperity of the American churches ; but we cannot give you the right hand of fellowship till you have put away this evil from among you."

REV. W. BROCK (of Norwich).—I rise to second the amendment proposed by Mr. STANTON, and I think it will be unanimously adopted. We submit to the American churches that it is their duty to do certain things. When we say that, we are not dictating, we are only respectfully submitting, that in our opinion it is their incumbent duty to do so and so. On the principle that we should do unto others as we would they should do unto us, we must adopt this resolution. I should not be offended with a man who respectfully submitted to me that I was not a Christian ; I should ask him to prove it, and attentively listen to what he had to say. We shall, therefore, not pass the boundary of propriety by submitting to slave-holding churches and ministers, that they are sinful, certainly sinful, for we offer to them the proof as we have done to-day. It is a painful duty thus to act, but doing it in kindness, we expect to be candidly heard. Shall we regard those who steal and murder their fellow-men with the same feelings that we cherish towards those who esteem the coloured race as brethren ? Shall we behave to CALHOUN as we behave to GARRISON ? Shall we, when Americans come to our land, welcome them to our pulpits, and our sacramental tables, without inquiring concerning their views of abolition ? No ; BRECKENRIDGE shall not be to us what COLVER is. If an American coming here can say, "I have no more to do with slaves than you have ; I am an outspoken abolitionist, not only in England but in America ;" then he is right welcome to my heart and to my pulpit, but not else. I believe that this is the universal sentiment of the ministers of the gospel here assembled. We are told by Americans that *vox populi* being *vox Dei*, they must be right, for popular clamour is against abolition. Let us dignify, and sublimiate, and ennoble the *vox populi*, that it may cross the Atlantic and prove itself to be the *vox Dei*, by promoting glory to God in the highest, peace on earth, good will to man.

REV. J. YOUNG.—The course I am about to take does not in any degree arise from the coincidence of my sentiments with those of Mr. BINNEY ; but I perceive that the feelings of the Convention are against the amendment, and I am not willing that the moral effect intended to be produced by these resolutions should in any degree be diminished. I, therefore, consent to the withdrawal of the amendment, that not a unit of opposition may appear on our proceedings.

MR. J. FORSTER.—I would suggest the introduction of the words, "in the spirit of the gospel," after the words, "faithfully warned," in the fourth resolution.

THE CHAIRMAN.—As this is a question of so much importance, perhaps it would be safest to adjourn, and resume the discussion at the evening sitting.

Rev. T. SWAN.—I concur in that view. There has been no discussion on the amendment. The abolitionists of America have a claim upon us, and I think the subject should be thoroughly canvassed.

An adjournment was then moved and seconded, but the motion was lost.

Rev. T. SWAN.—I shrink from the idea of submitting myself to the notice of the meeting; but I feel that the Convention has risen to a certain point in the discussion of this question. I thoroughly approved of the resolutions as far as they went, but it struck me they were too mild. When that noble abolitionist from America, the land of modern martyrs, moved an amendment, I should, if I had not been anticipated, have risen to second it, in order that our resolutions might go forth with greater strength and clearness, to support the abolitionists on the other side of the Atlantic, in this great and glorious cause. I rejoice in the present tone of the meeting. The Baptist churches of America are deeply implicated in this sin; the President of one of their Universities has endeavoured to do away with moral responsibility on this subject. Had time permitted, I could have wished fully to have expressed my sentiments, in sustaining the amendment submitted to the meeting.

Rev. Dr. COX.—I must request to say a few words, though at this late hour, and amidst the anxiety now expressed to terminate the present sitting, I feel it may be difficult to obtain even a brief hearing. I have frequently intended to speak, but have been prevented by the multitude of eager claimants, not however, to oppose the resolutions; on the contrary, I entirely concur with them. Perhaps I may be favoured with another opportunity of stating my sentiments, which I think it important, if such opportunity should occur, that I should lay before the Convention. In the meantime allow me to state distinctly, that I have not always entertained opinions which would have led me to this full concurrence with the proposed resolutions; but reflection, deep and repeated reflection on the subject, has brought me to the conclusion to which I have now arrived, and which I unhesitatingly aver. Having come to that conclusion, I have felt it my duty to avail myself of this occasion of stating it; and I am sure that the gentlemen constituting this Convention, knowing how I have been circumstanced, that I have gone to America as a delegate from a society, different however in its special purpose from that which is the more direct object of this Convention, and knowing what has taken place in connexion with that delegation, I am sure they will feel that I am not needlessly obtruding upon their attention, and perhaps ought not to be considered as doing so, were I even to detain the meeting by a more lengthened explanation of my views. This however I will not do: but I wish the fact to be impressed on the public page, that I do fully and heartily concur with every sentiment expressed in the proposition now before the meeting.

Rev. T. SCALES then read the fourth resolution, with the amendments proposed by Mr. H. B. STANTON, and Mr. J. FORSTER, and those amendments, with the consent of the mover and seconder, were incorporated with the original resolution. The following is a copy of the resolutions as amended:—

1. That the paper of the Rev. B. GODWIN on the essential sinfulness of slavery be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for publication.

2. That it is the deliberate and deeply-rooted conviction of this Convention, which it thus publicly and solemnly expresses to the world, that slavery, in whatever form, or in whatever country it exists, is contrary to the eternal and immutable principles of justice, and the spirit and precepts of Christianity; and is, therefore, a sin against God, which acquires additional enormity when committed by nations professedly Christian, and in an age when the subject has been so generally discussed, and its criminality so thoroughly exposed.

3. That this Convention cannot but deeply deplore the fact, that the continuance and prevalence of slavery are to be attributed in a great degree to the countenance afforded by many Christian churches, especially in the Western world; which have not only withheld that public and emphatic testimony against the crime which it deserves, but have retained in their communion without censure, those by whom it is notoriously perpetrated.

4. That this Convention, while it disclaims the intention or desire of dictating to Christian communities, the terms of their fellowship, respectfully submits, that it is their incumbent duty to separate from their communion, all those persons who, after they have been faithfully warned, in the spirit of the gospel, continue in the sin of enslaving their fellow-creatures, or holding them in slavery,—a sin, by the commission of which, with whatever mitigating circumstances it may be attended in their own particular instance, they give the support of their example to the whole system of compulsory servitude, and the unutterable horrors of the slave-trade.

5. That it be recommended to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, in the name of this Convention, to furnish copies of the above resolutions to the ecclesiastical authorities of the various Christian churches throughout the world.

The CHAIRMAN.—I consider these resolutions of so much importance that the vote may perhaps be taken standing.

The whole assembly instantly rose, and the series of resolutions were carried unanimously.

The Convention then adjourned.

SIXTH DAY'S SITTINGS, THURSDAY, JUNE 13, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in the Chair.

THE COLOURED POPULATION OF UPPER CANADA.

Dr. ROLPH.—In bringing before you the subject of the coloured population of Upper Canada, I would remind you, that that interesting province is now the refuge of a vast number of fugitive slaves from the southern states of America, and it is essentially desirable, that in every respect they should be protected and secured in the refuge which they have thus taken under the British Crown ; and that their state, moral, social, and political, should be an object of your attention. In consequence of circumstances which have taken place on the banks of the Niagara, I have been engaged in a long correspondence with her MAJESTY'S Government on the subject, and I had almost despaired of effecting any benefit for them, until this Convention opened to my vision the prospect of success. I will now proceed to read a paper which I have prepared on the subject.

In conformity with the instructions of the Committee, I have much pleasure in bringing before the notice of this Convention, the numbers, state, condition, and desires of the coloured population of Upper Canada. As a body they may be justly deemed the most interesting fragment of American people to be found on the American continent. The recent census taken of them, for the purpose of submitting to this Convention, amounted to 12,511 ; this was exclusive of some towns and townships that had not sent in their returns, so that I suppose on a moderate computation, they cannot be much less than 15,000. They are chiefly fugitives from the great prison-house of southern bondage ; and the history of the perils, sufferings, and vicissitudes they met with, in their escape from their savage masters, exceed in thrilling interest, pathos, and wonder, the wildest stories of romance. It is impossible not to feel a degree of admiration at the elevation of mind which the love of liberty inspires, as also not to perceive what a noble foundation may be laid for the inculcation of good principles. When listening with rapture to the account of their trials and struggles ; their courage and perseverance in surmounting all obstacles ; their dangers from hunger, from their merciless pursuers, from bloodhounds sent on their trail, from the interdict generally laid on them, and from inevitable destruction "by lawless mobs," who would not be moved kindly to interpose on their behalf?

To illustrate their love of liberty, permit me to state a fact or two, respecting a man who now resides at Gosfield, in the western district. He is a worthy, independent farmer, and I believe a Christian. Twelve or fifteen years ago he made his escape from the state of Alabama, passed through Tennessee and Kentucky in the most perilous circumstances, was several times hunted and harassed, worried down by bloodhounds, and human beings more savage than they, captured, and twice committed to jail, from which he broke and fled. The first time he broke jail was at midnight, in the midst of a tremendous thunder storm. He first rid himself of his handcuffs, which had been put on loosely, by making use of a ball of hard soap, moistening his hands, and rendering them pliant and slippery as an eel skin, and then drawing them out one at a time ; then seizing an axe which lay within his reach, he raised it up amidst the lightning's flash, and the bursting peals of thunder, using the light which God struck out for him, for the purpose of discovering where to strike at bolts and bars ; and, taking advantage of the *deafening thunder claps* which instantly ensued, he banged away with his battle-axe, hoping that the voice of thunder might drown the noise of liberty's hammer, and thus struggling, he succeeded in getting out. The storm passed off, and the bright moon soon shone out to cheer him on his way to the north. Again and again he was hunted and worried down by men and dogs. At length he came to the beautiful Ohio river. He longed to plant his feet upon the opposite side, which he knew to be in a free state. He reconnoitered the stream for some time in quest of the means of conveyance across ; but fearing that he should fail, and be again reduced to hopeless bondage, he said within himself that he would have it to remember, that he was in sight of a free country, and *drank of free water for once in his life*. So, GIDEON like, he bowed down and drank freely from the stream. He succeeded, however, in getting across into the state of Indiana, but was soon taken up by slave-hunters. They bound him with cords, kept him confined for some time, and led him through the village in the night towards the ferry, intending to return him to Kentucky. On leading him out, they charged him not to speak, at the peril of his life. This charge of silence suggested to his mind that his tongue might be of some service to him, and he resolved that he would use it. He raised the cry of *murder* at the top of his voice, which instantly frightened his captors, so that they left him and fled ; while

the friends of humanity came breaking from doors and windows to his rescue, cut him loose, and helped him on his way to Canada. His name is JOHN WILLIAMS. He is now a worthy British freeman.

With regard to their state and condition, those who have settled in towns, for the most part have succeeded, and are in flourishing circumstances; and have frequently received commendations from the Bench for their industry, sobriety, and general deportment. The CHIEF JUSTICE of Upper Canada, an authority everywhere venerated, has felt constrained, on more than one occasion, when coloured men have been brought before him for trial, to bear his willing testimony in their favour, as to their general deportment and good character. There are those also who have settled upon lands, which they have purchased by their industrious accumulations, and are prospering. An interesting confirmation of this fact may be seen in the township of Thorab, on Lake Simcoe. Some few years since, a number came from the United States, and became squatters (as they are termed) in that township. They were from the south, and consequently unaccustomed to the severities of our more northern winters. They had been, however, habituated to the remorseless rigours of the worst description of slavery under heaven, and with their accustomed patience they not only surmounted their difficulties, subsisted without eleemosynary aid, but in a few years carried surplus produce to market. Those who received free grants of land, in the Wilberforce settlement, did not succeed so well as those who, having laboured for some years, bought land with their own savings. This is not a fault attaching exclusively to the man of colour, it is too frequently to be seen in the white man. It arises from such persons being too apt to rely on the continuation of benefactions once begun, rather than on their own energies. Those thrive best who purchase land from their savings, and that not in a separate colony, but promiscuously among white settlers, who are ultimately shamed out of their prejudices, by seeing industry, order, sobriety, prudence, frugality, and contentment, where they had been led to anticipate directly the reverse.

With regard to their fidelity and valour, as residents in the province, they have received the special approbation of the Legislative Council, the thanks of their various Commanding Officers, the commendation of every Governor; and no one can better appreciate their services than the late GOVERNOR-GENERAL of British North America, and the Commander of the forces, GENERAL LORD SEATON.

Lastly, with regard to their desires and expectations. A tragic event occurred on the frontier of Niagara, on the 15th of September, 1837. A slave-holder, CASTLEMAN, came from Lexington, Kentucky, to claim a slave, MOSEBY, whom he traced into Upper Canada, and claimed as a fugitive felon. The man was arrested and committed to Niagara gaol. SIR FRANCIS HEAD, by the advice of the Law Officers of the Crown, and under the regulations of international law, was induced to surrender him. The coloured population of the province rallied to a man to resist this surrender, resolving to perish in their resistance to the law, rather than behold their fellow-man delivered up again to slavery. They came in from every section of the province, and lay in ambush for fourteen days and nights about the gaol. The supplications of the man to be shot on British ground, rather than to be surrendered to slavery, were heart-rending and piteous in the extreme. The day for the delivery of him to the American authorities arrived. He was placed in a waggon, from which he leapt into the midst of his brethren; cast off his handcuffs, which had previously been filed, bounded over a high fence, and made his escape. By order of the Deputy Sheriff, several guns were fired amongst the crowd, and two lives were sacrificed on the occasion. To remedy this state of things, a General Convention of the coloured population of Upper Canada took place; when a memorial was determined upon, representing their peculiar situation, and praying that that special protection which their circumstances required might be extended to them by her MAJESTY'S Government. After a long correspondence both with the Colonial and the Foreign Secretaries of State, I lament to add, nothing definitive or satisfactory has been accomplished to meet this anomalous position of the coloured population of Canada. I had better lay before you the views of the coloured people, agreed to at their Convention in Upper Canada this spring.

Pursuant to notice, given through the newspapers of the province, delegates assembled at the village of Ancaster from every part of the province, on Wednesday the 11th day of March, 1840, to confer together, and to pass such resolutions as the social, moral, religious, and political condition of the coloured population of the colony seemed to require; and in order that the resolutions adopted, which are as follows, might be forwarded to England to be laid before the Grand Abolition Convention.

“Resolved—That this meeting deem it expedient to petition her **MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY THE QUEEN**, as also the Provincial Legislature, that a law may be passed, by which, in the case of a slave having escaped from bondage into any British province, and claimed by the slave-holder, on pretext of felony or other crime, that he or she be not surrendered (as is now the case), but be placed in confinement until the next assizes for the district in which he or she may be resident shall be held; and the facts of the offence charged be tried by a Jury, either Grand or Petit, before the escaped slave shall be handed over to the authorities of the United States for trial there: as this meeting is fully aware that it is too often a mere pretext of the slave-holder to get the slave back, in order to inflict the most cruel and rigorous treatment.”

Before reading the second resolution, it may be as well to state that there is no disposition shown to avoid the just punishment of crime.

“Resolved—That it is expedient that we address the next Provincial Parliament, that an Act be passed for our benefit, similar to the Alien Act, passed by the Provincial Legislature in 1828; for as the law now stands, as regards aliens who wish to become subjects, it operates most injuriously against us: we emigrate to this and other British colonies to enjoy that liberty and protection, which alone is afforded by the British Government and law, and it is our wish, inasmuch as it will be for our advantage, that we enjoy those blessings fully and wholly in common with other subjects, and not in part; and that her **MAJESTY** be petitioned in the event of such an Act being passed, to give her Royal Assent thereto.

“Resolved—That having seen a notice in some of the newspapers of the day, of a motion that has been made in the Congress of the United States of America, having for its object the opening of a negotiation between the Government of the United States of America and that of Great Britain, to obtain the surrender of all slaves that escape, and those, we suppose, that have escaped, from the United States into Canada; a motion in itself, so wicked, so infamous and outrageous, and so repugnant to every feeling of justice, of right, of humanity, and of morals and religion, that, if acted upon, we feel assured will call down upon such a people and such a Government the execrations of mankind generally, and the friends of the coloured man in every part of the globe in particular; which motion marks the inconsistency of the character of that Government, that, in its boasted “Declaration of

Independence," first declares "that all men are born free and equal," and yet enslaves millions of our race. Satisfied as we are with the protection we enjoy, and that no such infamous proposition as this will ever be listened to by the Government of Great Britain, we only notice it to draw the attention of Government; and to pray, that, should it be made, it will be treated with that contempt which so gross an insult to the cause of humanity, and to the honour and dignity of the British Crown so well deserves."

When you consider that this is the only outlet where slaves can find a safe retreat, it is your bounden duty, as it is your highest interest, to throw around them that protection which will not only cheer them on, but assist them in taking that position in society, by which they will be enabled to facilitate the day when slavery shall cease in the Western hemisphere; and, in the mean time, aid their brethren labouring under bondage, in escaping from its galling yoke.

I will now proceed to read an extract of a letter from a gentleman of colour, residing in Toronto, about being ordained a clergyman, a gentleman whose capacity, vast attainments, and singular modesty command the regard of all who know him, Mr. GALLEG0.

In his letter to me, he says:—"We sincerely hope that you will succeed in getting us considered as *political refugees*, which would remove at once all possibility of any future surrender to the authorities of the United States: as it is an undoubted fact, that this is actually our real position, and that whatever violence may be charged against us, has been committed as the only and unavoidable means of securing personal and political liberty. Upon this point the feelings of the coloured people are growing every day more strong. As the only objection that has ever been made in the Province against our elevation to all the privileges of natural born subjects, is, that it might give offence to the Americans, we hope that the philanthropy of the mother country will not suffer us to be betrayed to the 'tender mercies' of American feeling. No! Britain will be true to herself, and will protect the coloured man, whether on sea or land, against the combined malice of the civilized world. By this unmanly course of procedure they are leaving their children to contend with an evil, no less prostrating and withering in its influence upon the young mind, than even slavery itself. Then it is expedient that we should submit our feelings to the conflict

with prejudice, and endeavour to curb it once for all. It cannot but lower us in public estimation, to be always soliciting alms. One of the certain consequences of this measure would be, to make us rely more upon the assistance of others than upon our own resources. The great and indispensable element of our prosperity is votes. Give us votes in time of peace, and it will afford us protection against all political hostility; and, it must be confessed, we have much of this to contend with. This will be as generous as it is safe, since no one hesitates to place arms in our hands, in time of war, when assailed by the common enemy. Already Maine, Massachussets, and New York are fast removing the disabilities of coloured men; and are at this moment on the point of an open rupture with Georgia, South Carolina, and Virginia, in consequence of refusing to surrender certain fugitive slaves. It is to Britain, under God, that the whole coloured population in America are looking for protection and support. I still believe that British power and British feeling may yet exert a powerful influence in North America. But deprive me of hope in this respect, and all that ennobs, all that endears the British name to my mind, would live no longer but in the fondly delusive dreams of the past."

Having now laid before you the views entertained by the people of colour, I shall trespass a little on your attention, by stating my own. Two modes have been suggested relative to the surrender of slaves charged with felony. England must be considered pledged, in the most formal manner, never to surrender a *slave* claimed *purely in that simple character*.

It is for the protection of coloured persons, claimed as *felons*, that we must exert all our strength. There are two measures proposed for this end:—1st. *Trial by Jury, within the British territory, PREVIOUS to delivery*; 2dly. That *all coloured refugees*, should, *without any distinction whatever*, be considered *political offenders*, and protected as such. The first measure requires a *law* of the Imperial Parliament; the second only a *ministerial instruction* to the Colonial *Executive*. The difficulty of obtaining the law is the apprehended displeasure of the United States; as the discussion alone of such a measure, would greatly awaken the angry fear of the slave republic. An instruction offers neither the same inconveniences to the views of this party, nor, consequently, the same difficulty in obtaining it for the coloured people. Besides, the instruction being withheld from all but the interested

parties, could form no ground for official complaint from the United States. Lastly, the law, if passed, would not furnish so perfect a protection. Suppose a free negro, in a free American State, committing robbery, suppose him claimed as a felon, tried in Canada by an upright Jury, convicted—he must be surrendered. So far all is fair and just, as it should be. What next, though? Will he be tried in America like a white felon of the same degree of guilt? No; both the whole course of law and execution are widely different in the said free states: a *coloured* man's oath is *not* good in *law* against that of a *white* man, no matter how he may be stained with crime. Prison or death would be mercy compared to a relapse into perpetual slavery; and this abominable punishment, far severer than capital punishment itself, is in one at least of the free states, the award of *law* for slight felonies, petty larcenies, &c.; and in many more, the illegal, but frequent, and irremediable consequence of conviction, before malignant and partial juries. Even real felons should not be surrendered as long as the law and practice is not the same unto all manner of men. But again it is said, they are to be surrendered, owing to international regulations, and a reciprocity of action between the two Governments, relative to fugitive felons. But such is not the fact. If a soldier escapes from his regiment into the United States, carrying with him his uniform, fire-arms, &c., he is not surrendered as a felon, but protected as a political refugee. And can there be, I ask, any system of reciprocity for the enforcement of their respective criminal law between two countries, from one of which, the course of domestic thralldom has been utterly removed; whilst in the other, the demon of slavery exists in all its grim, original, and hideous deformity?

I must also bring before this Convention the existing hatred in the northern states against the coloured race; and you will be shocked to hear that that wicked, unchristian, anti-British feeling exists there in a far more powerful degree than even in the south. A coloured gentleman travelling in the states, no matter how respectable, accomplished, well informed, intelligent and courteous, is driven like a beast from the society of white men. They are driven from the cabins of steam-boats and ships; from associating with their white brethren in churches, taverns, &c., &c. In 1832, I travelled through the northern states with one of the most benevolent, wealthy, and excellent men I have ever known in my life, and with his son, a young man of colour, whose

general deportment was every thing that could render his society as desirable as agreeable. A coloured clergyman from Baltimore was announced to preach in the evening, (this was in Schenectady), I asked my coloured friend to accompany me to hear him. We went, and as we entered the door, and were proceeding to the gallery, a person intimated to me that we must there be separated, as coloured persons were not permitted to sit with white. Finding this to be the case, I said, I suppose there will be no objection to allow a white person to sit amongst those of colour; and I took my seat amidst them. Of course I became the object of general gaze, and I doubt not, equal disgust; but not dreading the summary vengeance of JUDGE LYNCH on Sunday, I resolved to act as I did. Oh! what a foul enormity; it is almost, were it possible, worse than slavery itself; it inflicts its curse, after the excuse for it is removed; and is, in my conception, one of the most wicked and wanton inflictions of cruelty that can be exercised. Certainly, I admit, of all the crimes, as a system, which have stained the annals of time, none have been more outrageous and wicked than slavery, as it now exists in the United States. That the Egyptian, Roman, Grecian, and other nations of antiquity, celebrated for their skill in the arts, and their prominent position in the galaxy of science, maintained domestic slaves, is neither a palliation nor a case in point. Slavery among these people arose from different motives, and assumed a different aspect than it does at present; the people of these respective countries had a code of ethics, great and moral it must be allowed, but they did not profess the tenets of Him who said, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself," and in the parable of the wayfaring man among thieves, so beautifully illustrated, "who is my neighbour;" and the sole object of whose mission on earth was to inculcate love towards God, and justice and mercy to man. Here then is the great anomaly, a nation professing the truths of such a creed, and practically pursuing a course far more inhuman than that followed by pagans. In no heathen nation were the bondmen prohibited from worshipping the deities, nor were the avenues to knowledge shut against them. EUCLID, who was perhaps, the greatest mathematician the world has yet produced, or may ever produce, was an ethnic slave; and TERENCE also, whose dramatic works, yet extant, prove him to have had a well cultivated mind, and an acquaintance with the higher orders of society, to which an American slave could not possibly have access.

America has produced some great men; a CHANNING, whose eloquence has depicted with inimitable truth the unutterable horrors of slavery, and the damning guilt of southern pirates and banditti, in wresting Texas from the lawful dominion of Mexico. I hope they may multiply, and that some giant mind, horrified at the dreadful and growing ascendancy of mob influence, and mob violence; the abrogation of the right of petition with regard to slavery; the frequent commission of the most atrocious crimes with impunity; the general existence of odium against colour; and the determination to persist in the inhuman treatment of the red man, and the enslavement of the black;—I do, I say, trust some lofty patriot, some noble philanthropist may arise and remove the foul blot from their national escutcheon. Birds of a weak flight move always in a line, the eagle, wonderful and majestic in its soarings, shews in its very stoop the power of its wings.

I could have wished to direct your attention to the subject of naturalization, but as you have requested each delegate to be as brief as possible, I defer for the present; I cannot, however, but express my ardent hope, as well as confident conviction, that from this great meeting the spirit of freedom will go forth on the wings of the morning, and cause many an unhappy captive to stand erect upon his broken fetters. The spirit of liberty has carried its intrepid adventurous apostles to parts where even commercial adventure hardly dared to follow. The remotest marts of foreign traffic are now but resting places, where the dove, sent forth upon her errand of mercy and of hope, renews her strength, and replumes her wings, for a still bolder flight over the cheerless, dreary waste beyond. Wherever man groaning in bondage is found, away upon the wings of sympathy, away over mount and main, over sea and forest, fly the heralds of freedom, the almoners of the public bounty; and there, with all the Samaritan's kindness, with more than the Samaritan's fortitude, they bind up the broken-hearted, and give liberty to the captive. God grant the efforts of this mighty Convention may cause the death-knell of slavery to be rung throughout the globe.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—In addition to what Dr. ROLPH has said, I wish to add a few words, and if what I say has no other merit, it shall possess this, I will deal in facts, and I will be short. I have not thus far consumed much of the time of this body, nor do I intend to do so. We have as yet entered upon no subject of deeper interest than this, and I am anxious that this Convention should avail themselves of the materials which the Providence of God has thrown into our hands for the overthrow of our enemies. They have said that the emancipated negro could not provide for himself; that in intellect

and character he is inferior to other men. Let us bring our principles to the severest test, and see if we cannot clearly discern all the noblest intellectual and moral attributes of man in the negro race. The slave-holder may have done all in his power to deface the image of God from his victim's soul: for slavery not only aims to shut out the light of heaven from the soul, but to destroy even the capacity to see the light; and because after crushing his fellow into the earth, and breaking down his manhood, he does not see genius in his dim and lustreless eye, nor greatness in his degraded bearing, he dreams that his slave has ceased to be a man. And to test our principles, I will not ask them to wait several generations till the sun of liberty, science, and salvation has risen and set as long upon the African, as it has upon the Anglo-Saxon race, which has enslaved them. Nor will I point to those, from whose fetter-galled limbs the strong arm of British law has struck the chains; and who have been beckoned by British Christianity and benevolence from their degradation to an equality with herself. But I will point to 12,000 star-led fugitives now in Canada, who amid the death-shades of southern slavery, determined, in spite of degradation and of law, to be free; who, fired by a love of liberty, to obtain it gave up their wives and their children for ever; who were hunted for hundreds of miles through the wide domains of false freedom; but who, naked, hungry, and desolate, pressed their toilsome way onward in winter through deep morasses and broad rivers, and over snow-clad mountains, until the North Star, that lamp of liberty, which heaven has hung out to shed her everlasting light over the path of the hunted fugitive, brought them to British soil, which they cannot touch without being free: to a band of men who prepare to begin to live only when they have reached that period of life when other men begin to prepare to die; who commence existence there, under circumstances more inauspicious than emigrants from any other part of the world; with no other wealth than their own bodies and souls, and hearts that are broken with sorrow; and when they have a home, the magic of it is gone, for their wives and their children are still in southern bondage. Britons, what is it that constitutes the charm of your homes when you cluster around your fire-sides, if it be not your wives and your children? Why, when I once said to a fugitive, who was sitting by his own free fire-side, "you are a happy man, you are free;" he rose in the majesty of his manhood, and exclaimed, as a deep frown of indignation gathered on his brow, and the big tears rolled down, "even liberty is bitter to me while my wife and my children are in bondage." Now what can we expect from men who have been through all this? Let us be just, then, while I tell you what they are. For the sake of being brief and lucid, I will confine your thoughts to this single point:—the character and condition of these fugitives as freemen and slaves contrasted. This, I fancy, is just the point upon which the Convention requires information. Full and satisfactory evidence of their good behaviour and value as citizens has been given by the highest civil authorities, and by men of different sects and parties in Canada. The following letters were received in reply to inquiries, from gentlemen in Toronto, whose characters are too well known to need any description. The first is from the Hon. R. G. DUNLOR, member of the Provincial Parliament.

House of Assembly, Toronto.

DEAR SIR—Permit me to assure you, that I feel much pleasure in replying to your communication of yesterday, and in recording my

testimony, whether in my private capacity as a subject, or in my public, as a magistrate and representative of the people. It gives me infinite satisfaction to say, that after much observation and some experience, I have arrived at this conclusion, viz., that there are not in his MAJESTY'S dominions, a more loyal, honest, industrious, temperate, and independent class of citizens than the coloured people of Upper Canada. Go on, therefore, my dear Sir, in your work of charity, and let us pray fervently to the Most HIGH, that he will look down with compassion on the degraded children of Africa, and lead them, as he did his chosen people of old, from your modern Egypt of oppression.

I remain, dear Sir, &c., &c.,

R. G. DUNLOP,

Captain of R. N., M. P. for the County of Huron.

The next is from W. MACKENZIE, the celebrated agitator, and so forth, and it is important, as showing, what I believe to be the fact, that these 12,000 refugees stood materially in the way of the rebellion in Canada, and if it had not been for them, the government might have been overturned.

Toronto, January 30th, 1837.

SIR—In reply to your inquiries, I beg to offer as my opinion, with much diffidence. First, That nearly all of them are opposed to every species of reform in the civil institutions of the colony; they are so extravagantly loyal to the Executive, that to the utmost of their power they uphold all the abuses of government, and support those who profit by them. Secondly, as a people they are as well behaved as a majority of the whites, and perhaps more temperate. Thirdly, to your third question, I would say, "not more numerous." Fourthly, Cases in which coloured people ask public charity are rare, as far as I can recollect. I am opposed to slavery, whether of whites or blacks, in every form. I wish to live long enough to see the people of this continent, of the humblest classes, educated and free, and held in respect, according to their conduct and attainments, without reference to country, colour, or worldly substance. But I regret, that an unfounded fear of a union with the United States on the part of the coloured population, should have induced them to oppose reform and free institutions in this colony, whenever they have had the power to do so. The apology I make for them in this matter is, that they have not been educated as freemen.

I am, your respectful humble servant,

W. L. MACKENZIE.

The third is from JOHN II. DUNN, Esq.

SIR—In acknowledging the receipt of your letter of the 26th inst., containing certain inquiries relating to the people of colour in this city, I have much pleasure in affording my testimony for the information of the Society, of which you state yourself to be the agent; at the same time begging you will consider my observations strictly applicable to the people of colour within this city, and immediate neighbourhood, to which my knowledge extends. In reply to query, No. 1., I believe them to be truly loyal subjects of the Government. Secondly, As a people, I have no reason to question their honesty or industry, and as far as my observations serve me, they appear to be both temperate and well-behaved. Thirdly, I am not aware that criminal cases are more numerous with them than with others, in proportion to their numbers. But with respect to your fourth question, I wish to be more explicit, and to remark, that although I have been in the habit of daily contributing my assistance to a vast number of destitute poor, ever since my residence in this province, now seventeen years, I do not remember ever having been solicited for alms, by more than one or two people of colour, during the whole course of that period.

I am, your respectful humble servant,

JOHN II. DUNN.

Receiver-General, Upper Canada.

I may observe that in addition to this testimony, I have seen many officers in the British service from Canada, who told me that it was universally true that the coloured people, during the border disturbances, were, in every instance, loyal to the British throne; they held posts of responsibility and trust, which were denied to most others. In a correspondence which I held with HIRAM WILSON, who has for four years stood unaided and alone, the advocate, the teacher, the brother of these 12,000 fugitives, whose character as a man and a Christian is not only above suspicion, but above praise,—he says, “It is well known that no people in the country were more prompt and efficient in their efforts to suppress rebellion and repel invasion than they were in 1837-38. Their conduct as soldiers, has elicited from the civil and military authorities the highest praise. In times of peril and alarm, many of them were sentinelled along the frontiers in the most responsible places, and were invariably true to their trust. They manifested a willingness to moisten the soil of their asylum with their choicest blood, or mingle it with the waters that roll between them and the land of slavery, rather than see the American flag cross the line.” Since I have alluded to Brother WILSON, permit me to say a word more of him, and I love to mention his name before the *World's Convention*, for his heart is so large he has made the world his country, and his countrymen are all mankind. He had reached man's estate before the grace of God touched his heart. In the fervour and freshness of his first love to

the Saviour, he turned from the plough to Lane Seminary, with the noble design of fitting himself for the work of the ministry. He remained there for some years, and by manual labour administered to his necessities, and pressed on in his education; when that infamous act passed at Lane Seminary, which made free discussion a crime in her walls, his noble spirit was roused with indignation, and he shook off the dust of his feet upon it for ever, and went away to his father's house. He took with him a coloured student of Lane, whose free soul could not endure the yoke there imposed upon his mind, after shaking off the yoke from his body. After a long journey, at night he stopped with his coloured brother, at the humble cottage of his father to rest. But he had no sooner crossed the threshold, than his brother took down a rifle, and deliberately charging it, levelled it at the heart which was beating with Christian love in his brother's bosom, and said, "Now, HIRAM, you may have your choice; either leave the house with your nigger, or die." Expelled from the sweet charities of home, he led on his black brother by night, shedding tears as they journeyed. I will now read to you the words of a coloured man taken from his own lips, in illustration of the nature and extent of prejudice against the coloured people in America. I have ascertained his whole history, and you may rely upon the statements being correct. "I believe that one of the wickedest and most awful things in creation, and the root, and bottom, and heart of all the evil, is, the prejudice against colour. There is most, or quite as much of this at the north, as there is at the south, for I can speak from experience. There is that disgrace upon us, that many people think it is a disgrace to them to have us come into a room where they be, for fear that they will be blacked, or disgraced, by us poor offscouring of earth. But, worse than this, this same disgrace is cast on our colour in the sanctuary of the living God. In almost all the meeting houses, you see the 'nigger pew;' and when they come to administer the Lord's Supper, they send us off into some dark pew in one corner, by ourselves, as though they thought, we would disgrace them, or something. Why, it was only at the last sacrament in our church this took place. All communicants were asked to come and partake together, and I came down from the gallery, and as I came into the door to go and sit down among them, one of the elders stretched out his arm, with an air of disdain, and beckoned me away to a corner pew, where there was no soul within two or three pews of me, as though he had power to save or cast off. Now think what a struggle I had, when I sat down, to get my mind into a proper state for the solemn business I was going to do. First, I thought it was hard for me to be so cast off by my brethren in the church, and a feeling rose, and I fought against it; and, finally, I thought I could submit to my fate, and I believed God could see me, and hear me cry, and accept my love, as well there as though I sat in the midst of them. And it is the strangest thing in the world too, that Christian people can act so. There must be some of the love of Christianity wanting in their hearts, or they could not treat a brother in Christ in that way. As I sat there, I thought can there be any such place as a dark hole, or black pew, or behind the door, or under the fence in heaven? If there is such a spirit or policy there, I don't feel a very anxious desire to go there. But the Bible says, 'God is no respecter of persons.' And what is worse than all, this spirit is carried to the grave yard; and for fear that the dead body of a black man shall black up or disgrace the body of a white, they go and dig holes round under the fences, and often in a wet corner, or under

the barn, and put all of our colour in them ; for every one may be an eye-witness, if he will go to our grave-yard and others ; for I have lived now going on for fourteen years in one place, and any coloured person who has been buried at all there, has been buried all along under the fences, and close up to the old barn that stands there. I know God will receive the souls of such, just as well as though they were buried in the middle of the yard ; but I say this, to let the reader know what a cruel and unholy thing prejudice against colour is, and what it will do to us poor black people. Now I know that all this is the reason why the people of our colour don't rise any faster. The scorn, the disgrace that every body flings on them, keeps them down, and they are sinking, and such treatment is enough to sink the rocky mountains. Now, I know from experience, the better you treat a black man, the better he will behave, for his own pride will keep his ambition up, and he will try to rise ; why, if you should treat white folks so, they would grow bad just as fast. Why, who don't know that a body will try to get the good will of those who treat them well, so as to make them respect them still more ? And it is just like climbing a ladder ; you can get up a round any day, but if you keep knocking a man on the head with the club of prejudice, how in the name of common sense can he climb up ? Now this is most as bad as slavery ; for slavery keeps the foot on the black man's neck all the time, and don't let them rise at all ; and prejudice keeps knocking him down as fast as he gets up ; and we ought not to go to the south till we can get the people of the north to treat our colour like men and women. A good many people oppose abolitionists, and say, 'Why what will you do with the negroes when they are free ? They will become drunken sots and vagabonds like our negroes at the north, why don't they rise ?' I can answer that question in a hurry ! The reason is, because they don't give us the same chance with white folks ; they won't take us into their schools, and colleges, and seminaries, and we are not allowed to go into good society to improve us ; and, if we set up business they won't patronise us ; they want us to be barbers, and cooks, and white-washers, and shoe-blacks, and ostlers, and such kind of mean low business. We are not suffered to attend any pleasant places, or enjoy the advantages of debating schools, and libraries, and societies, &c., and all these things are just what improves the whites so fast. And if we, by hook or by crook, get into any such place, why some fellow will step on our toes, and give us a shove, and say, stand back, nigger, you can see just as well a little further off. Now all these things are what keep us so much in the back ground, for if we have a chance, we get up in the world as fast as any body. For there are smart and respectable coloured folks, and if you search out their history you will find that they once had a good chance to get learning ; and they jumped after it. I think one of the greatest things the abolition folks should be after, is, to help the free people of colour to get up in the world, and grow respectable and educated ; and then we will prove false what our enemies say, that we are better off in chains than we be in freedom." About this time, Oberlin, that home of hunted freedom, swung open her doors to all sects and colours, and this noble brother entered this city of refuge and school of the prophets. Now, if I have not wearied your patience, I will go on and read what a young man, who had fled from slavery says. He has been several years in Canada. I know him well, and for the last six months I was in America, he sat under my preaching, in the church where the first Anti-slavery Convention was held in New York, in 1835, when a mob of gentlemen

of property and standing broke into our temple, and tore down the altar of God. CAPTAIN STUART, who sits over yonder, I think was there, and was well plied with these same gentlemen's hard, but not convincing, arguments—I mean brickbats; and also JAMES FULLER, both of whom from that day to this, have proved that rotten eggs and brickbats cannot overthrow principle. A young man rushed up to the altar, and presenting a weapon to a venerable father's heart, who held the constitution of the New York State Anti-slavery Society in his hand, and told him, that if he did not give it up to the mob, he should shed his blood. "You may shed my blood," said the old man, "but you shall not have this constitution till it has been adopted." And then the old man held the roll up before the congregation, and made his voice heard above the infernal yells of the infuriated mob, "If you will adopt this constitution, say, aye!" And then came back the shout of freedom, and it rung through the arches like peals of thunder through the vault of heaven; and there stood the old man, on whose head the frosts of eighty winters had gathered, armed only with the faith of Jesus. "Glory to God," he exclaimed, when the shout of freedom came back, "now you may have the constitution." Then it was that GERRIT SMITH, the great apostle of American abolition, who had never joined us, because he did not like our *measures*, and had only come as a spectator, was won to our ranks. He liked our measures so much better than the measures of our enemies, that he thought he might as well advocate them. "Is it true," said he, "that freemen cannot open their voice in God's house? Then they shall in my own—to Peterborough! to *Peterborough!*" We left the temple of God, and *en masse* went thirty miles to his house, and there in his large dwelling we found refuge. He gave us his heart and his hand, and thousands with them. Ah, Sir, we have found in America, that men can be mobbed into principle, but they cannot be mobbed out of it; for that abolition which is cradled in the storm, is the only kind that has ever been worth having. Like the oak on our native mountains, it must battle with the tempests of heaven, if it would strike its roots too deep to be up-torn. Let me point to my noble friend in the gallery, WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, whom I delight to honour. But I have wandered so far from my subject, that I had forgotten what I was talking about. Ah, these mobs are glorious things, Sir. Oh, I was talking about my coloured brother. But here I want to tell you a story about Auburn Theological Seminary, if you will let me. I was at that time a member of that Institution; and when the call was issued for that Convention, the forty abolitionists out of the seventy-five members of that Institution, sent a committee to the Faculty, respectfully praying that we might send our delegates down. The Faculty, composed of learned Divines, were divided. Dr. PERRINE—peace to his ashes—for soon after I stood by his death-bed, and while "in the chamber where the good man met his fate, privileged above the common walk of virtuous life, quite on the verge of heaven," while eternity was pouring its full tide of illustration over all the acts of time, I heard him give his testimony in favour of abolition. Dr. PERRINE stood firm, and told us to go; Dr. S. H. Cox, now of Brooklyn, New York, a man that I love, and who, as my professor and father, did me good, who was converted to what abolition he ever had, and he never had any to spare, by coming to England, Dr. Cox, I am sorry to say, did not display that firmness and majesty of principle we hoped for; and the other gentlemen's names had better not be mentioned. We sent our committee again, resolving that we would send our delegation, whether the Faculty consented or not;

and some of us told the committee to inform them that we should be compelled to find another Hall of Theology, if we could not enjoy our principles in that. They said, "Gentlemen, you can take your own course;" and accompanied the answer with some very significant hints, about our rucing the consequences. Some of our professed friends quailed under the frown. But they dared not say, their souls were their own, without first asking the Faculty; and they shook their heads, and said, "I don't know, brethren, how this will do." And we have as many such abolitionists in America as can stand between this and Tottenham. But we sent our delegation; and after this, these good brethren did not shake their heads any more, until we wanted to send them again, and then they shook as bad as ever. But from that day, abolition has triumphed in those Halls. But I have forgotten my good friend, and I almost fear to ask your patience longer. Well, I was saying, that my coloured brother sat in the minister's pew, which comes as near to being a negro pew, as any in our church, for I would give a run-away slave the highest post of honour in God's house, coming up all hacked and scared from the plains of southern slavery. This good brother, who is now studying under BERAH GREEN, one of freedom's champions, put into my hand, at my request, a short account of his escape from slavery. Shall I read it? He says, "I was born near Nashville, in Tennessee, on the 20th of April, 1813, and by the laws of my native state I was free-born, for my mother was legally free. My father was a white planter of wealth and respectability," for both mean one in the south, "and my mother was the daughter of native Africans; she was a servant in my father's family where I was born, and lived until my twenty-second year, when I was compelled to fly from my home, to protect what remaining freedom the spirit and institutions of my native state had left me." Planters, you know, make nothing of selling their own children. "From childhood," he continues, "I was treated like a slave, and taught to believe that the race to which I belonged was doomed to hopeless and perpetual bondage. Never having seen the nominally free-coloured people around me possessed of the rights which I have since learned belonged to all men, I thought that I must yield to my destiny. The light of science never dawned upon my mind. I could not read, or spell, or write my own name, until I was six feet tall; and although every ray of light was shut out from my mind, and the thick darkness of ignorance covered me, yet I sometimes felt irrepressible aspirations for freedom, which slavery can never wholly destroy in the human bosom. At times I reasoned, feebly, it is true, but on correct principles, about my condition and prospects, and always with pain, for I clearly saw that I never could inherit my liberty in the place where I lived, and that I must turn my back on those I loved best, if I gained the boon of freedom; and it was long before I could decide to cut the ties that bound me to my kindred. For, although I was not conscious of feeling like a child towards my natural father, yet my mother I loved tenderly, and the thought of parting with her who bore me, was painful. But at last the power of circumstances urged me up to a decision. A Georgia trader was in the neighbourhood buying up slaves, and I was bargained for. I saw now most clearly, that God had thrown my protection and defence upon my own arm, and that I never should be free without an effort; and, as we love nothing on earth so dear as personal freedom, I determined to make one bold stroke for liberty, and blow the faint light of hope into a flame, or quench its beams for ever. At length, after many struggles with myself, Christmas

came,—the day I had fixed upon for my escape, and then the struggle came on, parting with my mother. At midnight I went to her cabin, and found her ready for the separation! We were alone, and we spent nearly an hour, I should think, together, and you will not think it was strange that we both wept.” Now see the majesty and generosity of woman. “She thought it best for me to go, for I was to be sold to a trader, and, as we must part, she said she had rather see my steps turned towards the North Star when we parted; for, if I remained, certain and dreary bondage awaited me, and in this effort I could but fail.” The same words JOHN ADAMS used, when urging his countrymen to declare themselves independent of Great Britain. “She knew that I had a long dreary pilgrimage before me, and that my path would be beset with dangers; and she entreated me not to grow faint-hearted by the way, but press on and die, if die I must, the death of a free man. Said she, ‘JARMIN, don’t you come back alive.’” “‘Your life,’ said she, ‘is worth the effort; I am too old to make it.’ She put a few dollars into my hand—the fruit of many days saving and toil; and then she prayed for God’s blessing on her boy. She folded me to her bosom for the last time, and kissed me, and I stole out of the cabin, and I have not seen her to this day. This was Christmas night, 1834. I had one companion in my journey, a noble young man, who had resolved to fly with me to the land of freedom. I will not trouble you with the incidents of our journey, it was a long and painful one. For two months, the most severe in winter, we travelled on by night, through deep snows, across mountains and rivers, sleeping in old barns and deserted buildings sometimes, and, at others, on the snow, suffering much with hunger and the cold. But this we endured cheerfully, for by it we were gaining our freedom, without which all else ceased to be valuable. Whether we were pursued or not, I cannot tell, but we passed on as rapidly as possible; and, at the end of two months, we reached the border of the British Empire, where we first dared to reveal ourselves, and here, blessed be God, we were sure of protection. I will pass over my history till the year 1836, when the Rev. HIRAM WILSON came into Canada. I first heard of him as a kidnapper. He landed at Niagara, and we took him up as a spy. We had been so often deceived by the kidnappers, that we had just occasion for alarm, when a white man from the states appeared among us with friendly professions. A thorough examination took place, his papers were read, and we became perfectly satisfied that he was an angel of mercy. We formed a large procession to escort him up to St. Catherine’s, twelve miles, to do away with the suspicion which existed there of the same kind. And thus he moved on from settlement to settlement, in a sort of triumphal procession. Wherever he went, he preached the gospel of the grace of God, and was greeted with enthusiasm and joy by the coloured people. Wherever he went he lived among the coloured people in our same humble style. He ate, drank, slept, prayed, and preached in our log cabins. After walking some hundreds of miles over the province, he began to establish schools, and labour for the people. He is about thirty-five years of age, of hardy and robust frame, and great energy, and resolution of character. He is a self-made man, and is as well qualified to instruct the people in all the departments of mechanical and agricultural life, as to enlighten their minds or improve their hearts. But the piety and goodness of his heart is the most extraordinary thing in his character. He seems to know nothing among the people at home, abroad, in the pulpit, or out of it, but Jesus Christ, and him crucified. He always displays the

spirit of his Master ; and his influence over the coloured population is almost unbounded. The sacrifices he has made for us have been very great. He has several times been on foot all over the province to preach, and take care of the people, keep up the schools, and relieve their necessities. I have known of his walking through the snow many days, thirty or forty miles in the coldest weather ; and he often carries with him his provisions and food, to save his money for the poor. And I have known of his travelling hundreds of miles without spending more than a few shillings. His house is open to fugitives, who are directed to him from all parts of the country, and it is always full. They come into his house destitute of clothing or money, dejected and heart-broken by slavery ; they go out clothed and comforted. He finds them employment ; and soon after their arrival, they are established in some honest employment. He is particularly friendly to the British Government, and he teaches all the coloured people to cherish the same feelings, and well they may. He calls Canada the Holy Land of America ; where fugitives from a worse than Egyptian bondage, find security and repose. His teachers are much like himself ; they endure labour and toil like himself, for no other reward than a bare, self-denying subsistence. They board with the coloured people, and are subjected to great privations. I visited two female teachers in the country who lived in a log cabin, only a few feet square ; and into it were crowded all their means and comforts of existence. They subsist chiefly upon the provisions that are sent in by the coloured people, and they had seen no meat for several months. But in connexion with the little help they get from Mr. WILSON, and the white and coloured neighbours, they do make out to live ; and they told me, even with tears, that they have no cause for complaint, and will not complain, so long as their condition is tolerable. The character of the people has rapidly improved in every respect ; in morality and religion, the improvement has been very great. Many have engaged in mechanical and agricultural pursuits. I do not know of a class of people that have such a thirst for knowledge, or make such rapid improvement in acquiring it, or so many sacrifices to obtain it. This mission is, I think, the best and noblest in the world, and there, I hope, we shall see trained up a noble and a holy band of brothers, who shall go forth to carry civilization and the Bible, to the soon-to-be-liberated millions of America, and their brethren on the African continent. Now, if you will bear with me a moment longer, I will close. After long years of hard and cruel bondage have passed away, slavery becomes so intolerable, that its poor victim begins to meditate his escape. There are bosoms in which the fires of liberty never grow dim, and they burn on, even amidst the death-shades of slavery. He thinks of leaving his wife and children, and the thought is painful, and he determines to endure its horrors a little longer ; perhaps his condition may become more tolerable, and he does enjoy some happiness in his family even now, for God has made the world so beautiful, that slavery with all its barbarity, cannot make everything in it desolate ; and after the toils of the day are over, he goes to his little cabin, and here he can hold his children on his knee, and hear the subdued voice of his wife, although he cannot see her countenance, for his master will not allow him to have a light in his cabin ; and when he lies down on his straw, he can fold those he loves best to his desolate bosom, and, in spite of slavery, he is almost happy. There are some lineaments of divinity in the human soul which slavery cannot wholly efface ; it blots out nearly all that is dear to man ; but it cannot wholly quench the light that heaven pours into the human bosom. But abuse

and insult rouse up his spirit, and again he meditates his escape ; but then he remembers, that all his fellows who have escaped have been tracked by blood-hounds, and brought back to a more cruel bondage, and he falters. A new injury arouses him : he will fly, but then he thinks of the long and toilsome journey, and the awful probability, that he will be taken by the pursuer, and malignity will forge for him new chains ; and again he hesitates. Injury increases, and now the day of toleration is over, the lion is aroused, he has shaken himself and will sleep no more. Now his humanity, which has slept in deep silence under the oppression of tyranny, breaks forth and asserts her everlasting rights. The tie which binds him to his wife and children is strong ; but—and it may be heresy in philosophy, but it is true in fact,—there is a tie which is stronger still, it is that which binds his heart to freedom. Ah ! you may add insult to injury, and wrong to oppression, but you cannot quench the love of liberty in the human soul ; and the poor captive, unable to lull to rest the heart that is panting to be free, is goaded on to a decision. Night comes, and he goes to the straw where his babes are reposing in the deep quiet slumber of infancy, and bends over them to take the parting kiss. He then takes into his hand a little supply of food which his wife had been long saving from her own scanty allowance for her husband, for oh ! what will not woman do for those she loves ; and then, he strains her to his bosom ; he turns to take one final look at his babes, and he hesitates, but only for a moment ; he embraces his wife for the last time, and leaves her for ever. He crosses the threshold of his cabin, gathers his robe around him, and plunges off into the forest ; fear gives him wings, and before dawn he has left many a weary mile behind him. When the first grey lines of morning fret the East, he crawls into a hollow tree, but saves his food till he wants it more, and he lies down to sleep, but he can only close his eyes, he cannot sleep, for every falling leaf makes his heart beat quick ; at length, as the sun goes down, he begins his nocturnal pilgrimage again ; but in crossing the mountain he hears behind him—

“ The deep-mouthed blood-hounds, heavy bay
Resounding up the rocky way ;”

and he is—no ! he shan't be taken. The pursuers, thinking they are on the wrong tack, call off their dogs. He flies on, over snow-clad mountains and across deep rivers, through that vast territory which he must cross before he reaches the British empire. He dares not reveal himself until he sees a man with a broad-brimmed hat ; and ah ! a broad-brimmed hat is the shield of freedom, he knows it will protect him. The man of God takes him into his dwelling, feeds, clothes, and comforts him, and sends him on to an abolitionist ; for we have chains of posts all through the free states. He stops a day or two at Oberlin, that friendly light-house which guards the entrance to the harbour of British freedom. At Oberlin he learns what it is to be treated like a man. But he wants to reach British soil ; he crosses lake Erie, and the moment he steps on this ground, he is adopted by your government, and receives a royal charter of liberty from your beloved QUEEN. Ah ! Sir, I wish she could be our QUEEN too, long enough to make our subjects free.

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE.—I beg to move the following resolutions, in connexion with this subject.

1. That the practice of excluding people of colour from places of worship, or of allotting to them separate seats therein, tends to perpe-

tuates the unchristian and unfounded prejudices against the COLOURED PEOPLE.

2. That any distinction in the treatment of them, whether in schools, colleges, houses of public worship, or in any other respect, on account of colour, is opposed to the benign spirit of Christianity.

3. That abolitionists and all who assume the name of friends of the coloured race, act inconsistently with their profession, unless they use all their influence to put an end to such unchristian practices.

4. That this Convention most earnestly entreats all Christian professors, all true abolitionists, immediately to give up all those unrighteous distinctions, which have their origin in the prejudice against colour; and that in their social intercourse as citizens and as Christians, they treat the coloured man as an equal and a brother.

I am sure that I need say very little on this subject. You have heard enough this day to do away all prejudice upon the subject of colour, if any such prejudice existed in your minds. I am sure, if you exert yourselves, you will be able to obtain for the black and coloured man, all the privileges which the white man enjoys, and to which he is equally entitled. I do wish that it was urged upon every religious body, to do away with the odious distinctions which have so long prevailed respecting persons of colour. This stigma rests, as I believe, upon all the denominations, except the Roman Catholics and the Free Baptists: I fear that the Society of Friends is not exempt; I wish them seriously to consider this. Were I a minister, I never would enter a pulpit in a chapel or church where the separate pew is allowed. You have not true abolition where these practices are tolerated. Let every abolitionist, going from this country, no matter what is the denomination to which he belongs, determine to sit and to associate with people of colour; no matter what speeches are made to them, no matter what representations they are called to listen to; let them determine to regard the coloured man as placed upon the same footing with themselves. The black man is a friend and a brother; he has the same duties to perform; he has to stand on the same footing at the last day before the righteous Judge; and I would ask those who indulge in these prejudices, to which we have referred, whether they can justify the separation upon which they now insist, upon any pretence which will stand the test of that solemn day.

WILLIAM SMEAL, Esq. (of Glasgow), seconded the resolution.

Rev. Dr. MORRISON.—I shall, I think but speak the general feeling of this meeting, if I express my grateful thanks to Dr. ROBIN, for the very lucid and powerful address, with which he has presented this Convention. I am sure also that there can be but one feeling, as to the deeply affecting speech by the Rev. Mr. LESTER, in which were contained some of the finest sentiments, and some of the most eloquent expressions to which it has ever fallen to my lot to listen, in defence of anti-slavery principles. I rejoice to think, that it is in a form so suitable to be presented to the British and American public. I confess, Sir, I feel a peculiar interest in the present

Convention in its relation to America. Most sorry am I, that that country, with all her intellectual, moral, and Christian resources, should have exposed herself to such animadversions as have been levelled at her during the course of our proceedings, and which, it is probable, she may yet be further subjected to, before this Convention shall break up. I firmly believe, that America is the main pillar which now upholds slavery throughout the world; and, I believe also that the main pillar of slavery in that country, both as regards the slave-holding principle, and the detestable prejudice against persons of colour, is the supineness, the guilty supineness, and the truckling, time-serving conduct of her Christian ministers, who do not boldly lift up their voices against those great and crying abominations. I am bold to say, that I have not met half a dozen ministers of the gospel from America of any denomination, who could bear to be catechized before an Anti-slavery Convention. I was once arguing with one of these ministers, a man of great respectability, about the prejudices of the Americans in reference to persons of colour, the aristocracy of skin, as it has been happily termed; and what was his answer? Instead of replying to me, he turned round to my wife, and said, "Madam, how would you like to have your daughter married to a black man." Why, Sir, we were not then arguing about whether we should prefer such and such persons to be our most intimate companions for life; but whether they should be allowed to mingle in the same society; whether they should sit together in the same Christian congregation; whether they should associate round the table of the same common Lord. But this was the common-place, flippant, and I must say, vulgar way, in which a man of eminent talent, answered so important a question. I met with another minister from America, an Episcopalian, I asked him, if he was sound upon the subject of slavery? He scouted the very idea of having any leaning to such an abomination. But when I pressed him a little further, and teased him with my anti-slavery catechism, I found him unsound to the heart's core. I pleaded with him as a Christian minister, against keeping a whole race of people in a state of depression, because of the colour of their skin. "Pray, Sir," said he, somewhat angrily, "have you ever *smelt* them?" I replied, that certainly I had not; but that if ever a time should arrive, when a struggle should ensue between my nose and my conscience, I hoped to give my decision on the side of conscience. For my own part, Sir, I am not disposed to hold fellowship with professed ministers of the Holy Redeemer, whom I do not believe to be honest and upright on the subject of slavery. I have met with some Americans who have avowed themselves very sound upon these points, but who have, by some circumstance or other, speedily betrayed their insincerity. I remember one very distinguished man who got up at a meeting which I attended, and delivered a most eloquent speech against slavery. I knew, however, that he acted a cautious part in his own country; and when he sat down, I asked him, "Pray, Sir, have you ever preached a sermon against slavery in your own congregation?" He was taken by surprise. "O," said he, "that in our country is a very delicate subject; and I cannot say that I have done so." All his former eloquence against slavery, of course, went for nothing. I honour the man who is faithful to the truth, who acts up to his full convictions: but if ever the system of slavery is to be broken down and demolished in America, if all the evils which arise out of that accursed system are to be annihilated, I believe it must have the general and united influence of the Christian pulpit exerted against it. And I do not exclude

your sort of pulpit influence, Mr. CHAIRMAN, for I believe that the more silent but persuasive addresses of the Society of Friends, will have great weight in this struggle. But if ministers will stand aloof from the struggle, or if they remain half-hearted, if they make no effort, no sacrifice to liberate their brethren in bondage, the cause will not gain that ascendancy which its importance demands. I believe solemnly, that there is a crisis fast approaching, when this time-serving conduct will cause many to sink in public esteem, and will expose them to the just scorn and derision of mankind. Evangelical ministers in America are acting a part very different from that which was acted by the same class in this country, in the great anti-slavery contest. What should we have done if our hearts had failed, if ministers had not come forward, and boldly denounced a system so offensive to God, so ruinous to man? We should have failed to achieve that victory, over which we now rejoice, and should have exposed ourselves to the displeasure of the Almighty. Our great politicians moved, it is true; but they were impelled by the stern and resolute voice of the religious community, demanding freedom for the slave, and by the ministers of religion, who ceased not to denounce the crying sin against God. It was thus, by the blessing of the God of mercy that our victory was achieved; and it is thus, that the moral sentiment must be engendered in America, which is to deliver her from the shame and iniquity of slavery. I could not withhold the expression of these sentiments. I hope I shall not be considered harsh or unkind by those men whom I have received to my home and my heart, because I have thus expressed myself. I could not say less than I have said. It is my conviction that they ought not to trim, or to withhold the truth, merely because they have some slave-holders in their congregations. I believe slave-holding to be a heavy crime; and though, doubtless, there is a great diversity in the mode of carrying on the system, in its best and mildest form, it is tainted with deep criminality. These are my sentiments; and if my American brethren are offended by their free expression, I cannot help it. I am sorry to hear, from Mr. LESTER, that Dr. Cox is not so sound a convert as I had been led to think him. It was my honour, as I had hoped, and still hope, to have succeeded in convincing him of the sin of slavery against God. He confessed that I had disturbed his conscience; and when he returned to America, he endured great odium and persecution for the cause. The mob attempted to pull down his chapel; and I hold in my possession the plate of his door, which the mob battered and hacked to pieces in their fury against anti-slavery principles. We have mobs in England, but not such mobs as those in America. The Americans boast of their constitution: but I like my own much better. I conclude by repeating, that the men of God in America, must come forward in this cause; if they do not make sacrifices to put an end to this unrighteous system, they will be found guilty of all its evils. I do not pretend to prophesy; but if they will keep back the truth; if they will pander to the system which puts pelf into their coffers; if they will by any means uphold a system of cruelty and injustice in this age of increasing light; I tell America plainly, that she will not be judged as will be the nations who have not been favoured with equal light. I believe that there was a time in this country when the crime of slave-holding was comparatively small, because we had not received full light upon the subject. But I believe that a thunder-storm was gathering over our heads, and that if we had not shaken the incubus from us as we did, that storm would have burst upon our devoted heads. And I tell

America, with all her boast of freedom, with all her republican pride, that if she does not quickly bestir herself, she will find slavery to be a mill-stone hung about her neck, which will cause her to sink beneath the wave of pending national judgment. Far, far better would it be for the North to give up her relation with the South, by which relation a system is upheld, which is most nefarious in the eyes of God and of good men; than to retain her connexion, and with it, her slave-holding spirit and institutions. We recommend no resort to physical force; but let us diligently work the system of moral means, and do all we can to look slavery out of countenance.

The CHAIRMAN, in reference to what has been said by Mr. LESTER about Dr. Cox, I would remind the Convention that there are two Dr. Cox's. The last speaker referred to Dr. Cox of America. The Convention would not forget the noble instance of candour which had, that day, been displayed by Dr. Cox of Hackney.

Rev. J. KEEP.—I wish to say a few words with a view of adding to the conviction already felt of the importance of this subject. This particular point of the distinction which prevails in America as to colour, is one which ought to be brought fully before the British public. (The Rev. Gentleman read a brief document, illustrative of this point). The feeling which appears to prevail on this subject is strong and correct, and I anticipate from it the happiest results. Beyond question, if the principles which are laid down here be carried out, we shall conquer. But I wish to utter a word of caution. I have benefited greatly by this intercourse with British Christians. But in offering my hand to an Englishman, he drew it back. The other day, I asked a person, Will you tell me the best way to Brunswick Square? "Certainly," said he, and then he gave me suitable directions. Thank you, said I, for you have obliged a foreigner. "A foreigner! why from what part do you come?" From America. "From what part of America?" From Canada. "From Canada! why then you are a brother!" That was a stranger. But why should another refuse me his hand? He said, "I will not give my hand to a man who associates with a negro!" But I found upon inquiry, that he had dwelt in America for some time, and that, at once accounted for his conduct. He had received the taint of the country's infection. My caution, therefore, to any of our British friends who may visit America is, be careful that by association you do not get this taint.

Colonel MILLER.—We have a sort of Obi in our country which has bitten many. Some place the black people apart from the white, but there are others who will not have them in their churches at all. They come to you, and you ask them, "Do you hate slavery?" "Oh yes! I hate slavery." "Do you believe that God made of one flesh all people that dwell upon the earth?" "Yes, I believe so; the apostle said so, and I suppose —." "Do you believe that God made all men equal?" "Why, Sir, would you like your daughter to marry a nigger?" That is the way they meet your questions. But if I may express my opinion, after what I have heard, if I must marry my daughter to one or the other of them, let me have the honest humble black, in preference to such whites. In the state in which I live, one of the judges was once travelling in the night. A lady was in the carriage. The night was cold. "Madam," said he, "I hope you do not feel the cold!" And again, "Madam, I hope you do not suffer from the inclemency of the season." He paid her other compliments also. When they came to the inn, the waiter brought in a light, when he found that it was a black lady to whom he had

been so remarkably polite. He was filled with confusion, and ran out of the room with the waiter. People are shocked at the idea of regarding the coloured people as their equals. "What! they cry, are we to live with the niggers?" "What, all mixed up together, as if we were all the same sort of flesh and blood?" I call upon the abolitionists to do their duty boldly: to give no quarter to such persons. Under God, we will throw the abominable system overboard. We have got the truth; and with prudence and moral courage, we shall succeed to tumble it into the abyss from whence it sprung.

Mr. FULLER.—I wish to make a few remarks, because my name has been mentioned in the paper which CHARLES LESTER has read. I am glad to find that there is a strong feeling upon this subject, of the distinction of colour which prevails in my country. With respect to education, I believe it is wrong to establish schools for coloured children alone, and apart from white children; but let us find them education at any rate. We cannot do all that is necessary of ourselves, but we hope that you in this country will help us. I am not surprised at the questions which have been put to some present; the same sort of question has been put to me; I have been asked, if I should like to have a black man to marry my daughter.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I am thankful that this discussion has taken place in reference to the prejudices which prevail in the United States, as to persons of colour. I believe that a great mistake has been fallen into. I believe that the majority of our friends who visit America from this country, do not take their decided stand at the very moment they land upon those shores. The advices and exhortations given in this Convention, have hitherto been reciprocal. The friends from the United States have not failed to point out what they conceived to be our faults; and what they think we ought to shun on the one hand, and to do on the other, in order that we may advance the great cause which we both have at heart. I think that much depends upon the conduct of those who visit the United States, in the particular denominations with which they associate. They often fall into bad hands on their first arrival; they listen to the statements which are made; they are deceived by the hospitality, and the blandishments of the friends to whom they are introduced; they listen till they begin to believe the truth of the representations which are made; and though they were pure when they left these shores, they become at length, as impure as those with whom they have mingled. I have found in the United States, persons who thought precisely as I did when they were in this country, and who thought rightly and justly, and who continued so to think as they crossed the Atlantic; and who thought right when they first set their feet upon the opposite shore; but who, after a very little time began to think differently, and to act differently too. Now, it would be well if such persons were put upon their guard before they left these shores: let them be told what they are likely to encounter, and the course which it will be best for them to pursue. There are persons in the United States who lie in wait for new comers; who make arrangements for them; who settle where they should go; to what houses they shall be taken; to what friends they shall be introduced; what meetings they shall attend, and so on; and thus impressions are made which are not easily shaken off. I mention this the more freely, because I know that many persons have gone from this country to America, who have acted under the influence of such mistaken impressions. To show the extent to which the prejudice against persons of colour operates, I will state one or two facts. I

had occasion to go from the City of New York by means of a steam vessel. I was on the deck of the vessel when a four-wheeled carriage came up, from which two very well dressed persons got out. They were persons of colour, though not very dark. They occupied a place about midship, and I took occasion to watch the conduct of the passengers and crew towards them. The bell rang for supper, and I went down into the cabin. Sometime afterwards I returned to the deck. A thick mist almost equal to rain had fallen. I discovered this couple leaning upon a large heap of luggage, and perceived that they were excluded from the company. I went down into the cabin, and fetched up a friend, Dr. GRAHAM, with whom I had before conversed upon the subject, and who had denied that such prejudices existed. Come, Doctor, said I, and judge for yourself. He came up on the deck. The gentleman and lady had removed from the place where I had left them, and were standing at the door of the kitchen, a situation which the cooking and other things which were going on rendered very offensive. The gentleman was earnestly entreating the coloured cooks to let his lady go in and sit down there during the night. The Doctor said, why do you not go and put your wife into a berth ? The gentleman replied, I would willingly give twenty times the value for a berth, but I am not allowed. I saw that delicate female, who was in circumstances that required sympathy and attention, sit down upon a butter tub which was turned up for her, and there she remained during the night. There was another case, in which a gentleman took a coloured man down into the cabin with him. The Captain instantly said, "Take that coloured man away !" "What," said the gentleman, "will you not allow him to stay with me ?" "No ! nor you either, if you take his part." "Then I do take his part," said the gentleman. The Captain then took the white gentleman by the throat, and considerably maltreated him. He then put him on shore, and left him midway. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that our friends should take, what I would call, a tee-total course in reference to this matter. Let them form their determination and adhere faithfully to it. I know that they will be disliked for it in presbyteries, and in triennial synods, and in learned and theological assemblies ; I know that they will not receive that cordial hospitality which a more pliant course would secure ; but I know also that they will bring back with them an unsullied reputation. Hitherto our countrymen have but too frequently disgraced their profession : not one in a hundred has proved faithful to the principles they avowed in this country. I hope that all who henceforth visit the United States, will prove that they are abolitionists indeed ; that they will at once explain the course they mean to pursue ; that they will preach in no pulpit in a church in which a Liberia is prepared for coloured men ; that they will go to no place in which a coloured man is not respected. They will thus carry out the principles of true freedom wherever they go ; they will make abolitionists in abundance ; they will succeed to liberate the negro ; and they will hasten the full triumph of those principles which we now so zealously advocate.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I have found myself the only person standing on the floor of the legislature, who was willing to lift up his voice against the horrid prejudice in reference to persons of colour. I was once travelling in a carriage, into which twelve or thirteen persons, most of them my friends, were crowded. Accompanying us was another carriage, in which there were only two persons ; but they were coloured persons. For the purpose, as well of bearing testimony against this prejudice, as of getting a more com-

fortable seat, I got into the carriage with the two coloured men. At this, my friends felt themselves so much scandalized, that one of them said, it had sunk me fifty per cent. in his estimation; and others doubted, if they could ever give me any more of their votes. However, I did not, as it happened, fail of getting votes enough to re-elect me to the legislature; and one of my first acts was, the introduction of a Bill for the repeal of the law of Massachusetts, which forbids the intermarriage of persons belonging to different races, and which in effect, stigmatizes the subjects of all such unions, as living in a state of concubinage, and their offspring as illegitimate, besides robbing them of their property. At first, the proposition was scouted, as an attempt to encourage the amalgamation of whites and blacks. But it came near becoming a law. It was passed by the upper branch of the legislature, and was lost in the lower, by only a small majority. There can be little doubt, that when it is again brought forward, it will be carried. It is remarkable, that the strongest prejudice against colour exists in the free states, and against free-coloured persons. There is never any objection expressed to mixing with coloured people while they are slaves; as such, our daintiest ladies and gentlemen do not hesitate to ride in the same carriage with them, to have them about their persons, to nurse their children, and all that. And as to their being any odour about them, why, for aught that appears, they are as agreeable as otto of roses; but the moment you knock the fetters from their limbs, they emit such an effluvium, that it is quite impossible for their old associates to stand within a distance of three miles of them! Some year-and-a-half since, a petition was sent from the place in which I reside to Congress, asking that body to recognise the independence of Hayti, and to establish diplomatic relations between that republic and ours. This of course gave great offence to southern members. One of them as usual, charged the petitioners with intending amalgamation. I need not say, that such a charge from a slave-holder, came with rather an odd grace. But I will tell you how the charge was met by old JOHN QUINCY ADAMS, one of our ex-PRESIDENTS. He was surprised, he said, that the gentleman should object in theory to what his constituents practised so extensively. The southerner had not another word to say, he might have suspected, that the old veteran would repeat an inquiry which he made on a former occasion; and that was, whether many of the slaves, in their countenances, did not bear a very striking resemblance to those of their masters? I was glad to hear the exhortation given to our British friends by Mr. THOMPSON; for I, too, know of instances in which they have proved recreant to their own avowed principles. It has been said, that if we would have this question carried, we must have a WILBERFORCE amongst us. We have amongst us this day, men who wear very gracefully the mantle of that illustrious man; and we doubt not but their number will increase. But this prejudice is diminishing in America. It has been common in our legislative documents, as well as in most others, to distinguish coloured citizens by the epithets, "negroes, indians, and mulattoes." On observing this to be done in a certain document reported to the Massachusetts Legislature at its last session, I rose, as if greatly surprised, and inquired why the Committee had insulted the house, by alluding thus invidiously to those classes of our citizens. between whom and ourselves the constitution made no distinction. I forthwith moved, that the offensive phraseology be stricken out; and the motion was carried by a large majority. I mention this fact to show, that

the prejudice against coloured people among us is less inveterate than it was formerly. Five years ago, even such a motion could not have been carried. In the case of the destruction of Pennsylvania Hall by the mob in Philadelphia, it has been pleaded, as a ground of refusing the compensation provided by law, that white abolitionists were seen walking the streets with coloured persons. And what, think you some of the Philadelphia abolitionists have done? Why, they have attempted to disprove the charge; as though it were a crime for persons differing in complexion to walk together. Even the eminent preacher and writer of our country, who, as an abolitionist, some in this Convention have lauded almost to the skies, even he has advised abolitionists not to associate with their coloured brethren. But I, for one, must be allowed to suspect, that the abolitionism of a man who can give such advice as that, is not quite so thorough as it ought to be. It is not, I trust, the abolitionism which this Convention was convened to promote. Yet, strong as it is, and corrupting as it is to some abolitionists themselves, the prejudice, I repeat, is diminishing in America, though it can never be extirpated while slavery and "colonization" are tolerated.

HON. J. T. NORTON, (of Connecticut), moved the addition of the following clause to the resolutions:—

That inasmuch as in few only of the states called *free*, does the coloured man enjoy the privilege of citizenship in common with his white brother, the attention of the Committee be particularly directed to this subject.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—I believe the resolution now before us, to be as important as any to which our attention has been called. I think that the case ought to have been included in the excommunicatory resolution. In the first place, the prejudice against colour, is by far the most gratuitous of any that can exist. What does a man gain by excluding a coloured person from his congregation and society? Absolutely nothing. And then, it is a clear violation of the divine law. "There is neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but Christ is all and in all." As abolitionists, you can only carry your measures by giving equal rights, and equal importance, to every man and woman, whatever be their colour, in every part of the world.

Rev. T. SCALES having read the resolutions and amendment;

Mr. STACEY, moved, and Mr. W. FORSTER, seconded the following amendment, which was carried:—

That the resolutions before the Convention be referred to a committee, consisting of ELON GALUSHA, CHARLES EDWARD LESTER, WILLIAM SNEAL, JAMES MOTT, RICHARD ALLEN, ROBERT JOWITT, and JOSIAH FORSTER.

Mr. W. MORGAN, then read a paper on the slavery of Red Indians, at the settlements of the Hudson's Bay Company, on the Columbia River. The paper was drawn up by the Rev. HERBERT BEAVER, Chaplain to Fort Vancouver, and is as follows:—

It is believed that it is not generally known that slavery exists at the settlement of the Hudson's Bay Company on the Columbia River, north-west coast of America, and that authentic information respecting it from an eye-witness, will be acceptable to this Society.

The Rev. HERBERT BEAVER, of Stoke-by-Nayland, in the county of Suffolk, in the year 1836, proceeded in the capacity of Chaplain to Fort Vancouver, a trading post of the Company on the Columbia River. Soon after his arrival there, towards the latter part of the year, having applied to the officer in charge of the establishment, for a list of all persons resident at it, in the Company's service, Mr. BEAVER perceived the names of six Indians included in the list, who were commonly reputed to be slaves, belonging either to the Company or to their officers.

Two of these afterwards deserted, but being sent back to the fort by one of the Missionaries stationed at the American settlement, on the river Willamette, about ninety miles from Vancouver, were kept in custody a few days, and afterwards discharged from the service, through a fear of their doing some mischief, if they were retained in it against their will.

A third of these Indian slaves died in the hospital during Mr. BEAVER's residence at Vancouver, which comprised a period of rather more than two years. The remaining three, together with three more Indians, were, at his departure from the place in the autumn of 1838, residing in a hut adjoining the fort, which was commonly called "The Slaves' House."

There was also another Indian slave stationed at a farm belonging to the Company, about twenty miles distant from Vancouver.

An eighth slave was, during the former part of Mr. BEAVER's residence there, employed as a domestic servant by the officer in charge, and, during the latter part, in the general work of the Company; to one or other of whom, he was always considered to belong. This Indian was, moreover, twice cruelly flogged, with only the interval of one week between the two floggings, being at the same time put in irons, and confined for two months. After his release from imprisonment, he was for a considerable time a miserable looking object, although his previous appearance betokened health and strength.

Mr. BEAVER could never satisfactorily ascertain how the before-named slaves came into the possession of the Company or their officers. He understood, however, that they had been purchased of their former Indian proprietors.

He can speak with certainty as to the mode in which an Indian boy, named "DICK," came into the possession of Mr. JAMES DOUGLAS, holding a chief trader's commission in the Company's Service, by whom he was bought, for the sum of £2 10s., of an Orkney man named GEORGE BURGAR, who informed Mr. BEAVER of the circumstance. Of this there can be no doubt, as in a conversation which Mr. BEAVER had with Mr. DOUGLAS, respecting the difficulty of procuring domestic servants, the latter observed—"It was so great, that, for his part, he had found it more agreeable to have one of his own, than to trouble the Company for one." This young slave was once very severely flogged by order of Mr. DOUGLAS.

Several other commissioned officers and clerks of the Company possess Indian slaves. A boy, belonging to chief-trader DONALD MANSON, was, on one occasion, flogged with a very heavy martinet, by the Captain of the Company's steamer *Beaver*, on board of that vessel, for having accidentally scalded his master's dog!

Almost all the retired servants of the Company, who have become settlers on the rivers Cowlitz and Willamette are slave owners. At the former settlement, which is a small one, there were, at Mr. BEAVER'S departure from the country, seven Indians so owned; and at the latter settlement, forty-six. Over these settlers, the Company claim and exercise the same authority as if they had continued in the service.

Mr. BEAVER was also credibly informed that the Company had frequently purchased Indians, and held them in a state of bondage; and in addition to those already mentioned, belonging either to the Company, or to their officers, or to the settlers, there were at Fort Vancouver, in the beginning of the year 1837, (and he thinks the number to have increased during his residence there), about twenty-four other slaves, of both sexes and all ages, belonging to the inferior servants of the Company, or to the native women living with them, which decidedly amounts to the same thing, since the men invariably exercise the rights of ownership over them, whether in working or selling them. These poor creatures are wretchedly clothed and fed. On Mr. BEAVER requesting one day the surgeon, part of whose duty it was to trade in provisions from the Indians for the use of the establishment, to send him, from time to time, a little decayed venison for his dog, he replied, "that he could not do so, because the hospital steward took all that for his slaves!"

They receive no instruction, nor is it possible that they can do so, while they continue in their present degraded condition. No sooner is a native female, whether bond or free, taken into keeping by a white man of the lower class, than she must have a slave or two purchased to wait upon her. Nor are the women themselves, living with these men, in a much better position than that of slaves, being bought ; in the first instance, of their Indian proprietors or relatives, and afterwards, not unfrequently, re-sold to men of the same class. The price of a wife, as she is called, and it is about the same for a slave, is about two or three pounds. In one case, Mr. BEAVER knew that seven blankets, of the value of £3. 10s. were given ; in another, three pounds' worth of goods out of the store was given.

Indeed, it appeared that the Company rather encouraged, than otherwise, the traffic in wives and slaves among their inferior servants, for the purpose of attaching them to the service, by permitting transfers of cash to be made in their books when both contracting parties were in their service ; and, when that has not been the case, by crediting the purchasing party with goods for barter, to an amount that would not be allowed for any other purpose, even to allowing the said party to incur a considerable debt beyond the balance due for wages.

The female slaves in the purlieus of the Fort, who belonged to the lower class of the Canadians, or to the women living in a state of concubinage with them, were frequently prostituted for gain, especially on board ships, by their mistresses, and sometimes by their masters. In the year 1838, Mr. BEAVER baptised the child of a woman who had been then living for about three years with one of these Canadians, having previously belonged to another Canadian, who was in the habit of sending her on board ships, until she became so badly diseased as to be obliged to remain for many months in the hospital. She was a woman of far different appearance and manners from the generality of those of her class, being far superior to them, and, with the exception of a connexion in which she knew no harm, conducting herself, unlike most of the others, irreproachably.

On the 19th of November, 1836, Mr. BEAVER saw in the hospital a slave woman, the property of a Canadian, having two large ulcers, one in the arm, and the other in the side, which he was told were produced by the ill-usage of her master. This was the day on which an English farmer and his wife left Vancouver on their return to this country.

The former accompanied Mr. BEAVER to the hospital, and, doubtless, remembers seeing the unfortunate woman, and hearing the statement respecting the cause of her illness. Mr. TOWNSHEND, an American gentleman, the author of an interesting work, entitled, "Sporting Excursions in the Rocky Mountains," who had the medical charge of the hospital about a year before this time, and who then occasionally attended it, being on this occasion in Mr. BEAVER's company, informed him, that during the former period of his attendance at the hospital, the same woman was under his care, in consequence of a very bad wound in her heel, which had been inflicted on her with an axe by her master. The cicatrice was still distinctly visible, and about six inches long. Her master had not been punished, nor had any notice been taken by the authorities, of either offence.

On the 3rd of October, 1838, Mr. BEAVER saw another Canadian, one of the Company's settlers on the river Willamette, most savagely dragging one of his slaves out of the Fort gate by the hair of his head, and kicking him repeatedly, after having pulled all his clothes off him. The next day, the officer in charge of the establishment put his master in irons, and confined him in a room (not a prison) in the Fort for the space of three days, not, as was understood, for his barbarous conduct towards his slave, but for having presumed to exercise it within the precincts of the Fort. Anywhere else he might have committed the gross outrage with impunity; and although he was punished, the punishment was insignificant, and totally inadequate to the offence.

Slavery is a recognized principle of the Hudson's Bay Company, who have not only possessed slaves themselves as a Company, but have permitted slaves to be possessed by persons of all classes in their service, and by persons who have retired from their service, and over whom they retain authority. Indeed, the system of slavery at Fort Vancouver was too notorious; and, it so much added to the dreadful immorality of the place, that the subject was brought most particularly to Mr. BEAVER's notice, soon after his arrival there, by the Rev. JASON LEE, who had then resided for about two years in the neighbourhood, being superintendent of the Oregon American mission, and an eminent minister of the Methodist Episcopal Church of the United States. Mr. LEE expressed a hope that Mr. BEAVER would endeavour to ameliorate this state of slavery, and the cruelties incidental to it. Mr. BEAVER has been continually making this en-

deavour by bringing the subject in his reports before the Governor and Committee, and the Governor and Council of the Hudson's Bay Company, and also by letter, before the Deputy-Governor of the Company. Since his return to England, which took place rather more than a year ago, he has been anxiously waiting for an opportunity of making known the slavery and other atrocities, which came to his knowledge during his residence on the north-west coast of America. He is thankful that such an opportunity now presents itself, and begs most respectfully to express his readiness to afford any information in his power to this Society, respecting the subject of this communication, whenever called upon so to do. He also begs leave to offer his thanks for the kind attention which has been given to his statement, which can be corroborated, if necessary, in several ways; more especially by a reference to persons at present residing in the Orkney Islands, and to the members of the Oregon mission.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE suggested, that as the whole affair was illegal, it would be quite sufficient to present a memorial to the Secretary of State for the Colonies.

Dr. BOWRING concurred in that suggestion.

Dr. ROLPH moved, and Mr. R. PEEK, seconded the following resolution, which was carried unanimously:—

That the statements laid before this Convention by Dr. ROLPH, and the Rev. C. E. LESTER, on the condition of the free people of colour in Canada: also by the Rev. Mr. BEAVER, on slavery among the Indians, connected with the Hudson's Bay Company, be referred to a Committee consisting of those gentlemen, together with the Rev. J. W. WAYNE, and ROBERT FORSTER, ROBERT JOWITT, W. WEST, and RICHARD WEBB, Esquires, to report to the meeting as they deem fit.

The Convention then adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY'S SITTINGS, FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1840.

(MORNING).

Dr. GREVILLE in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting having been read and confirmed:

Mr. JOHN STURGE, on the call of the Chairman, read the following paper, constituting a part of the report of the Committee on Free-labour:—

The superiority of free over slave-labour, is a fact now so generally known, and the evidence on which it rests is so indisputable, that your committee think it needless to occupy the time of the Convention, by entering at much length into the proof of it. They will, therefore, confine themselves to a very brief view of the general principles which affect the question, and of the evidence which establishes the fact, that the labour of the freeman is cheaper than that of the slave; and then pass rapidly on to the application of these principles to the present position of our cause, and to the consideration of their probable influence on the abolition of slavery throughout the world. They proceed to show—

1st. That the cost of slave-labour is greater than that of free; and,

2nd. That slave-labour is less productive.

I. The expense of slave-labour consists, in the first place, in the cost of purchasing or rearing the slave, and supporting him in sickness and old age, with interest on these amounts; and in the second, in the sum expended in his maintenance during the effective years of his life. These two amounts, added together, and divided by the number of those years, will, therefore, give the annual cost of such labour to the master.

If we omit the case of purchased slaves, and suppose them to be bred on the estate, (and breeding is admitted to be, under ordinary circumstances, the cheapest mode of supply), the expense of free-labour will resolve itself into precisely the same elements, since the wages paid to free-labourers of every kind, must be such as to enable them, one with another, to bring up a family, and continue their race.

Now, it is observed by ADAM SMITH—"The wear and tear of a free servant is equally at the expense of his master, and it generally costs him much less than that of a slave. The fund destined for re-placing and repairing, if I may say so, the wear and tear of a slave, is commonly managed by a negligent master or careless overseer. That destined for performing the same office with regard to the freeman, is managed by the freeman himself. The disorders which generally prevail in the economy of the rich, naturally introduce themselves into the management of the former: the strict frugality and parsimonious attention of the poor, as naturally establish themselves in that of the latter." The Russian political economist, STORCH, who had carefully examined the system of slavery in that extensive empire, makes the same remark, almost in the

same words. HUME expresses a similar opinion in decided terms. A statement from one of the slave districts in the United States, shows that, taking the purchase-money, or the expense of rearing a slave, with the cost of his maintenance, at their actual rates, and allowing fifteen years of health and strength, during which, to liquidate the first cost, his labour will be at least twenty-five per cent. dearer than that of the free labourer in the neighbouring districts.

II. Slave-labour is less productive:—As “the slave,” says STORCH, “working always for another and never for himself, being limited to a bare subsistence, and seeing no prospect of improving his condition, loses all stimulus to exertion; he becomes a machine, often very obstinate and very difficult to manage. A man who is not rewarded in proportion to the labour he performs, works as little as he can; this is an acknowledged truth which the experience of every day confirms. Let a free labourer work by the day, he will be indolent; pay him by the piece, he will often work to excess and ruin his health. If this observation is just in the case of the free labourer, it must be still more so in that of the slave.”

HUME remarks, “I shall add, from the experience of our planters, that slavery is as little advantageous to the master as to the man. The fear of punishment will never draw so much labour from a slave as the dread of being turned off, and not getting another service, will give a freeman.”

BURKE observes, “Slaves certainly cannot go through so much work as freemen. The mind goes a great way in everything; and when a man knows that his labour is for himself, and that the more he labours the more he is to acquire; this consciousness carries him through, and supports him beneath, fatigues, under which he would otherwise have sunk.”

Dr. DICKSON, who resided in Barbadoes, as Secretary to the late Hon. EDWARD HAY, the Governor of that island, observes, “That it has been known for many ages, by men of reflection, that the labour of slaves whether bought or bred, though apparently cheaper, is really far dearer in general than that of freemen.”

The following facts will sufficiently establish the correctness of these opinions.

PRESIDENT COOPER, of South Carolina, says, “Slave-labour is undoubtedly the dearest kind of labour. The usual work of a field hand

is barely two-thirds of what a white day-labourer, at usual wages, would perform ; this is the outside." " Nothing," he continues, " will justify slave-labour in point of economy, but the nature of the soil and climate, which incapacitates a white man from labouring in the summer time on the rich lands in Carolina and Georgia. In places merely agricultural, as New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, Indiana, Missouri, slave-labour is entirely unprofitable. It is even so in Maryland and Virginia."

From a calculation made under the guidance of M. COULOMB, an able mathematician and experienced engineer, who conducted extensive building works both in France and the West Indies ; it appears, " that field slaves do only between a-third and a-half of the work despatched by reluctant French soldiers, and probably not more than a-third of what those very slaves would do, if urged by their own interest."

Dr. JAMES ANDERSON, in an excellent pamphlet, entitled, " Observations on Slavery," published in 1788, shows, that the labour of a West India slave, costs about thrice as much as it would cost if executed by a freeman. Taking another case, he demonstrates that the labour of certain colliers in Scotland, who, till our own times were subjected to a mild kind of vassalage, regulated by law, was twice as dear as that of the freemen who wrought in other coal mines in the same country, and thrice as dear as common day-labour.

In further confirmation of this fact, Mr. SAMUEL J. PRESCOD, the Editor of the *Barbadoes Liberal*, and a delegate to this Convention states :—

" Throughout the colonies the effective powers of the labourer have been greatly increased by his emancipation ; and he can now do double, and occasionally treble, the quantity of work, which he was thought capable of doing when a slave !

" In almost all the colonies (I am not prepared to say all), at the commencement of the apprenticeship, the planters themselves adopted certain scales of labour by which to regulate the work of the apprentices. These scales showed the quantity of every kind of work which should constitute a fair day's task. The abolition act had left them only a definite portion of the negro's time daily, beyond which they could not command his services ; and it was an object with them to make the best use they could of that time, and get all the work they could out of him during the legal hours of labour. I am not accurately

informed of the mode in which the scales of labour were got up in the other colonies; but if you look into SHERLOCK'S Jamaica Almanack, you will find that in the several parishes of that island, they were adopted at public meetings of the planters,—the labourers having no part therein. The Barbadoes scale was formed by a committee of three planters, MESSRS. HEWITT, MARSHALL, and SHARPE, appointed by the Governor, at the advice of his council, for that purpose, and was laid before the council (composed of planters) and approved by them previously to its promulgation. It was then, without the formality, but with all the force of law, directed in circular to the special justices, to guide their decisions on all questions of labour arising between the apprentices and their employers.

“Those who are at all acquainted with human nature, and especially West India planter's nature, will not for a moment imagine, that these scales so formed, unduly favoured the negro, by exacting from him a less amount of labour than long experience had shown he was capable of rendering.

“This scale work, when undertaken as a task, the free labourer now commonly does in half the day, and I have known the Barbadoes labourer do three of these tasks in one day. In September, 1838, *the whole first gang* (men and women) on Lemon Arbour estate, St. John's parish, completed these three tasks in a day; and Mr. CHRISTOPHER MASSIAH, a respectable planter, to whom, some days after I was mentioning the feat, informed me that the same had been performed at Sunbury estate. This is not confined to Barbadoes. In Trinidad the same remarkable fact appears: the free negro commonly performs two tasks in a day, and has occasionally done three. This I learnt from good authority among the planters themselves in the island; and the delegates sent over to that island by certain of our free coloured brethren of America, with a view to their emigration, report this fact on the authority of the planters. Messrs. R. SEMPLE and Co., who hold property in British Guiana, in a letter to LORD JOHN RUSSELL, dated 25th November, 1839, bear evidence to this fact as regards that colony:—‘many of the labourers on our estates,’ they say, ‘have occasionally performed treble the quantity’ of a day's task; and the advertisements put forth in Barbadoes for emigrants to that colony and to Trinidad, uniformly state, in substance, that the day's task may easily be performed in half the day.

"I have conversed with many hundred labourers, men and women, in Barbadoes, on this subject,—frequently with whole gangs at once ; and they have all agreed in affirming their ability and their willingness, 'if kindly used and encouraged,' to do two tasks generally ; and I am perfectly satisfied, on the evidence, that, not only in Barbadoes, but in every one of the colonies, the freed negroes can do *continuously*, and, under a judicious management, and such treatment as human beings have a right to expect from those who employ their service, would readily do, for fair wages, at least half as much more work than they did in slavery ; that is to say, two labourers of every class would now perform the work, which it then required three of the same class to do."

If slave labour were cheaper than free-labour, we might confidently presume that estates would be rendered less productive by the emancipation of the slaves which cultivated them ; but the presumption is contradicted by experience.

"A few Polish nobles," observes COXE, in his travels in Poland, "of benevolent hearts and enlightened understanding have acted upon different principles, and have ventured upon the expedient of giving liberty to their vassals. The event has shown this to be no less judicious than humane ; no less friendly to their own interests than to the happiness of the peasants ; for it appears, that in the districts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of their villages has been considerably increased, and the revenues of their estates augmented in a triple proportion."

The nobles who granted freedom to their peasants were ZAMOISKI, formerly great Chancellor, CHREPTOWITZ, Vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the ABBE BRYSOLOWSKI, and afterwards STANISLAUS, the KING of Poland. After a particular statistical detail, showing the increase of numbers and other facts connected with the change, the writer adds—

"Since their enfranchisement, they are become so easy in their circumstances as to provide themselves with all the necessary implements for the cultivation of the land, and food and clothing for themselves at their own expense, and they likewise cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their master. By these means, the receipts of these estates have been nearly tripled."

In Hungary a similar experiment has been made of emancipating the vassals, and with the same success.

COUNT FESTETITS, an Hungarian nobleman, having purchased an

estate in the Murakos, a tract of country between the Muhr and the Drave, granted lands to the peasantry at a fixed annual rent, instead of the common tenure of service. In these free villages the value of land has risen to such a degree, that the owner of four acres is esteemed wealthy, and the population has increased from fifty families to six hundred. Although still subject to the government duties, and suffering from the effects of two bad seasons, and an inundation of the Drave, these peasants were, in 1814, striving cheerfully with the difficulties of their situation, while their neighbours, on the common footing, although each family possessed thirty acres, were reduced to subsist on the bounty of their lord.*

It is stated in the Supplement to the Report of the Privy Council, in reply to the 17th of the Queries from his Excellency, GOVERNOR PARRY, answered by the Hon. JOSHUA STEEL, a planter of 1068 acres in the parish of St. John, St. Philip, and St. George in the island of Barbadoes—"On a plantation of 288 slaves, in June, 1780, viz. ninety men, eighty-two women, fifty-six boys, and sixty girls, there were only fifteen births, and no less than fifty-seven deaths, in three years and three months. An alteration was made in the mode of governing the slaves, the whips were taken from all the white servants, all arbitrary punishments were abolished, and all offences were tried, and sentence passed by a negro court. In four years and three months, under this change of government, there were forty-four births, and only forty-one deaths, of which ten deaths were of superannuated men and women, and past labour, some eighty years old. But, in the same interval, the annual net clearance of the estate was above three times more than it had been for ten years."

We will cite one more fact:—

In a late communication from America, from an intelligent observer, it is remarked, "The State of Maryland, though a slave state, has comparatively but few slaves in the upper or western part of it; the land in this upper district is generally more broken by hills and stones, and is not so fertile as that on the southern and eastern parts. The latter has also the advantage of being situated upon the navigable rivers that flow into the Chesapeake Bay, and its produce can be conveyed to market at one-third of the average expense of that from the upper parts

* Bright's Travels in Hungary.

of the state; yet, with all these advantages of soil, situation, and climate, the land within the slave-district will not, upon a general average, sell for half as much per acre as that in the upper district, which is cultivated principally by freemen. This fact may be also further and more strikingly illustrated by the comparative value of land within the States of Virginia and Pennsylvania, the one lying on the south, and the other on the north side of Maryland, the one a slave, the other a free state. In Virginia, land of the same soil and local advantages will not sell for one-third as high a price as the same description of land will command in Pennsylvania." This single, plain, incontrovertible fact speaks volumes upon the relative value of slave and free-labour, and, it is presumed, renders any further illustration unnecessary.*

No one, we think, can avoid being struck with the surprising coincidence which exists between all the facts that we have cited, although occurring under very different circumstances, and in situations widely distant from each other; or fail to acknowledge that they are of themselves sufficient to establish, in the clearest and most convincing manner, the important principle for which we are contending.†

* For a full investigation of this subject, see HODGSON'S Letter to J. B. SAY, on the Comparative Value of Free and Slave-Labour.

† An objection frequently urged against the above conclusion is, that in slave countries it is commonly cheaper for any given purpose to employ slave-labour than free-labour. So far from disputing this fact, it appears to us a necessary consequence. If, as we have shown, slave-labour be an expensive kind of labour, free-labour must be equally dear wherever it prevails, because the same commodity cannot long have two prices in the same market, and it will generally be dearer than slave-labour, and for this reason, not be procurable; because it is well known that wherever slaves are generally employed, labour itself is held to be disgraceful, and freemen will seldom undertake it, except at an enhanced price. Slavery itself, in one word, produces a condition of the social economy in which free-labour can hardly fail to be dear. When from the influence of other causes this condition is changed, so as to make it in any particular district or country a matter of indifference, whether slave-labour or free-labour be employed for any specific purpose, the property in slaves will cease to be of any value, and slavery must soon cease unless supported by extraneous aids. This has long been the case in Virginia and Maryland, in which states it is universally admitted, that slavery is alone kept up by the profits obtained from breeding slaves, and selling them to the south. Kentucky must be rapidly approaching the same condition, as we have just heard of an instance at Newport, in that state, where the projectors of a cotton and cloth manufactory were for some time undecided whether they should employ free or slave-labour. We must not, therefore, be understood

We adduce them now, not because they are new, but because the nature of the case required this kind of cumulative evidence, and in order to show their exact accordance with the results of emancipation in the British colonies. In these also the labour of the freeman has been substituted for that of the slave, and short as is the period which has since elapsed, your committee could easily fill their report with examples of the improved condition of the people, and increased value of the estates which have been consequent on the change.

They select the following, partly from the evidence of gentlemen, now present at this Convention, who have been eye-witnesses of them, since the negroes were emancipated on the 1st of August, 1838, and the remainder from official documents.

W. WEMYSS ANDERSON, Esq., a solicitor of high character and extensive practice in Jamaica, and a member of the legislature, states to the Convention :—

“He was not a planter himself, but it happened to him frequently that he had the disposal of estates, and in all those cases he had been perfectly beset by people requesting the preference of purchasing those estates ; and no longer ago than on his voyage to this country, he had been solicited to obtain the preference for a gentleman to whom he had been under some trifling obligations, for the lease of a valuable estate, for which he was disposed to give a handsome rent. The value of property in the neighbourhood of towns, he could state from experience, had in many cases doubled, and he had bitterly repented of many sales of property he had made, in consequence of the increase in its value. There was another feature of their prosperity in Jamaica, in the establishment of Banks. What did the meeting think of three Banks being established in Kingston, where there were no Banks before, and which were established for the purpose of advancing money and making profit? Some of those Banks which had only set up last year, had realised 50 per cent. upon their original stock ; and one

as asserting that the slave-owners are so blind to their own interest, as to persist in employing slave-labour, while free-labour is offered to them at a cheaper rate at their own door, which would be absurd ; but as maintaining the following fact to be undeniably established : That every species of culture carried on by slaves may be carried on equally well by freemen ; and that the latter system of cultivation, will, when brought into full operation, invariably prove, under similar circumstances, much cheaper than the former.

Bank had already divided 10 per cent., and laid by a considerable reserve fund."

EDWARD W. BAYNES, Esq., special magistrate, in a letter to EDMUND B. LYON, Esq., dated Spanish Town, Jamaica, April 12th, 1840, says:—

"But the surest sign of the improvement and real prosperity which have attended freedom, is the increased value of land. I know a gentleman of the name of HAMILTON, who purchased an estate, I think in 1833, for the sum of £2200, and sold it last year for £10,000, though when he bought it, there were seventy slaves located on it, for whom he received compensation, and of course he had not them to sell when he disposed of it. There are numerous other instances of this wonderful increase of the value of property. Land, is now selling four miles from this town at £50 per acre, and in other parts, as much as £100 have been given. In 1835, I bought myself ten acres of ground in the wildest part of St. John, for the purpose of planting ground provisions for the use of my family, at the rate of £4 per acre. I have since been offered £5 per half acre, and can sell the whole at that price.

"Another undeniable proof of increasing prosperity is the founding of new villages and townships, and the rapid increase in size and population of former towns and settlements in every part of the country. New chapels and churches are seen rising in every quarter, and there are now ten schools and twenty scholars where there was one in 1832. Institutions for agricultural and scientific purposes, the idea of which, six years back, would have excited laughter, are now formed in most parishes of the island, nor is the vast improvement which has taken place confined to the land, it has also extended to the sea. Money has been voted for the erection of a light-house on Morant Keys.

"Imports, the surest sign of internal prosperity, have been nearly doubled in the short space of two years; and that exports have not increased, is owing to the unwise policy pursued by the bulk of the planting interest, who, of all the inhabitants of Jamaica are the only unreasonable, the only dissatisfied, the only unimproved."

Mr. J. W. GRANT, stipendiary magistrate for the parishes of Manchester and Clarendon, Jamaica, in a report to the Governor, dated June 10th, 1839, states:—

"I have remarked that the persons who are loudest in proclaiming the deplorable state of the country, are the very persons who grasp

most firmly the property they have in it, and if they have the means, are most willing to purchase more.

"I know one of them who purchased a property about three years ago. He was lately offered nearly treble the amount he gave for it. Did he take it? No, but in the same breath, he would assert that the country was ruined."—*Vide Parliamentary Papers*, No. I. p. 8.

In a report from the parish of St. James, dated June, 1839, signed by WALTER FINLAYSON and WILLIAM CARNABY, special magistrates, it is stated:—

"There will be a deficiency of crop on many estates in this parish, owing to dry weather last season, neglect of cultivation after the 1st of August, and general bad management on the part of overseers and proprietors, in refusing or delaying to offer reasonable terms to the labourers, by which the crops were injured."—*Ibid.* p. 13.

Mr. GRANT, in a report, dated Manchester, Jamaica, July 17th, 1839, states:—

"This parish is in a state of perfect tranquillity, and every day is developed some new proof of the superiority of free-labour and unrestricted competition."—*Ibid.* p. 15.

In a report to the Governor, dated Spanish Town, Jamaica, 8th of August, 1839, and signed by J. H. BALL, and T. W. JACKSON, special justices, we find the following facts:—

"After the commencement of the apprenticeship, Mr. ARIS purchased a sugar-estate called Enfield, in St. Thomas in the Vale. Alarmed at the panic which pervaded upon the attainment of unrestricted freedom by the late apprentices, he sold the freehold to Mr. SANGUINETTI for £5000, (being £2000 more than Mr. ARIS paid for it). After realizing £2000 by the crop, Mr. SANGUINETTI re-conveyed the estate to Mr. ARIS for £6000. Thus obtaining, by one year's cultivation 40 per cent. on his capital, (some portion of which was never paid down) and 60 per cent. by the cultivation and sale; this too, during the most eventful period, the first year of unconditional freedom:—and large as this return is, we understand that it does not exceed that obtained by Mr. ARIS, previous to his disposing of the estate. Mr. DUNCAN HAMILTON, sold an estate in St. John's lately, by which he was as great a gainer either as Mr. ARIS or Mr. SANGUINETTI."—*Vide Parliamentary Papers*, No. I. page 26.

In a report, dated Buff Bay, St. George's Jamaica, 7th. August, 1839,

signed by EDWARD E. FISHBOURNE, stipendiary magistrate, it is stated :—“ Job and task work are adopted very generally in all descriptions of labour in which they are applicable. Cane holes are dug by the job, at from £5 to £6 per acre. The price paid to jobbing masters, before August, 1838, was from £10 to £12, and I have heard of £15 being offered on an emergency, and refused in consequence of the distance to be travelled by the negroes. It was considered, if forty able people dug an acre of cane holes, they did good work ; and jobbing masters got £10 or £12 for that quantity, which is equal to 5s. or 6s. per day. The task, as laid down in the parish scale of labour, was eighty, seventy-five, or fifty holes per day, per man, or at the rate of from forty to sixty-four negroes per acre. The free negroes now dig eighty holes per day, for 3s. 4d., which, there being 2722 holes to the acre, is at the rate of £5. 13s. 4d. per acre, or, from £4. 6s. 8d., to £6. 6s. 8d. an acre, cheaper than the same would have cost an estate during the apprenticeship ; on very good soils seventy and seventy-five holes are given for 2s. 1d. and 2s. 6d. .

“ An instance has come to my knowledge, of a negro who contracted to dig, pick, tie, and carry top plants, and plant off a piece of seven and a half acres, for £8 per acre or £60 for the job. The contract was fulfilled and the money paid. The same during the apprenticeship, if dug at £10, and the other part of the labour done at 3s. 4d. per day, the rate of day labour paid jobbing masters for the last two years, would have amounted to nearly double the sum with which the free negro was contented.”—*Vide Parliamentary Papers*, No. I. page 29.

A Report, dated Trelawney, July 31st, 1839, and signed EDMUND B. LYON, stipendiary magistrate, says :—

“ At this period last year, while the result of free-labour was a speculative matter, calculations were published by various parties on the probable expense and profits of sugar cultivation by free-labour. In nearly all the data, it was presumed no profit would be realised on estates which made less than eighty hogsheads. The amount for contingencies inseparable from such manufacturing establishments, was computed to be nearly as great on those small estates as on larger ones. The experience of this crop has, however, shown that apprehension to have been illusory, as I have had opportunities of learning, that even where less than eighty hogsheads have been made, a very considerable income has been realised. One estate in this parish making

seventy-five hogsheads, with a proportionate quantity of rum, has netted £1000 sterling.”—*Vide Parliamentary papers*, No. I. p. 38.

Mr. HENRY WALSH, special magistrate, in a report, dated 6th August, 1839, says :—

“ If the planter fails in the want of labour, it will be his own fault, as labour can be had for honest and fair remuneration. I assure your Excellency, that the great noise raised by the planters, saying, that the people refuse to pay rent, is totally false, as far as my jurisdiction extends ; on the contrary, the planters refuse to rent, (let) houses at all, thinking thereby, that the people will be more under their control.

“ The sugar cultivation in many estates, is far superior to that in past years, and no fear remains of our great measure being successful under the auspices of just laws.”—*Ibid.* p. 35.

The Rev. THOMAS F. ABBOTT, Baptist minister, in a letter to the Rev. W. KNIBB, dated St. Ann's Bay, May 4th, 1840, says :—

“ As to the working of the free system, which is a subject on which you will need information which may be depended on, I can report most favourably. You will recollect that on many of the estates in the vicinity of this town, permanent and fair arrangements for rent and labour (kept distinct) were entered into, between the managers and labourers before you left. These arrangements have been carefully observed by both parties ; no disputes have occurred on those properties. No work for the magistrates to do ; the people work well, get good wages, and pay their rent regularly. I have it on good authority, that on Seville Estate, from seven to eight hogsheads of sugar are made per week more than were ever made on it during slavery. And Mr. PINK, the proprietor of Drax Hall, told me a few days ago, that the people on that estate were giving him great satisfaction, that he expected the property would yield three hundred hogsheads of sugar this year, which is full one-third more than its average crop ; that he wishes to extend the cultivation of the cane, and can do so, giving liberal wages, at an amazing profit.”

The Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB states, “ that Bowden Estate, St. Thomas in the East, Jamaica, was purchased about two years ago by D. HART, Esq., of Kingston, for £4000. That in March, 1840, Mr. HART assured him (Mr. KNIBB), that he had cleared £4000 by it in two years. He stated that he obtained continuous labour without difficulty, at very moderate wages ; and Mr. KNIBB has in his possession, a pay

bill of this estate, by which it appears, that the wages of seventy-two persons for one week amounted to £31. 15s. currency, or less than £20 sterling, no rent being charged for the houses and provision grounds."

RICHARD LEWIS, Esq., of Ballard's Valley, St. Mary's, Jamaica, a planter, of twenty-seven years' experience, and attorney or agent, for seven fine sugar estates in that parish, in a correspondence with H. BARKLY, Esq., commencing December 26th, 1839, and concluding February 7th, 1840, which has been officially laid before the GOVERNOR, states the following facts, which we introduce as a brief epitome of the proceedings of the planters throughout Jamaica, and a satisfactory reply to the inquiry,—“ Why the produce of sugar has diminished since the establishment of freedom ?”

“ When (during the apprenticeship) the law was about to come into operation, giving extra power to the GOVERNOR and special magistrates, I clearly saw in it,” he says, “ such objections, that it was impossible for any estate to be cultivated under it. I immediately wrote to JOSEPH TIMPERON, Esq., Mrs. CRUIKSHANK, &c., advising them to give me power to at once declare their negroes free, as that was the only way to get rid of that odious law. Public meetings were held, and at one at Port Maria, I strongly recommended the planters (for the same reason) to request the members of the House of Assembly, to do away with the remaining term of the apprenticeship. This was done by the house; but my supporting and advising the measure, got me the ill-will of every person connected with negroes. Many were very violent at the time, and few have ever forgiven me. I was assailed on all sides, and the ill-feeling towards me rose beyond belief, when I declared what wages I intended giving.

“ I had taken great pains to find the lowest rate that negroes would work for, and the highest price that could be got from them as rent for their houses, and being clearly convinced, that negroes could not be got to work in time to save estates from ruin, for less, I offered 2s. 6d. per day, subject to 5s. per week rent; it was accepted by the negroes, and I have never made the slightest change since.

“ This was, however, at variance with other planters, and a very few only followed my plan, the greater number would not listen to it. Some tried plans that never could succeed; others offered wages that were laughed at by the negroes; and many held off so long from entering into arrangements, that the properties were nearly in total ruin.

Those in the management of estates, now find they are obliged to follow my plan, giving as I do, 2s. 6d. per day for able labourers, and charging 5s. per week for rent. But instead of allowing they were in error at first, they allowed so much time to elapse, that the estates were nearly thrown out of cultivation; they try to make you believe otherwise, and report to you that I give higher wages than they, and that my estates, or this estate, is like others in the parish. To which I say, look at the season and recorded crops for the state of cultivation, and to the estate's books for the rate of wages.”*

Mr. LEWIS further states to Mr. BARKLY :—

“ The rent books I will also show you, and you shall be convinced, I have actually received in hard cash upwards of £900 from the people located in Ballard's Valley, £1500 from the negroes on Mr. TIMPERON's estates, New Rambla and Union, and an equal sum from Mr. ELLIS's estates.

“ Your opinion as to it (Ballard's Valley), not paying its expenses, is equally erroneous, for it will give the proprietor fully £6000 clear.

“ You remark in your letter, your having told Mr. MARLTON, you would be sorry to be the proprietor of Ballard's Valley in 1839. It is most gratifying to me that the actual proprietor has good reason, and actually does think very differently; which is tolerably clear, from her having sent me a very elegant piece of plate, (which I have ordered to be shown you), with the following inscription, ‘ presented by MARY CRUIKSHANK to RICHARD LEWIS, Esq., in token of her sense of his

* FROM CAPTAIN CHARLES STUART, who in 1839 and 1840, passed a considerable time in Jamaica, we have received the following remarks :—

“ St. Mary's is the parish, of all Jamaica, in which continuous labour is most needed; because, the more continual supply of rain with which, from physical circumstances, it is blessed, together with its extensive plains near the sea, of land exuberantly fertile, cause the growth and manufacture of sugar to be continuous, so that it is a species of little Trinidad. Yet St. Mary's was the only parish in Jamaica, in which in 1839, (or one year after emancipation) more labour was at command than could be employed. In other parts of the island, particular estates, under peculiarly happy management, similarly enjoyed a redundancy of labour, Latium, for instance, in Trelawney, under Mr. HUNTER; but of a whole parish, generally speaking, this was the case only with St. Mary's—and why? simply, because the liberal system, which Mr. LEWIS mainly contributed to introduce at once, was early established; and the confidence and industry of the people were secured, by making their interests obviously the same as the interests of the masters, diligent industry on the one side, and a liberal reward on the other.”

superior management of Ballard's Valley Estate, St. Mary's, Jamaica, during the times of excitement, owing to the change from slavery to a period of apprenticeship and ultimate freedom.'

'London, August 19th, 1839.'"

Your committee have now before them facts and statements equally convincing as to the beneficial working of free-labour in Barbadoes, Antigua, Trinidad, and our other West India islands; but these they omit, because they feel that they have already amply made out their case, and because in these islands, taken as a whole, there has been no deficiency in the produce of sugar since emancipation. It is in Demerara and in Jamaica, that this deficiency has occurred; in the former, it has been produced by the excessive drought of the last season; and in the latter, by a blind and fatuitous attempt on the part of a large proportion of the managers of estates to coerce the negroes into the acceptance of a rate of wages below the fair value of their labour; an attempt unhappily not yet abandoned.*

* A letter from Jamaica, dated so late as June, 1840, from a gentleman now engaged in examining into the working of freedom in that island, while it shows the great diminution which the crop of 1839 suffered in numerous instances from the above cause, especially in the parish of Clarendon, communicates the important fact, that the managers are now fast coming to their senses, and that the produce will this year be largely increased, and in a short time be fully re-established.

"There has been for many months," he says, "a full agreement among masters and labourers, and the latter not being so much wanted this year to gather in the crop, which proves so very small, have had plenty of labour to offer for other purposes; the consequence is, that a large breadth of new cane has been got into the ground, which we see rising fresh and green all around us, the old fields have been well hoed, and the fences repaired, and the crop of 1841, if the seasons should prove favourable, will be a comparatively large one."

The writer states the present rate of wages to be on the average about 1s. 6d. sterling, per day, and estimates, that after providing for rent and necessaries, the negro population of the island enjoy a surplus of nearly two millions sterling to spend in comforts and luxuries. "Where, besides," he exclaims, "in the whole wide world is there a peasantry so circumstanced, or that with so little toil has such a command over the good things of this life? They deserve it all; they use their means handsomely, they live well, they dress well, they send their children to school where schools are near, they build chapels, and contribute to church purposes, as I can easily prove, to an extent of £80,000 or £100,000 per annum."

The writer adds, that few of the proprietors will admit that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, although they confess the employment of the former to be at present highly profitable. Referring the reader to our observations in note, page 341, we think it is manifest, that the free labourer in

We need not say more to show that slavery is an expensive and impolitic system of cultivation, and if so, the question naturally occurs how should it arise, and why is it maintained? To this we reply, that under certain given circumstances it may be profitable, and these circumstances are, a large quantity of rich unoccupied land, and a great scarcity of labour, with high prices of produce.

Land can have no value without people, and its fertility may be so great as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave-labour. Where land is so easily obtained, a man will rather work for himself than become the hired labourer of another, and from this circumstance the wages of free-labour may be so high, as to counterbalance the disadvantages of slave-labour.

It is under these circumstances alone that slave-cultivation has been established; and under these circumstances alone, that, unless supported by bounties and protecting duties, as it was till lately in the colonies of Great Britain, it can continue to exist.

These considerations will explain the reason why the land-owners of Indiana and Illinois attempted to obtain the introduction of slavery into those newly inhabited states.

But this state of things cannot continue long. As population increases, all the richer lands become occupied; the difficulty of obtaining hired labourers is at an end; and the wages of free-labour in consequence, soon reach that point at which it becomes, as in other cases, the interest of the cultivator to employ it in preference to slave-labour.

If, however, blind to his own interest, he continues to persist in his impolitic system of slave cultivation, the natural fertility of the soil may be so great as to enable him to do so without absolute ruin to himself. But even this advantage will soon fail him, for by one of those admirable and beautiful provisions which seem appointed by the Author of Nature to defeat the selfish purposes of man, when pursued

Jamaica, is now enjoying the benefits of that condition of society as regards the scarcity and dearness of labour, which we have there shown to be the necessary result of slavery; and it is therefore possible, the planters may in particular instances be right. The price paid per day often appears very high, because the "free negro," says CAPTAIN STUART, "often does two or three days' work of the slave, as fixed by the labour-scale before emancipation, in a single day." We have elsewhere given evidence that work by the piece is done cheaper even now, and we have no doubt that as free-labour develops its productive powers, the contrast will become daily more manifest.

in opposition to his laws, it is found that slave-cultivation has an invincible tendency to lessen the fertility of the soil. In a manner which at first sight appears almost miraculous, the earth refuses to lend her support to a system of injustice, and while "she multiplies her productions with profusion under the hand of a free-born labourer, seems to shrink into barrenness under the sweat of the slave." The cause of this extraordinary fact will be made clear to us by a few very simple considerations.

It is well known that a continual succession of the same crops will deteriorate the richest soils. To maintain their fertility, it is necessary to have recourse to green crops and the pasturage of cattle; and in the natural course of things under the influence of freedom, the demands of a civilised community make it the interest of the cultivator to devote a considerable portion of his land to these purposes.

But under a system of slavery his interests are widely different. He has then no inducement to rear cattle. The labour usually assigned to them, in a free country, is performed by his slaves, and he has, therefore, no need of their living services. They would be equally useless to him when dead, because beef and mutton are luxuries almost wholly denied to the slave, who is obliged to content himself with the cheapest and coarsest food which can support life. In other respects, they would be of little or no value to him, because the wants of a slave-population are not considered to require either leather or woollen cloth, or any of those comforts which the freeman derives so largely from the animals whose flesh supplies him with food.

For these reasons, in slave-countries it is the constant practice to persevere in a ruinous succession of the same exhausting crops,* and the productiveness of the soil is, in consequence, gradually diminished. In our West India islands this has taken place universally; in the United States the same effects have arisen from the same cause. Even in countries where the population, although not actually enslaved, has been long degraded by oppression to a condition nearly allied to slavery, the same fact has been exhibited in a very extraordinary manner.

A late traveller in Greece remarked with astonishment, that many districts of this beautiful region, once distinguished by their exuberant fertility, were now become barren and unproductive.

* W. W. ANDERSON, Esq., states, that to such an extent is this system pursued in Jamaica; that he is compelled to import the hay for his horses from England.

The fact of the rapid deterioration of the soil in all slave countries can be established beyond all doubt.

"The produce of these islands," says BRYAN EDWARDS, in 1798, in his history of the West Indies, "is raised at an expense to the cultivator, which, perhaps, is not equalled in any other pursuit in any other country in the globe. The negroes have been kept up and even augmented by purchase, because as the lands have become impoverished, they have required a greater expense of labour to make them any way productive." "And for what," says Mr. Justice JEREMIE, in his work on Colonial Slavery, "are we making such sacrifices in the West Indies? To change the very face of nature. COLUMBUS, and the earlier navigators have described these older colonies, as they stood clothed in the most brilliant verdure: they are now arid, parched, and exhausted. Cultivation elsewhere converts deserts into gardens, here gardens into a desert. How comes it that St. Lucia, Trinidad, and Demerara, are still so fertile? Because they are but recently inhabited. And why but recently inhabited? Because these very parched and exhausted colonies originally presented greater inducements."

The Hon. JOHN TAYLOR, a senator of the United States, from Virginia, states, "The fertility of Virginia has long been declining. The falling off in the culture of tobacco is testimony to this unwelcome fact. It is deserted because the lands are exhausted. Whole countries which once grew tobacco are too sterile to grow any of moment, and the wheat crops substituted for tobacco have already sunk to an average below profit. Negro slavery," he continues, "is a misfortune to agriculture, incapable of removal."*

It appears, therefore, that by an almost necessary consequence, slavery produces a system of cultivation destructive to the fertility of the soil. When from the influence of these causes, the estate of the planter has been impoverished, economy and good management become indispensable. But it is found by the experience of both ancient and modern times, that nothing has tended more to assimilate the condition of the slave to that of the free-labourer, or actually to effect his emancipation, than the necessity imposed by circumstances of adopting the most economical mode of cultivation.

Having thus, as we trust, satisfactorily demonstrated that free-labour

* Impartial Appeal to the People of Illinois—Philadelphia, 1824.

is cheaper than slave-labour; we next proceed to show that of all kinds of slave labour, that kept up by fresh importations of slaves is the dearest.

Without entering into any of the estimates of the cost of a home-bred slave, it may be enough to state, that they all unite in proving that he is clear to his master at the age at which slaves are usually imported, his labour previous to this period having defrayed the expense of rearing him from infancy.

The average price of the imported slave being now £50., it is obvious, therefore, that at this period he has cost just this sum more than the other; and if we give to each ten years of effective labour, a period much beyond the usual term of life where slaves are imported, we find that this alone, with interest, will add from £8. to £10. per annum to the cost of his labour as compared with the home-bred slave.

But, in addition to this, his labour is less productive, a fact universally admitted, and which can hardly require proof, when we consider the advantage enjoyed by the latter, of being born in the country and seasoned to the climate. The produce of sugar per slave in our West India colonies, from 1791 to 1795, when the slave-trade was rife, as compared with that in the years previous to Emancipation, goes to show that the difference in productiveness is fully one-fourth in favour of the latter. Now, if we take into account these two items alone, and add to them the waste of life in seasoning the imported slave, we are confident that we are much below the reality in coming to the conclusion; that slave-culture, supported by the slave-trade, costs twice as much as that kept up by natural increase.

In support of the above conclusion, your committee will quote only a single fact.

The Brazilians are slave-importers,—the Americans are slave-breeders. Cotton is extensively grown in *both* countries. The planters reside on their estates in *both*, which are generally free from mortgage: the trade of the world is free to *both*, and neither of them enjoys bounties or protections. There is, therefore, perfectly fair play for the trial of the two systems. The point at issue, therefore, is, which of the two has succeeded best, remembering that the only difference between them is, slave-importing and slave-breeding. Commencing with the peace of 1814, when the slave-trade was carried on with renewed vigour, the Brazilians sup-

plied this country with 128,472 bags of Cotton, whilst the Americans little exceeded them in the number of bags, being then only 165,046. But in the years 1827 to 1831, we find the American supply had increased to 556,507, being 337 per cent.; whilst the Brazilian supply had only increased to 161,467 bags, or about 25 per cent.; and in the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, we find that the average supply of American Cotton had increased to 926,986 bags per annum, while that of Brazilian had decreased to 117,602 bags per annum. During the same period, the price of Cotton has been reduced from an average of about 19*d.* per lb., to one of about 7*d.* per lb., or to nearly one-third of its former price; a reduction manifestly occasioned by a cheaper mode of production in America, from the cheaper kind of labour employed; as the two countries are on a par in everything but this, that the Brazilians import their slaves, the Americans rear them.*

As a system of slave-cultivation, that of the United States is acknowledged to be the most economical in the world, but we cannot leave this subject without calling attention to the important fact, that though the American cultivation of Cotton by slavery has almost wholly superseded its growth in our colonies, and greatly checked its increase in the Brazils; yet the Carolinians themselves have been driven out of the cultivation of Indigo, in consequence of its still cheaper production by free-labour in the East Indies!

Fifty years ago, little or no Indigo was exported from British India. The whole of that article then used in Europe was the product of slave-labour. A few individuals in Bengal employed their capital and their intelligence in inciting the natives to enlarge their cultivation of it, and in preparing it for the European market; and, though abundantly dis-

* The correctness of this conclusion is in no degree shaken by the well-known fact, that large numbers of slaves are annually exported from Maryland and Virginia, into the southern states, because it is shown by the census that the slave population of the latter, is not only kept up independent of this supply, but is increasing at a rate which it is wholly inadequate to account for.

The increase in these states, exclusive of Maryland and Virginia, in the ten years from 1820 to 1830, was 548,821, or upwards of fifty per cent. on the whole slave-population. Now, on the highest possible estimate, not one-third of this number could have been imported during the above period, the remainder must have been the natural increase, and it is therefore undeniable that the system of labour employed is, as we have stated above, that of slave-breeding.—*See book of the United States, by GRANVILLE MELLE, New York, 1839.*

couraged in the first instance, yet, the duties being nearly equalized, their efforts were at length crowned with complete success. Such, indeed, has been the effect of British skill and capital united, when employed in calling free-labour into action, that, notwithstanding the enormous freights (five times their present rate) which, for a time, the importers of it had to pay, the Indigo of India has been gradually displacing from the market the Indigo grown by slaves; until, at length, with the help of the free-trade, and the lighter freights consequent upon it, there is not now one ounce of Indigo the produce of slave-labour, imported into Europe; while the value of the Indigo grown in British India, amounts to nearly four millions sterling annually. The only existing competitors in this branch of trade are the free-labourers of Guatemala and the Caraccas; and their competition, which had for a time been nearly extinguished, is now only reviving with the new-born liberties of these regions.

It will thus be seen that by the operation of this beautiful law, slavery always contains within itself the seeds of its own destruction. Slave-cultivation requires, as necessary conditions to its existence, fertility of soil, scarcity of labour, and high prices of produce; and if either of these conditions cease, it must soon draw to a close. If the system be maintained in all its atrocious severity, as in the older West India colonies of Great Britain, population is indeed kept down; but the deterioration of the soil, after a while, makes it unprofitable; and if, on the other hand, the comfort of the slaves be provided for, they increase in number, and labour becomes so plentiful, that they are of little value. In either case, fresh importations will cease, and the slave-trade be at an end.

The planter is thus driven to a cheaper mode of cultivation, viz., by home-bred slaves; and if our views be correct, he will soon be compelled to quit even his new position by the unrestricted competition of free-labour.

Thus, as we have stated before, while the Brazilian Cotton-grower has been far outstripped by the planters of Carolina, the latter have been themselves driven out of the cultivation of Indigo, in consequence of its *cheaper* production by free-labour in the East Indies. In about three years after the first importations of indigo from the East, the Carolinas closed their ports against any fresh importations of slaves, and although they found employment for their hands in the cultivation of

Cotton, yet it may fairly be estimated, that several hundred thousand Africans have been saved from the horrors of slavery, in consequence of the cultivation of Indigo by free-labour. Thus, whenever the competition of free-labour can be fully and fairly brought into action, it is the conviction of your committee, that its first triumph will be the destruction of the slave-trade, and its last and final one, the extinction of slavery itself.

As the limits of this report will only permit your committee to enter very briefly into some of the considerations connected with this important subject, they refer such persons as may be desirous of pursuing the investigation, to the following publications, to which in the preceding statement, they have been largely indebted:—

1. HODGSON'S Letter to SAY, on the Comparative Expense of Free and Slave-Labour Liverpool, 1823.
2. A Letter on the Injurious Effects of High Prices, and the Beneficial Effects of Low Prices in the Condition of Slavery. By JAMES CROPPER 1823.
3. Relief of West Indian Distress, ditto 1824.
4. Support of Slavery Investigated 1824.
5. An Impartial Appeal to the People of Illinois, on the Injurious Effects of Slave-Labour Philadelphia, 1824.
6. A Short Review of the Slave-Trade and Slavery, with considerations on the benefit which would arise from cultivating tropical productions by Free-Labour. By JOHN STURGE Birmingham, 1827.
7. Wages or the Whip. By JOSIAH CONDER 1833.
8. Review on the report of a Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the state of the West India Colonies. By JAMES CROPPER 1832.
9. Vindication of a Loan to the West India Planters. By JAMES CROPPER 1833.

Your committee feel that they cannot pursue this subject further, without alluding to the writings of one long known to many in this assembly, who has but a very few months since been called from his self-denying labours to his eternal reward, the late JAMES CROPPER of Liverpool. To those who estimated and loved him, they need not dwell on the originality of thought; the strength of intellect; the singleness of heart and purpose; the unbounded benevolence; and, above all, the Christian humility which distinguished his character. To such

as were strangers to him, it would be unseemly to proclaim them, for he sought not human applause. His life was prolonged until the final completion of that great measure to which many of his best years had been devoted, the abolition of slavery throughout the British dominions; and regarding it, as he always did, but as a prelude to the universal emancipation of the negro race, we may be permitted to believe, that if the spirits of the glorified dead are ever suffered to revisit the scenes of their earthly labours, he is now rejoicing over this Convention, assembled from distant lands, to accomplish the object which was dearest to him while on earth. At an early period of the anti-slavery movement, he directed the faculties of his powerful mind to the investigation of that branch of the subject which we are now considering, and in a series of able pamphlets, demonstrated its important bearing on the emancipation of the slaves in our colonies, and the extinction of slavery. He showed that the operation of that wonderful and beautiful law which we have endeavoured to explain, the rapidly decreasing fertility of the soil under a system of slavery, had never failed to compel the planter to adopt a more economical mode of cultivation, which ended in approximating the condition of his slaves to that of freemen, except where, as in our colonies, a wasteful and expensive system was maintained by bounties and monopolies; or, as in the United States, large tracts of new and fertile land drew off the population by an internal slave-trade. He exposed, in all their intricacies, the multiplied delusions practised on us by the slave-holders in the colonies, the vast cost at which we maintained our colonial system, and its monstrous and destructive results; and he pointed out the infallible tendency of the competition of free-labour to counteract the evils of slavery, and ultimately to extinguish it. He persisted in pressing these views on the attention of the British public, in spite of opposition and obloquy; in spite of the attempts of many well-meaning philanthropists to set them aside, as a mere commercial view of the question, and in spite of the most unworthy imputations cast on his own motives and character. None acquainted with the history of the abolition struggle in this country, can entertain a doubt of the immense influence they had in determining the final event, as they gradually found their way into most of the debates in Parliament, and most of the publications issued from the press.

Your committee wish to draw your attention to a few passages

in his writings, in order to show with what sagacity he foresaw the results of emancipation in our colonies; and to point out the exact, and, in relation to this question, most instructive coincidence of the event with his predictions.

In his *Support of Slavery Investigated*, published in 1824, he says:—

“If benevolent or virtuous feeling is strong enough, without any other motive, to effect the extinction of slavery in the British dominions, have we any good grounds for supposing the same motives will operate on other nations who hold a great part of these Africans in slavery? Have the French, the Spaniards, or Portuguese, followed us in the abolition of the slave-trade? From whence, then, are these poor beings to hope for the restoration of their rights? Can we do nothing for them? We can prove to the world at large, that slavery is a bad and impolitic system, and that converting the slaves into free-labourers will be a change, nearly as advantageous as the introduction of machinery in the spinning of Cotton; *and then we are as sure that the French will follow us in the one case, as they have done in the other.*”

In the *Vindication of a Loan to the Planters*, published in 1833, he says, in speaking of the proposed compensation, and urging that it should be a loan instead of a gift, page 10:—

“If the contemplated change should prove to be as great a benefit to the West Indians as I believe it will be, nothing could be more absurd than to give them £15,000,000 to induce them to accept a still greater benefit.”

And again, in page 18:—

“When the slaves are emancipated, the estates, with the sugar-mills, might be let to tenants, who would manage them with emancipated labourers, and pay a rent as English farmers do. The mere collection of rents for non-resident planters would be very simple, and would only cost a moderate commission upon the nett income, instead of a high rate on the gross produce.”

“When emancipated, the slaves will no longer be the property of the master; but it may be shown that, as land-owners, their property will be more increased by an addition to the free population than if the same were held in slavery.”—page 11.

In his review of the report of the West India Committee, also published in 1833, after dwelling on the permanent advantages of emancipation, he says:—

“Besides all these permanent advantages, there would probably be a large temporary profit from a reduction in the cultivation of sugar, the growth of which, might, for a few years, be brought below the increased consumption of the country, the present growth being 30,000, to 40,000 tons per annum above it. If the growth should be reduced only 20,000 tons or to about 180,000 tons per annum, an advance of 6s. per cwt., would be very probable, and would add to the profits of the planters £1,080,000 per annum. To give such a temporary advance of price, in order to introduce the cultivation by free-labour in the West, and improve and extend it in the East, would very soon be re-paid by more abundant supplies and low prices.”

It is hardly necessary to point out, that already, in this the second year of freedom, all these predictions have been exactly fulfilled. France is at this moment preparing to follow us in the emancipation of her slaves. The planters have not only received twenty millions of compensation, but their estates are more valuable than before, and their prosperity greater than at any former period. Their estates are in many cases already let to tenants; and finally, the production of sugar has actually fallen in 1839 below the home consumption, and occasioned an increase of price, even greater than Mr. C. anticipated, holding out a stimulus to production by free-labour, of which we are convinced the fruits will soon be apparent.

While the results of emancipation had thus been clearly foreseen by the abolitionists of this country, only differing from their prediction in having far transcended their most sanguine hopes, let it not be said, that because the produce of sugar has diminished, and because labour is scarce in some of our colonies, this circumstance forms an exception to the general rule. We foresaw and we predicted its occurrence, and although from causes which none could foresee, the temporary rise in the price of sugar has been so great as to become a grievous tax on the people of this country; yet, confident as we are, that the advance is only temporary, and that its very excess will cause a more speedy re-action, we cannot lament it as an evil. The advanced price of sugar will stimulate its production by free labour all over the world. It will operate as a bounty for raising it by an improved system of manufacture, which, once thoroughly brought into action, will go on with accelerated speed, and will, in every successive year, exercise an increasing influence in promoting the downfall of slavery. The present

is a moment of critical importance in the competition of free with slave-labour ; and it is of the utmost consequence that we seize it, and make the most of it. While your committee, therefore, would urge you cordially to co-operate with every plan for raising tropical productions by free-labour all over the world ; and while they look especially to our Indian empire, as to a boundless, and, with one exception, almost untried field for these operations, they feel it their especial duty at this juncture, to direct the attention of abolitionists to our colonies in the West. There we have a free black population rapidly advancing in intelligence, who know their rights, and will soon be able to protect themselves in the enjoyment of them ;— a population, too, it should never be forgotten, who have been our slaves, and whose welfare we are therefore bound, by every recollection of former wrong, as well as by every sentiment of justice, to promote.

In some of our older colonies, where the fertility of the soil has been exhausted, it has long been foreseen, that after emancipation, the cultivation of sugar must be relinquished on many of the estates. We have some documents before us which show that this article is at the present time in Jamaica produced on some estates at twice the cost at which it is produced on others ; a state of things which cannot continue long under a free-system. The less fertile lands will soon be applied to raising other kinds of produce, and although it is probable the value of estates in general will not be diminished, yet the production of sugar, so far as these islands are concerned, may not be maintained at its former amount. The impotent attempts to keep down the rate of wages below their natural level in some of them, may be regarded as an expiring struggle to maintain the cultivation of sugar where it ought to be relinquished.

But we have no fear that the produce of this article in our colonies will be permanently diminished. In Trinidad, and in British Guiana, there is a vast extent of unoccupied land of almost boundless fertility, sufficient to grow sugar for the whole world. In these colonies, the cultivation is at present immensely profitable, and labour is in such great demand, that there is reason to believe the planters would grant us any concession or securities we can ask, if we will only aid them in obtaining it.

While, therefore, we deprecate the introduction of ignorant and helpless beings from another hemisphere into these colonies, we think

that if a sufficient guarantee can be obtained for securing entire freedom, and equal rights to free black immigrants from our other West India colonies, and the United States of America, immense advantages would ensue. We are aware of the difficulties of obtaining such a guarantee, but we cannot believe them insuperable. Let immigration once set in, and it will, in all probability, soon flow onward, as we can see no limit to the demand for labour; and as the population of our other colonies, hitherto kept down by oppression, will doubtless increase with almost unexampled rapidity, under the blessings of freedom, there can be no fear of a want of new settlers, whether it be labourers or free black proprietors. Thanks to the labours of our missionaries, these would reach the shores of British Guiana, intelligent, and civilized, and christianized. Under an improved system of cultivation, the unfailing accompaniment of freedom, where animal labour and the plough are employed more, and the sinews of man less, their labour would soon become productive beyond example.* Under these circumstances, it cannot admit of a doubt, that sugar would soon be raised in unlimited quantity, and at a price which, after a fair profit to the planter, would still be low enough to undersell in all the markets of Europe, the blood-stained produce of Cuba and the Brazils. If there be any truth in the principles we have endeavoured to explain, the transport of human beings to these charnel houses of death would then cease, as it would no longer repay the risks of the passage. The slave-trade would thus be at an end, and as the competition of free labour held on its course, these nations would ultimately relinquish slavery itself.

It is impossible to contemplate such glorious results without an intense feeling of desire for their accomplishment. While then we would not relax a single effort for terminating, by moral and religious means, the curse of slavery, while we would unite with every friend of

* It will hardly be believed, that that simplest of agricultural implements, the plough has been hitherto almost unknown in our sugar-colonies. Several planters have recently introduced it on their estates, and the result has been, as might have been anticipated, an immense saving of human labour. In the French islands, two hands are reported to do with its aid, the work formerly done by ten. In our own islands, it is stated in one instance, to enable *two* men, in another, a *single man* to do the work of *ten*, and Mr. ANDERSON mentions an estate in Jamaica, under the management of a Mr. STEWART, which had formerly about 100 slaves, furnishing an effective working gang of thirty, the whole cultivation of which, was now carried on with the plough, by three men and a boy.

the African race in calling on the nations of the earth, by the solemn duty they owe to their God to let the oppressed go free ; we would at the same time entreat each and all of them, to co-operate with us in giving effect to the principles we have developed, which we firmly believe to have been destined by the Divine Being, to banish slavery from the world, if every other effort should unhappily fail.

Mr. BOULTBEE.—I beg to move, That the report now read be received. At the commencement of our proceedings, Mr. O'CONNELL, for whose philanthropy and talents I entertain the profoundest respect, suggested that we should turn our efforts to some practical effect. The object of the resolution I now hold in my hand, is to carry out that suggestion of my worthy friend. I think it may be done by showing in the first place, that free-labour is cheaper than that of slave ; in other words, that honesty is the best policy ; or to repeat the same sentiment a third time, by showing that the only real expediency is a strict adherence to principle. Our object is, the emancipation of all our fellow-creatures ; and so far as I can ascertain the difficulties we have to encounter, they resolve themselves into two parts ; one is, the reluctance of the slave-holders to give up the arbitrary power with which they have hitherto been entrusted ; the other, their apprehension of pecuniary loss. With respect to the first, the only compensation we can offer the planters for depriving them of arbitrary power is, the greater degree of respectability and happiness which may reasonably be expected to result from the exercise of justice and humanity, rather than of cruelty and oppression. With respect to pecuniary emolument, I imagine it may be proved beyond the possibility of contradiction, that free-labour is in every respect the most advantageous. The difficulty which we have to encounter is, not to procure evidence or arguments to this effect, but to select out of the vast mass before us, that which is most appropriate to the occasion. There are gentlemen present who will speak of the advantages of free-labour over slavery in the East Indies. Our worthy friends who have come across the Atlantic, instigated by the love of justice, humanity, and freedom, will tell you that in comparing the free with the slave-states of America, the comparison is, without exception, in favour of the former. There are other gentlemen here who will explain to you the advantages which have already resulted from emancipation in our own colonies. I imagine that these two latter sources of evidence are sufficient for our purpose. In America the comparison is drawn from the same kind of estates contiguous to each other, possessing the same advantages from salubrity of climate and fertility of soil ; the one cultivated by slaves, the other by freemen at the same time. It will be proved that in our own colonies, the same estates cultivated at one time by slaves, at another by freemen, were most productive in the latter case. For the short time that I shall occupy the Convention, I shall confine my attention to the effects of emancipation in our own colonies. As this is an experiment upon which the eyes of the whole world are fixed, it is of paramount importance to our object, that it should be fairly tried and worked out. That I contend is not at present the case. We unfortunately paid before hand, and the consequence is, we have not had value for our money. From all the information which

has reached me, it appears, that the laws absolutely requisite for the protection of the emancipated slaves have not been enacted; that others of directly the contrary tendency have passed, and worst of all, that the execution of these laws, defective and bad as they are, has been entrusted to the hands of the oppressors; and therefore, as in the case mentioned by Mr. TURNBULL, with reference to Cuba, oppression still rears its hideous head. There are two points in which I think I can suggest a practical course to pursue. Under present circumstances, an emancipated slave, now called a freeman, has no chance of justice in any appeal which he makes to the law; and further, whenever a man has had the courage and the disinterestedness at a great sacrifice of time, money, and at the most serious risk, to defend the negroes, the planters have adopted the infernal system of endeavouring to ruin him by legal expenses. A considerable fund has been raised for the express purpose of protecting the worthy men who are the victims of this nefarious system; and I would urge upon every person whom my suggestion may reach, more especially upon those possessed of affluence, to contribute according to their means to this fund. I am persuaded, that if it were known to the planters, that this contrivance of theirs would fail, and would only bring disgrace and expense upon themselves, they would cease to adopt it. The other practical object I have in view, has reference to the negroes themselves. The lash and other instruments of torture, being now withdrawn from the hands of the planters, they have had recourse to a system of exorbitant rents, and ejections. It is absolutely necessary to put an end to this, before our object can be carried into effect, or we can obtain value for the money so liberally paid. Funds have been raised for this purpose also. Estates have been bought on a large scale, and sold in small allotments to the ejected negroes. What I wish to suggest is, that the plan should be carried out more extensively. This alone would do much to secure our victory in the cause of humanity. The land has been sold to the negro at the price which it has cost, and that is exceedingly beneficial as far as it goes; but if the price were to be doubled, and that was sold retail for £4 which cost £2 wholesale, it would still be cheap to the negro, with this advantage, that the profit would extend the benefits of the scheme beyond the power of calculation. My object was to call the attention of the Convention, and through them, the world at large, to these two points—the best means of protecting those men who stand forth as the champions of the negroes; and of furnishing residences for the negroes, who, by the tyranny of the planters have been, or may hereafter be, ejected. In reflecting on the subject of slavery during the major part of my life, (considerably more than half a century), my feelings have been divided between commiseration for the oppressed, and shame for the oppressors. In imagination it has been my habit to paint the abettors of slavery under any circumstances, as smeared from head to foot with the blood of the miserable victims of their avarice and oppression. I could not return home at peace with myself, without raising my voice as loud as possible in this most sacred cause.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—It is, I assure you, with feelings of peculiar pleasure, that I stand before this respectable assembly, for the purpose of detailing, with as much brevity as truth will admit, the glorious results of that act of justice and mercy which has now gladdened the islands of the West; and if the remarks which I shall make, appear sometimes to bear hard upon certain persons, I wish it to be distinctly understood that I entertain not the

least ill-will to any creature that breathes ; that I attack principles, and that those principles must be attacked till every vestige of forced labour and oppression is driven from our shores. The emancipation of my brethren and sisters in the islands of the West has been purchased at too immense a cost for us to allow any fraction of their liberty to be taken away ; and while we do not wish to take one farthing of the twenty millions which the liberality of the British public gave to the planters, we are determined that not one single iota of the liberty of the people shall be taken from them. The preceding speakers have referred chiefly to the cultivation of the soil, and to the influence which emancipation has had upon the productiveness of sugar, or other products, in reference to the interests of the masters. It will be my duty, as far as I shall have opportunity this morning, to show that those most interested in emancipation, the suffering negroes, have been benefited also ; and if we can prove this point—if we can prove that his morality, his virtue, his industry, his every comfort has been improved, we prove all that we need in reference to this great object. It is not with us a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence, but of stern principle, and to this we must come, and by this the issue must abide. Therefore, ere I enter on these matters of fact to which I shall confine my attention, it is my duty, if this assembly will allow me, to clear the character of my brethren, the negroes, who cannot speak for themselves, from the aspersions which are continually cast upon them. And I here aver, with a consciousness, that I am speaking truth, that there does not exist, under the canopy of heaven, a more industrious, more orderly, more peaceful peasantry than those *things* whom you have made *men*. I shall not take up your time by reading many extracts ; but as I know that some imputation is, by those much interested in this discussion, cast upon whatever a Missionary may offer, I shall substantiate what I have seen myself, by a reference to those, who, in Jamaica, have held the office of Governors. Sir LIONEL SMITH, and when I mention his name, I mention the name of a man whom every emancipated negro in Jamaica almost adores ; I mention the name of an individual who exerted all the powers of his energetic mind for the protection of the oppressed, and for the deliverance of the captive ; and if one subject is more painful to me than another, it is that premature recal by which he was not permitted to carry out those principles of justice and benevolence on which every feeling of his heart was bent. In his answer to an address which I had, in connexion with my reverend brethren, the honour of presenting to him, he thus speaks of the general conduct of the emancipated peasantry ; “ On my assuming the government of this colony, I strongly expressed my reliance on the whole body of Missionaries, in their high integrity of purpose, and in their loyal principles. You more than realised all the benefits I expected from your ministry, by raising the negroes from the mental degradation of slavery, to the cheering obligations of Christianity ; and they were thus taught, that patient endurance of evil, which has so materially contributed to the general tranquillity. Even with the aid of a vicious and well-paid press, both in England and Jamaica, and, it may be presumed, some habitual confidence in Jamaica juries, the enemies of your religion have never dared to go to the proof of their audacious accusations against you. Gentlemen, the first year of general freedom has passed away. What were the foreboding of its enemies ? Where are the vagrants ? Where the squatters ? Where the injuries against properties, or the persons of white men ? Out of the 300,000 oppressed slaves let loose in one day, to equal rights

and liberty, not a human being of that mass has committed himself in any of those dreaded offences. The admirable conduct of the peasantry in such a crisis, has constituted a proud triumph to the cause of religion ; and those who contributed to enlighten them in their moral duties, through persecutions, insults, and dangers, have deserved the regard and esteem of the good and the just, in all Christian countries. The people of England have a right to demand, and will still insist, that the liberty of the negroes, purchased by them, at such a heavy cost, should be perfectly secured to them, and much remains to be done for them. You may feel assured, however, that the same power which achieved such a glorious national honour, as the destruction of slavery in all its dependencies, will ultimately put down the bad laws and petty tyrannies, by which the peasantry are still harassed and oppressed." I trust that the whole of the documents to which I allude will be called for, that these sentiments may go forth to the world : for I plead on behalf of my calumniated brethren, who are not here to speak for themselves. I shall only read one extract more, and I read it in order to make some remarks upon it. Sir CHARLES METCALFE has borne testimony to the good conduct of the negroes, though he has seen fit to denounce the Baptists as political agitators ; and, if to attempt by every constitutional means to secure liberty for the negroes be political agitation, he has said right. We do not shrink from the avowal, that it is our intention to endeavour to effect this ; and we never intended as Baptist missionaries, to shrink from the performance of our duties. "The conduct of the labouring population," he says, "generally is represented by the stipendiary magistrates, whose reports are the most frequent channels of official information possessed by the government, as being orderly and irreproachable, and I see no reason to doubt the truth of their representations." Then, why, are those documents now withheld ? "Particular instances of an opposite character have come under my notice since my arrival ; but I trust and believe, that they are exceptions to the general rule. The generally tranquil state of the country, without any police, is a strong proof of the present peaceable disposition of the inhabitants. The character, however, acquired by the people in their transition from slavery to freedom, seems to be more that of independence than of submission to the will of others." And so it should be : we wanted to make them free. "They are, I imagine, as independent and thriving, and as little subservient as any labouring population in the world. They are, also, as far as I can see, cheerful and merry. They are generally seen, in this neighbourhood with smiling faces and civil tongues, and seem pleased with being noticed." I shall refer to that document again ere I close, but I found on it this remark ; If these things are so why coerce them ? Why again try to manacle them ? Why under the Petty Debt act, by Vagrant acts, by an armed police, turn them from their domiciles, and try again to make them vassals ? In the remarks which I shall have to make in reference to my personal experience, I shall first assert, that emancipation has produced an increase of morality, social order, and domestic happiness. These truths have so clearly revealed themselves in Jamaica, that I am almost afraid I shall be trespassing on your time by referring to them ; but lest there should be any persons not yet acquainted with the facts, to stimulate them to renewed efforts till every slave shall inhale the breath of freedom, I must enjoy the luxury of telling you, if you will submit to hear it, the delightful facts which have transpired in the islands of the West. The result of emancipation has been seen in the

almost universal observance of the ceremony of marriage. The brethren with whom I am connected have, since freedom came, celebrated nearly six thousand marriages. Many have said, "Now our wives and our children will be our own, and the lash will no more torture them." It has been seen in the observance of the Christian Sabbath all over the island. I aver, with the consciousness that I am speaking truth, that I have seen more desecration of the Sabbath in one day in London, than I have seen in Jamaica ever since freedom smiled on the islands of the West. The absence of crime forms another interesting feature in connexion with this subject. In the parishes, more especially where the political agitators live, there has been a diminution of crime unparalleled in the history of this, or any other country. In the district where I reside, in the parish of Trelawney, there are about 35,000 or 40,000 individuals. During the first quarter of a year after the abolition of slavery only one person was tried for any offence against the laws of his country; and during the last quarter of a year only one person was brought there to be tried; and when JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, a name dear to us all, visited, just before I left the island, the only jail in Trelawney, he found but one person in it, and that was a white man. I have been there, and though I have mentioned the circumstance elsewhere, perhaps it is as well to repeat it, I visited the tread-mill, and found it covered all over with dirt, and rust, and filth. I said to Mr. BARBER, (for I like to give names; let us have every scrutiny that our most inveterate enemy can institute), how comes it that the tread-mill is in this condition? He replied; "The fact is, Mr. KNIBB, ever since the first of August came, we have never been able to muster eight hands at a time, and it won't turn round with less." There are more than one or two houses, or jails, which have been shut up for months, not a single inmate being found therein. I will only refer on this head to one more fact; and I will give the paper I hold in my hand to the Committee, if they wish to see it. I have the name of every person tried at the last assizes, in the county in which I reside. It contains about 125,000 inhabitants, and out of this number, there were only fourteen persons tried, six of whom were white men, three out of the black men were acquitted of the crimes laid to their charge, and there was not one female among the whole.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—What proportion does the white population bear to the black?

Rev. W. KNIBB.—I do not think there are 20,000 whites out of the 125,000.

A DELEGATE.—30,000.*

Rev. W. KNIBB.—Well, 30,000. The less the better. A respected minister of the Established Church, Mr. C. KENCH, a brother who goes heart and hand in the work of abolition, assured me, that though he had lived nearly seven years in the districts, close to which I dwell, he had never seen a drunken man since there he resided. The diminution of crime may be proved by the fact, that out of 24,471 members and inquirers in that district, only one had been brought to the bar of his country when I left the island, and he was acquitted. The next subject on which I shall touch is this; I affirm not only that morality, social order, and domestic happiness, have increased since emancipation, but that industry is the order of the day generally, wherever the negroes are fairly treated. This is a subject which

* There are not more than 12,000.—W. K.

is so frequently canvassed, and on which such deep interest is felt, that I am sure I shall be excused for referring to particular instances, to shew that wherever the labouring population in general have been fairly treated, they have met their employers with the most hearty response. I am not going to discuss whether two pounds of sugar are made instead of one; whether two gallons of rum are made to poison the people, or one; we are not come here to decide that question; but I aver this, that though there has been a diminution in the cultivation of the soil, it has not arisen from any indisposition on the part of the labourers to work. Not only have they been insulted by the offer of wages, which it would have been exceedingly foolish in them to take; but they have even had more trouble to get their money when they have fairly earned it, than it was worth when they had received it. But not merely is this the case. There are oppressive laws enacted for the avowed purpose of crushing the liberties of men; and those who take the deepest interest in the welfare of the negro must, and they will, enable him to obtain a free settlement for himself, where tyranny cannot reach him, and the power of oppression cannot touch him. I mentioned a case the other day, of one of the members of the church over which I preside, to show that where the labourers are not engaged in the cultivation of sugar, it is quite possible that they are engaged in something else. The first thing I stated in reference to this was, that exorbitant rents were frequently charged, and that in consequence of the power possessed of obtaining these rents, and likewise the power of summary ejection, the negroes were much inclined to purchase land for themselves, and I am exceedingly inclined to procure it for them. On the Buff Bay estate, in the parish of St. George's, the following account was rendered to a man for a hovel and a little ground; a hovel scarcely fit for a human being to live in.

Dec. 31st., 1839.

MR. WILLIAM WORDSWORTH,
To WILLIAM HASSACK, Proprietor of Buff Bay River Estate.
£. s. d.

For the use and occupation on said estate, for one year to date,			
of one garden and one house, at 1s. 8d. per week, each . . .	8	13	4
For four Cocoa-nut trees, at 5d. each, per ditto . . .	4	6	8
For one ground, feeding self, and children, at 1s. 8d. per week . . .	30	5	8
	<hr/>		
	£43	5	8

Some of my friends may be ready to inquire whether this can really be true. I know that it is. I hold in my hand the original documents, and I have plenty of a similar character. The following was issued just as the Petty Debt, and other infamous acts were passed, "Received the sum of £1. for rent, up to the 25th January, 1840," signed, "EDWARD SEDGWICK." Now mark the following notice appended to this receipt; "Every first-class labourer who has been working off the property, will be required to pay 1s. 8d. per week; and all above 10 years old, 10d. per week, and must work five days in the week, otherwise 1s. 8d. will be charged to the first class, and 10d. to the second, for every day they absent themselves without a satisfactory reason." Do you call that freedom? I do not call it so; it is not worth one farthing; much less £20,000,000. But, notwithstanding these things, we have an outlet in Jamaica. I rejoice that my esteemed friend, who proposed the resolution, referred to the subject. We have in connexion with our own society, at least 1000 freeholders already; I believe that is below the mark. I will state one

fact, to shew that though the labourers have made these purchases, they do not wish to leave off the cultivation of sugar, when they are fairly met. I purchased through a friend the other day, of Mr. COLVILLE of London, a part of a mountain, and though the lot only contained 45 acres, ten of which only were accessible, I gave for it £500. sterling.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—What was that worth before emancipation ?

Rev. W. KNIBB.—I would not have given one quarter of the amount for it. Perhaps you will say, How did they pay for it ? They paid for it at once. Forty families came and purchased what they wanted from one estate, and I had the pleasure before I left of signing 150 titles to give 150 votes. I received from this settlement the other day the most pleasing accounts. Before I left Jamaica, three or four houses were erected, and I saw the man there with his wife in her proper place, and the Bible on the table. Step in, said they, Mr. KNIBB, and sit down and see how happy we are. But though this was the case with respect to this single purchase, and forty families from one estate named Kinloss, had purchased land and received the title to it, the day before they intended to leave, the manager was changed by the master at home. The new overseer of the name of SIMPSON, went to the people and said, “You have been treated shamefully, I will pay up your arrears.” He told me that they amounted to £130. The men instantly replied, “We will take you at your word,” and out of the forty families not one left, although the land I had purchased for them was within two miles of the place at which they lived. There are many such cases as this to which I shall probably refer at a future stage of these proceedings. I received, only the other day, the following letter from Mr. ABBOTT, and I mention it, because it will show that there are some good proprietors in Jamaica ; and if proprietors would but go out and visit their estates, I imagine they would think it was possible for some good thing to be found even in a “Baptist parson.” He says, “As to the working of the free system, which is a subject on which you will need information which may be depended on, I can report most favourably. You will recollect that on many of the estates in the vicinity of this town, [St. Ann’s Bay], permanent and fair arrangements for rent and labour, kept distinct, were entered into between the managers and labourers before you left. These arrangements have been carefully observed by both parties ; no disputes have occurred on those properties ; no work for the magistrates to do ; the people work well ; get good wages, and pay their rent regularly. I have it on good authority, that on Seville Estate, from seven to nine hogsheads of sugar are made per week, more than was ever made on it during slavery ; and Mr. PRINCK, the proprietor of Drax Hall, told me a few days ago, that the people on that estate were giving him great satisfaction, that he expected the property would yield 300 hogsheads of sugar this year, which is full one-third more than its average crop ; that he wishes to extend the cultivation of the cane, and can do so, giving liberal wages, at an amazing profit. I next refer to a gentleman of the Jewish persuasion, DANIEL HART, Esq. It was stated in Jamaica that he is a black man, but that is not true ; he is white in skin, though they have endeavoured to make him black before the world. I have here the original day book of Bowder’s Estate, to the 15th of February, 1840, and it is at the service of the Committee. DANIEL HART, distinctly told me that he charged no rent at all, and there I think he erred in judgment, but that he paid his labourers, and this book proves it, half a crown currency, that is eighteen pence a-day sterling for their work. He assured me that in

two years, and he showed me his book to prove it, that he had realised the purchase money of his estate. With respect to the industry of the negro population, I will refer to the testimony of the Rev. GEORGE BLYTH, who, in writing home a short time since, declares, "I do not know a healthy person in the congregation, who can justly be called idle." We see their industry in the absence of pauperism. It was stated in the public prints of Falmouth, that since the abolition of slavery, the poor-rates have doubled. I was desirous of ascertaining the whole truth; I did not like to know the half of it only. I called on one of the vestrymen, and inquired how many of the black population were on the poor list. The answer was, 'not one.' The fact is, that many persons who once had slaves to work for them, have become too lazy to work now for themselves, and they throw themselves on the poor-rates. Perhaps some one will inquire, 'How comes it to pass that you know so much about the working of the system?' Because we made it our business, as it was our duty to ascertain it. 'How is it that you know whether the people will work?' Just because we have employed them ourselves. The following fact will afford an illustration. I took a contract for building a chapel, which a white gentleman stated he could not erect for less than £2000. I was sure that it could be done for a smaller sum. I sent round to the estates, and offered the men higher wages than they were receiving, because I knew they deserved it. I gave them just what their masters swore they were worth when slaves. I paid the carpenters half-a-crown or three shillings per day sterling; and we built the chapel for £800 less than the white man said it could be done for. I know that it has been stated in connexion with this subject and reiterated, and if I am not mistaken, it has been stated in committees of the House of Commons, that the Baptist missionaries have induced the people to ask for greater wages than it was possible for the planters to afford. Why! the fact is, the planters fixed the rate of wages themselves. On turning to the reports of the special magistrates during the apprenticeship, you will find that when a negro was valued, with a view to obtaining manumission, the master attended and swore that his labour was worth so much per day, and the valuation was fixed according to the master's scale. Was it to be supposed, that when the negro was free, he should think himself of less value than he was as a slave? If, during one six months he was obliged to pay at the rate of eighteen-pence a day to obtain his freedom, do you think he would be so foolish as to work for less than that amount, during another six months when he was free? The reply given to this is, that they will not do so much work, as freemen, as they were compelled to do when slaves. The masters fixed the amount of labour to be performed when the men were slaves; the men now fix it for themselves. I have the scales of labour with me, and I am confident that it can be proved to demonstration, to any one who will take the trouble to inquire into it, that the masters have themselves, and themselves alone, to thank for the present position of affairs, by asking too much of the negro, who wished to procure freedom for which £20,000,000 had, by the British public, been already paid. The masters have themselves to blame, if the negroes ask too high wages now; but that is not the case. It was my happiness, in connexion with a friend—and I mention it because the proprietor lives in London, and EDWARD BARRETT managed the estate—it was my happiness to form the first scale of labour for that property, and I succeeded in securing continuous labour at 1s. and 1s. 6d. per day. But it is affirmed, that labour, though indus-

triously performed, will not pay the expense which is incurred. In refutation of this statement, allow me to refer to sugar-cane planting. Before a select committee of the House of Commons on the Abolition of Slavery, which sat in 1831 and 1832, WILLIAM TAYLOR, Esq. deposed, that this description of labour might be procured at £5 per acre. ROBERT SCOTT, Esq. states, that £10 and £11 is frequently paid, and that £7. 10s. is a low average. JAMES SIMPSON, Esq. estimates it at £7. WILLIAM SHAND, Esq. at £7. 10s. In the tables furnished to Mr. JOSEPH STURGE; HENRY HUNTER, Esq., attorney, of Latium Estate, in St. James', states, that the cost of cane-hole digging by jobbers was £8 per acre. Taking the average of these prices, leaving out the £10 and £11, as stated by ROBERT SCOTT, Esq., we shall find it to be £7. The usual price that is now paid is 3s. 4d. (two shillings sterling) for 100 holes; and as there are 2722 holes in an acre, the price at which free-labour is obtained amounts to about £4. 10s. 10d. currency per acre. I refer to cane-hole digging, because it is said to be the hardest work; and I aver that on all the estates with which I am acquainted, except where it has been very hard toil, 3s. 4d. has been received by the peasantry per hundred holes, and they have cheerfully performed the work. By this it will appear, that if the wages of labour are settled more at the will of the labourer than at that of his employer, the labourer is much more reasonable in his price than were the owners of flesh and blood in the days of slavery, requiring less by £2. 9s. 2d. for digging an acre of cane-hole, than the white man paid, by whom he was held in unjust bondage—30 per cent. less than that acknowledged to be paid by planters themselves in the palmy days of stocks, dungeons, stripes, and blood. It is not my intention to refer to the terms of labour in other colonies; but if the committee were to institute that inquiry, they would find that the emancipated negroes in the West Indies work for far less wages than are paid to the labouring population of Van Dieman's Land, South Australia, or Canada. With that subject I have, however, done. In my opinion, we have in the emancipation of the peasantry in the West Indies, the foundation of that independence which alone can secure permanent prosperity. I here refer in the first place to the numerous free villages which are rising up like so many gems of beauty throughout our lovely isle. It is true, as Mr. O'CONNELL, whom I should consider it an honour to be allowed to call my friend, has said, "All that was forced was retiring, all that was free was increasing." If you will come to the islands of the west, we will take you to the freeman's cot, to the freeman's house, to the freeman's castle, where the Petty Debt Act cannot reach him for unjust and iniquitous rent; where the Ejectment Act cannot take hold of him, because he does not choose to work for less than labour is worth; where he cannot be treated as a rogue and vagabond, because he chooses to conduct a prayer meeting with his fellow Christians; where no hand, but the hand of justice, can touch him for any crime he commits. The first town we formed we called after the name of your venerable Chairman, CLARKSON; and it contains a free peasantry, who are gaining an honest and comfortable livelihood. We have purchased a beautiful mountain, which, before I left, was almost all sold to the people, and laid out in a village; and in honour of the Birmingham folks, with whom I have had much to do, we have named it Birmingham. We have a third town which we have called Victoria; for as my brother BARRETT said on the first of August, and that was a triumphant day "what man could not do, woman did for the negro." We have, to shew our respect for that estimable man

JOSEPH STURGE, a town which bears his honoured name, not because it needs it, for it is deeply engraven on almost every negro's heart ; but there numbers of my brethren and sisters found a quiet and a peaceful home. At all these places we have schools and chapels, where the people can receive moral and religious instruction. Perhaps you will ask, who assisted me in effecting this? Mr. JOSEPH STURGE advanced the money, and we soon paid it back. Just as I left Jamaica, the people on Long Pond Estate came and said, "What are we to do, are we to submit to this?" viz., to be taxed 1s. 8d. if they chose to absent themselves from work, or their children 10d. a day, if they chose to go to school—for that is what is intended. I replied, if you submit to it, you deserve it. I desired them to go to the chapel, saying, that we would make it a barrack. That week nearly one thousand pounds currency was put into my hands to buy land, and we should have had a home there ere this, had there not been some legal difficulty about the title. But to show you how poverty-stricken we are in Jamaica, I may state, that for 130 acres of land, with an indifferent house upon it, we have to pay, and I shall be glad to pay, £2,800 currency. Can the people pay me back? Of course, they can. They have been saving the money out of their hard earnings. They do not spend their nights in the ale house, in scenes of festivity and riot; at least, not those who are under Christian instruction. Though their wages are small, yet they rear fowls, they keep pigs, and they are not, like the poor Irish, obliged to sell them for rent. I say then, that in the foundation of these townships, there is the foundation of that independence which Sir CHARLES METCALFE seems to deplore; but which we think is only the just and equitable result of the freedom we have bestowed. I may be permitted to say, in this Christian assembly, that emancipation has produced a marked increased attention to the higher duties of Christianity, and to the instruction of the young. During the time of slavery, in connexion with our mission, we had only about 250 children under instruction; during the time of the apprenticeship it rather increased, but during the last year of freedom we had 5,203 children in the day schools, 645 in the evening schools, and 9,159 Sunday scholars; and my brethren of other denominations, including the Church, have been as successful as ourselves. All who try to do Africa good, receive the blessing of Africa's God. It is not my intention here to speak of the increased attendance upon the house of God, though every denomination of Christians will go with me, in saying, that where there is a devout reverence of the sacred day, the firmest foundation of morality and religion exists. Our chapels, which were destroyed, are now erected twice their former size; where ten formerly stood, there now stand twenty, and they have been paid for by the voluntary subscriptions of the emancipated negroes. The church over which I preside, during the first year of freedom, subscribed 15,000 dollars for the purposes of religion and education; they have sent 500 dollars to your noble Convention; and so long as tyranny exists, if you will keep us free, we will assist you in freeing the world. I am happy to state, that other parties are engaged in this work with ourselves, and I hope that in two or three years, the members of every denomination will be gladdened with the tidings, that in Jamaica we want nothing but your prayers; and that every church is, by its own voluntary subscriptions, supporting its minister. I now come to another subject on which I shall touch but briefly. All these blessings, great as they are, are in my opinion about to be retarded by the operation of unjust and iniquitous

laws, and by the withdrawal of the only protectors of justice, the maligned, traduced, special magistrates of the island. I will merely refer to one enactment, called the Vagrant Act, and on it I will make one or two remarks. It enacts that "Every person wandering abroad, and lodging in any outhouse or shed, or in any deserted or unoccupied building, or in any mill, sugar or coffee works, watch-house, trash-house, or other buildings, or within any cane, coffee, provision piece, pasture, or enclosure, not having any visible means of subsistence, and not giving any good account of himself or herself, shall be deemed a rogue and a vagabond within the true intent and meaning of this act; and it shall be lawful for any Justice of the peace to commit such offender, being thereof convicted before him, on his own view, or by the confession of such offender, or by the evidence on oath of one or more credible witness or witnesses, to the house of correction, there, or on the public streets and highways, to be kept to hard labour for any time not exceeding sixty days." What are we to do with this act? It must be upset. Will you permit me to read an extract from the opinion of the Attorney-General, in confirmation of what I have said, with regard to the practical operation of the Petty Debt, Police, and Vagrant Acts. The Attorney-General has given it as his opinion, that the proprietary can, if they please, charge double rents. "In my opinion," he says, "the charge of double rent is not illegal, and it may be recovered by action at law, varying as to the Court, according to the amount, either before two Justices, under the Petty Debt Act, or in the Superior Court, in cases greater than the amount for which the Petty Debt Court gives remedy." This will be the effect of this Act; if a man refuses to work on the estate for a low rate of wages, because he can gain more by working somewhere else, his rent is doubled; if he refuses to pay he is seized upon, and if he does not appear, judgment is given against him by default, and after a few days' notice, he can by a summary ejectment be turned out of his house. There is a clause which provides, that if there be any impropriety in the manner of executing the law; if his furniture is broken, his wife beaten or abused, or anything of that sort, the officer or constable is not to be considered a trespasser, but the negro may have redress at common law. Common law in Jamaica! There may be law there, but there is no justice. We have tried it as Missionaries, and we have signally failed. Thinking that it might injure the cause which we hope to promote, when the most vile slanders were brought against us, I instituted an action so framed, that the parties might prove every thing, and though I established my case most distinctly, and the CHIEF JUSTICE said, he never saw a case more distinctly proved, yet a Jamaica jury without retiring for one minute, brought in a verdict of not guilty. And while I am addressing this respected assembly, a beloved brother connected with the Church of England, is in all probability immured within the walls of a jail, because he dared to be true to his God. The Rev. Mr. STAINSBY, a name as dear to us, as if he belonged to ourselves; a man, who for twenty years, has used his efforts in promoting the civil liberties of his fellow-creatures, a clergyman of the Church of England, is now, because he dared to purify the congregation over which he presides, from the contaminating influence of one of the supreme judges of the Court, amerced in £2500 damages with costs, and having nothing to pay it, he is arrested and thrown into jail. The very defence which the barrister set up for the plaintiff, was so filthy, that I should be hissed, and justly hissed from the platform, if I dared to allude to it; and for exposing such a man's crimes, there lies

in one jail a devoted minister of the Church of England ; and there lies in another, a devoted and intrepid Baptist ; and there they must lie, unless British power is sufficient to undo their manacles, and bid them go free. There is not a vestige of justice in Jamaica for any man who dares to lift up his voice against oppression and cruelty. Mr. JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, in reference to these laws, thus speaks—and let me entreat especial attention to it, for Mr. GURNEY is not quite so hot a man as Mr. KNIBB. “I do not consider it to be my province to enter into a discussion of the laws which have been enacted in this colony during the last few months ; but I cannot, with a good conscience, refrain from expressing my own opinion, that some of these provisions have an unfavourable bearing on the cause of equal rights and unrestricted freedom. It is unquestionable that the act for the recovery of petty debts, affords great facilities for the line of proceeding which I have now described. On visiting the jail of one of the parishes a few days since, I was alarmed by observing, that, whereas, the numbers of debtors confined in it during the whole of 1839, was only twelve, more than double the number, viz., twenty-five, had passed through that prison since the commencement of 1840, in little more than *two months*. Of these, sixteen were rent cases, under the Petty Debt Act. If such be the operation of this act in a single parish, what must it be in the whole of Jamaica ! Are we to forget that to cast a free-labourer into prison, even for days, is to break down his respectability, and to undermine his moral worth as a citizen of the state ? I own I tremble when I look at the too probable case of a free-labourer, who cannot agree with his master respecting the terms and duration of his weekly labour. He may be charged one of these penal and fictitious rents. Under the Petty Debt Act, he may be despoiled of his goods, and be imprisoned for a short period. Driven from his home by repeated vexations, or legally expelled from it by his employer, he may be found traversing the country in search of a new location, or sleeping at night on the road side in the open air. Under the Police Act, he may then be questioned and seized by an armed watchman ; and finally, under the Vagrant Act, he may be punished with sixty days imprisonment and hard labour in a penal gang. If these things are so, what is his alternative ? It is to yield to the compulsion ; that is what they mean, to comply with the requirements of his employer, and to labour against his own free will, for such wages, and for so many days and hours in the week, as his master sees fit to dictate. This surely is a perfect contravention of the intent and purpose of the Imperial Act of Emancipation. *In plain English, it is SLAVERY !*” These are the words of Mr. JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY. If then this be true, in plain English, those laws must be scattered to the winds. Mr. HUTCHINS, of Savannah-la-Mar, writing to a friend of mine, says, that Mr. McNEIL, and he is one of the men who croaked more about ruin than any other man I know, he is an attorney, and you will now find out why he croaked : Mr. McNEIL, who lives at Westmoreland, and whom I know very well, quite as much as I wish to know, has bought an estate for £4500, and will not take £500 for his bargain. He has also bought another large estate in the same neighbourhood. No one knows that these estates are for sale until they are purchased. Why do not the West India proprietors advertise their sales ? The property would fetch a much higher price. I have friends in Trelawney, who would assist me to buy them ; and we would show that Baptists can make sugar as well as preach the gospel. So long as the old attorneys can persuade the easily duped West India planters, with all

their penetration and all their skill, that ruin is going on in Jamaica ; so long as they can purchase the estates cheap for themselves ; they will not be quite such idiots as to make good crops for their masters. And now, will you assist us to put these laws down ? Shall the fair fruit of freedom be plucked ere it is ripe ? If this is the case, upon you, and not upon us in Jamaica, rests the guilt. I state the fact, and I shall be confirmed, that so long as we had fair freedom to work with, notwithstanding all the opposition that was made, the expectations of the most interested and of the most energetic, were more than fully realised ; and, if by the operation of these acts, these people are again to be ground down to the dust, no argument can be deduced from it against that emancipation which has hitherto worked well, and worked triumphantly for those for whom it was intended. In the name of 300,000 negroes in Jamaica, I return you all the thanks which grateful hearts, which happy wives and children can give, surrounded by all the domestic comforts which their husbands and fathers feel proud to impart. There are in the present assembly, those who hold sway in the senate of this country, and who can there lift up their voices on behalf of the oppressed. I cannot go there, or I would plead for injured humanity, if I were hissed by every man in the house. But there is more than one near me who can do it ; and on behalf of the persecuted children of Africa, those who are now subject to all these unjust and iniquitous laws, I ask it with imploring pity. All that I ask from Anti-Slavery Members of Parliament is, that as a proof of consistency of character, they will throw their shield around my emancipated brethren, and determine to give them the full enjoyment of their liberty. They will assist you in your work of mercy. There has been received already from the Falmouth Anti-Slavery Society, £100 sterling. That is our year's subscription. There has also been forwarded from St. Catherines, £100 ; from Brown's Town, £30 ; from St. Thomas in the Vale, £50 ; from Orange Chapel, Barbice, £50 ; from British Guiana, £100, and there is more on the road. Shall these fair fields be shut ? Have we not a right to demand every inch of liberty ? Yes, the very small dust in the balance is ours. Did not the planters have every farthing of their £20,000,000,—not that they deserved it ; but did they not have every farthing which British generosity could bestow for the bones and sinews of their fellow-men ? And now that they have obtained it, they turn round and ask you to re-enslave the victims. It must not, it cannot be done. I have been offered on the highest mountain where the foot of the oppressor has never trod, and where the breath of slavery has never been inhaled, except as its miasmata have been wafted from the fields beneath, I have been offered 10,000 acres, and if these laws be carried into effect, I will buy them, and retire there with my flock. I have been long enough inured to wrong, and on the mountain top we will have peace, if we cannot obtain it elsewhere. I sincerely thank you for your kindness in listening to me. I rejoice in pleading the cause of the oppressed. I have gone into these particulars, because our friends from America have said, " Mr. KNIBB, you are fighting the battle of freedom in Jamaica, and you must lay before us the facts." Yes, I will go to America and give them there if they please. I hope that among our anti-slavery friends there will be a determination to have the special magistrates kept up ; for, if you lose them, you will have interested parties to administer the law. We must have those who are uninfluenced by slavery, and who will give us the benefit of the laws enacted for our protection. I would call upon Christian females to continue their

zealous labours. You have accomplished much, and your African brethren have maintained their character to the very letter. They stand forth in official documents laid before Parliament, as the most moral people in the world. We have, in almost every church, a society formed for the protection of civil and religious liberty, and we are determined not to be crushed. That is just the whole truth. We are determined that we will have freedom, or we will have death. Not in a bloody manner; no, I would not touch the greatest tyrant that breathes, except by moral force, and by religious feeling. If you suppose, that if all denominations forsake us because we are political, we shall give up the mighty struggle, you mistake us. We fear not the frowns of the great on the one hand, nor do we court their smiles on the other. Engaged in this work of benevolence, we will go on united, heart and hand, with our American friends. Eventually we know that we must triumph. Every attribute of the Deity is on our own side; and the Omnipotence of JEHOVAH will soon crown the work.

Mr. BUXTON.—It is not every one in this large meeting who can appreciate the feelings of boundless satisfaction, or the still stronger feelings of intense gratitude to that great Creator, who has so favoured and so blessed our former exertions, which animated me upon hearing—I confess, to my shame,—unexpectedly, upon hearing the statement which we have this day heard from our reverend, and well known, and most worthy friend, Mr. KNIBB. I remember the time, keenly and accurately, when scorn was heaped upon the head of myself and some of those near me, particularly my friend to the left (Dr. LUSHINGTON), and my friend to my right (Mr. O'CONNELL), because we were so fanatical and wild, as to be confident that the negro would readily perform all that we promised in his name. I remember being laughed to scorn, for saying that he would work for wages. I remember the predictions with which we were met. "What?" it was said, "you a friend to humanity! What are you going to do? Why you are going to turn rebellion loose. You a friend to humanity! every white man will be massacred. You a friend to humanity! every negro will relapse into barbarism. You a friend to your country! its commerce will be destroyed, it will sink in the scale of nations. This blow, if ever it be unfortunately dealt out, will be the ruin of the West Indies, and the ruin of England." And let me say, that it was not by common authorities that this was stated. I heard it said by a gentleman, who was supposed to rank highest as a merchant of England; it was stated in 1832, by the Governor of the Bank, to his MAJESTY'S Ministers. This statement coming from such high authority, was one of the heaviest obstacles which we had at that time to encounter. With what grateful satisfaction, then, do I now look back to that long and laboured career! How thankful am I to see that every one of those predictions has proved false! Is there an increase of crime? Look at the goals of which we have heard to-day. Is there an increase of licentiousness? Look at the diffusion of religion, and the number of marriages of which we have this day heard. Is there ruin to the planter? He has been paid three times over; first, there was his compensation, and a most ample one; secondly, in the enormous rise in the price of sugar; and, thirdly, and it is a notorious fact answering everything that can be said about the ruin which awaits the planters, in the vastly increased value of all kinds of property throughout the West Indies. It was also predicted, that two years would not elapse before there would be an utter violation of all law, and constant assaults and attacks of the negro upon the white man.

Nothing has given me more satisfaction than to find this falsified. Before I went upon an accurate examination of the reports furnished by the highest authority, the Governors of the Colonies, I found only one case of that kind perpetrated up to that period. But then it was alleged, that the negro would never work for wages; it was fanatic, it was idle, it was monstrous, to suppose that he would. I heard it stated a thousand times, "If we thought these people would work for wages, we should immediately consent to their emancipation. We are friends of freedom in the abstract; it is only so far as practice is concerned, that we are enemies to it. All our doubts would be removed, if we were sure that they would work for wages." We now hear rather a different story. We are told that they are so very fond of wages, so well acquainted with the principle, that they will not work without they are well paid, so that the complaint we now hear is exactly the opposite of that formerly made; in fact, the masters think that they are too astute on that subject, that they know too much, and are apt to be too clever in making their bargains. It is cheering to contemplate the immense spread of education and Christianity; how all those things which tend to the eternal, as well as the temporal interests of man, have been extended. I was one of those who hated slavery for its cruelty to the body; but I hated it with a still more intense abhorrence for its oppression of the mind, and its cruelty to the soul of man. If there be one point on which I feel more satisfaction than another, it is the accounts which I continually hear of the advance and progress of the negroes in those things which concern their eternal welfare. I do not wish to encroach upon the time of the meeting, but give me leave to say, that I have another source of satisfaction, and a great one it is, considering the anxiety I endured on that subject, viz., to have heard the cheering statements which I have now done from Mr. KNIBB. I can truly say, that anxious nights and days have I spent with regard to that individual. It was reported that he was an outlaw; that they were hunting him for his life; that the rope was twisted round his neck; and we apprehended at one time that the next arrivals would bring an account of his execution; that he had died a martyr in the cause of freedom and humanity. Awful would it have been, with reference to the individual himself; but still more awful would the consequences have been with reference to the cause in which his energies have been embarked. I rejoice, therefore, to see him here, and to welcome him once more after all his labours. Give me leave to speak my whole mind on one subject. Not merely the West India negroes, but millions of black men in the world are interested in the events which are now transpiring. What is the dread which I have at this moment highest and strongest upon my mind? It is this, lest there should be a clamour throughout England regarding the price of sugar which will induce, or rather compel the Government to give way, and to admit slave-grown produce into the market. All our energies ought to be directed to the prevention of such a calamity. If it occurs, a scene of aggravated slaughter, terror, cruelty, and oppression, will burst on Africa; surpassing in its results all the wrongs which the negro has hitherto endured. We must work without faltering in this cause; because if slave-grown sugar be once admitted, we shall then have thrown away our money, and slavery will once more become rampant. I rejoice, however, in the statements we have heard from Mr. KNIBB, because they present to me the flattering hope that, though at this time there is only a limited production of sugar, yet that

in the space of a few years, there will be that general improvement, that advance in our own, and all other free colonies, (for it is not a national question merely) that free-grown sugar will be exclusively and plentifully supplied to our markets; and a fair opportunity will be afforded of trying the great experiment, as to whether slave or free-labour is most productive of ultimate advantage. I most sincerely trust that the result will be according to our ardent wishes. I beg pardon for taking up your time; but I could not resist the opportunity of expressing my deep and heart-felt gratification, that I, so long reproached for my extravagance and fanaticism, could not but experience on hearing the truths to which we have listened from my friend KNIBB.

RT. HON. DR. S. LUSHINGTON, M.P.—I feel proud to take a humble part upon this great and interesting occasion, when I hope that all persons of whatever nation, who are animated by the same feelings as ourselves, I mean, a detestation of slavery in every shape or form, may, in consequence of this meeting, be induced to unite together in the most strenuous efforts for the entire extinction of all that bears that detested name. I feel that there is no one subject that we can discuss, that is not intimately connected with it; and that it is of the last importance to the great ends we seek to attain, that we should bear in mind that the consequences of emancipation in the British colonies, provided they answer our hopes and expectations, are to lead, I trust, to the emancipation of slaves all over the world, and to the final abolition of the still more horrible trade in man. I confess, therefore, looking to the subject which you are now immediately discussing, that I view the experiment, for such it was said to be, with an interest that words can never exaggerate; for if we fail, not only shall we be disappointed in the great results which we have held out to the whole world, but that failure will be construed by others to be a failure, not arising from accidental or fortuitous causes, but a failure arising from mistaken and erroneous principles. It is, therefore, of the first importance, that the world should know what has been the true result of British emancipation; that we should for the future, foster those results till they attain the utmost perfection; that we should strenuously oppose every attempt which, by possibility, can interfere with that freedom, and so prevent the realization of our dearest and our best hopes. Mr. KNIBB has stated that which has come under his own observation, the fruits of his own experience in one of the greatest islands of the British empire; and he has stated to you what may be the effect, if certain measures passed by the legislature of Jamaica are allowed to take place, and which will again, in some degree, entangle those who have escaped from the trammels of slavery, curtailing the free course of their industry, and subjecting them to all the insults of oppression. I have looked with the deepest attention into those laws which have been passed in Jamaica, and I feel that it is one of the first duties of Her MAJESTY'S Government to refuse to confirm them; to reject one and all of those laws which have been framed, not as every law ought to be made for the administration of impartial justice between man and man, not for the protection of the peace, not for the preservation of the great bonds of human society, but to arm the employer with the means of exacting from the labourer his labour without its just reward, to strengthen the strength of the strong, and to weaken the weakness of the weak. The first and bounden duty then of this Government is,—and I will shew you presently that

it is its interest as well as its duty,—to see that the laws of all our colonies shall be just. It is doing nothing merely to pass laws, they must be executed in that spirit of truth and justice in which they were originally conceived. What has been the case?—I speak it not now to renew ancient occasions of censure or indignation against the inhabitants of our western dominions; but in order to prepare us for future consequences, it is necessary to look back upon the results of the past;—what has been the state of justice in all these dependencies? There has been no justice, there has been no faithful administration of any law intended for the protection of the low, the weak, and the oppressed. Laws, the fairest in appearance, and to all outward contemplation intended for the highest and the most humane purposes, have, in their execution, been wrested to promote iniquity and oppression. What hope have we for the future? What chance of better days? None, so long as the execution of these laws is entrusted to persons whose hearts are impregnated with a smattering of slavery. What you require then is the faithful administration of justice. If you have it not, you will have no constant and continuous labour. Believe me, a greater mockery never existed, however the hearts of some of the planters may be deceived by it, than to suppose that these laws will ever procure for them the object of their desire, continuous labour. On this estate, or on that, necessity may for a short time compel the labourer to submit to their terms; but looking at the great bulk of the people, they will resist that oppression, knowing they have now obtained their freedom; and instead of directing themselves to the cultivation of sugar for the benefit of the proprietor, they will seek to procure their sustenance by means equally, perhaps, beneficial to them, but utterly destructive to the interests of the planters. In my opinion, this is a question of the utmost importance. I doubt not one word which my friend Mr. KNIBB has said, as to the improved condition of the people of Jamaica; I never doubted what the result of emancipation would be; I never doubted but that greater prosperity, higher feelings of morality and religion would prevail under a system where the name of God was acknowledged, rather than under one where it was defiled and desecrated. I never doubted that the negroes would improve; I might have conceived it next to impossible, looking at the experience of these islands, or looking to what takes place over the civilised lands of the Continent, that they should not have indulged their evil passions, and committed some great offences; but such a state of freedom from crime as Jamaica presents to the view of this country and of the world, has, I believe, never before been exhibited. I congratulate this Convention, I congratulate the anti-slavery public generally, upon this happy state of circumstances. What greater end can be obtained in reference to man's temporal interests, than the diminution of human suffering, and the decrease of crime? I am now addressing people who are agreed and united in one common sentiment. We are all operated upon by a detestation of slavery; by a knowledge of the false principles on which it is founded; and by a determination to follow that course, which we hope will lead to its extinction. But we must remember that we are not the two branches of the legislature, we are not the whole people of this country, and we must relax no one effort to impress our sentiments upon them. Depend upon it there are other interests at work, powerful, strong, wealthy; combining together, viewing the present state of things as men of the world only, and considering that some alteration should take place, even though it should be purchased at a price which I shudder to

mention. Let us look at the opposition with which we have to contend, because nothing can be so detrimental to any cause as over-confidence, or shutting our eyes to its difficulties. Throughout the whole of our enterprise in which I have now served for thirty years, the great object of my life has been to look difficulties in the face, and never to content myself with that cry so ready to the tongue, because it was the immediate offspring of the heart, viz., the horrors and miseries and iniquities, that flowed from either the trade in slaves, or slavery itself. I have always looked to see what were the obstructions in the way, and how they could best be overcome, and the desired result obtained. Now look at our present state and condition. Our revenue on sugar at this moment is a million less than it was eleven years ago. The short price, speaking technically, is now 47*s.*, being a difference in a few years of nearly 20*s.*; while the price of foreign sugar is 23*s.*, and no more. There are many who say, that if this state of things is to continue, they will have foreign sugar brought in for home consumption; that this is a tax upon the people, in what is called a necessary of life. Remember I am using their arguments, not my own. They say that you are adopting as to sugar, a principle totally different from that which you pursue as to cotton or coffee; you tax the people, while you denounce slave-grown produce, and you are inconsistent in refusing admission to foreign sugar. That is the argument employed against us. Now I agree with my honourable friend, (Mr. Buxton), that a more calamitous consequence can scarcely be depicted to the mind of man, than the effect of letting in foreign sugar. I believe that it will have a double effect; the discouragement of industry throughout our own dominions, and the encouragement of the slave-trade and slavery throughout all foreign states. Now, therefore, I come to this point, knowing that the world at large are not impressed with the same convictions that abolitionists entertain. I look with the deepest anxiety to find continuous labour throughout our colonies in the production of sugar; and I would say to my worthy friend, Mr. KNIBB, that though I concur with him entirely in the view he takes of the results already obtained from emancipation, yet I say, for the sake of our great cause, for the sake of insuring us against this, at least possible, impending evil, for the sake of the example which it will hold out to foreign countries, who will not be so strongly instigated by feelings of religion and morality, as by their personal prosperity; I entreat of him, by his recollection of the horrors of the slave-trade, and the still greater horrors if it be renewed and increased, that he would bend his efforts upon all just and fair principles, to the encouragement of the home growth of sugar. I may be touching on a delicate subject; it might appear more desirable to use language calculated to excite the feelings of the company by whom I am surrounded, but I look to the interests of that cause which I am bound to serve without regard to any other principle. I have looked therefore, I say, with the deepest anxiety to this question; and I do hope that he will exert the great influence he possesses in Jamaica, in endeavouring, as far as lies in his power, not to induce the people to labour for no consideration, but as far as possible, consistently with justice and a due reward, to turn their attention to the cultivation of sugar, and not of other articles. I have no fear of the prosperity of that or any other island alone. I know that the people will be happier; that the people will be better than formerly; that they will procure for themselves certain articles of exchangeable value, which will be given in return for the imports. I see that our exports have increased between four and

five fold since the time of slavery ; I know that luxuries are now sent to the island which were never transmitted to it before, and that they are paid for by labour. I have not an atom of fear on that head, but I do fear that cultivation may be turned from sugar to other articles ; and considering the enormous demand for sugar in this country compared with the supply, and knowing the feeling which pervades the minds of so many elsewhere, I apprehend that it may produce consequences which all of us would undoubtedly lament ; and if these consequences once burst in, no effort of ours would be sufficient in my opinion to stop the torrent. It is not my intention to detain the Convention with further observations, but I may take the liberty of saying, amid all our fervour in the cause, that it is of the last importance that we should be united in opinion and sentiment ; that we should be careful in all our proceedings ; strong, yet prudent ; energetic but still cautious ; and never imagine that we are the whole world : for that, in my earlier days, was a fault in which I was much inclined to indulge. I could hardly believe, with my heart beating in detestation of the slave-trade, when I entered Parliament in 1806, that a human being existed who did not feel the same as myself, and yet there were hundreds of thousands who differed from me. Let us, therefore, go on in our course, increasing in activity and energy, but tempered with caution and prudence, yet thinking nothing done, till all be obtained. We have merely entered upon the threshold of our work, merely released Great Britain from the continuance of the sin of slavery, and we have yet before us the progressive improvement of our own emancipated negroes, and their protection against an oppression under which undoubtedly they will fall, unless they are protected by those who love their prosperity. Men of the world, men of business have no time to learn the details, no time to consider all that passes in these distant settlements. Take the island of Mauritius for example. I do not believe that there are in this country, twelve individuals who are well acquainted with the state of that island ; and I do not believe that there are six of them who are honest enough to tell what it is. That is one of our great objects, the improvement and protection of the emancipated race ; that by their improvement and protection, and the consequent prosperity of our dominions, we may hold out an example not merely to the sense of justice, to the moral and religious obligations of other countries, but to show them that our great experiment has prospered, and is prospering. This leads us back to the great end and aim of all our efforts, namely, to the termination of the accursed traffic in slaves. So long as slavery exists, so long as, in the opinion of some, it is supposed that the employment and use of slaves are profitable, so long will the slave-trade continue. It is well known that I adhere in the main to the principles and intentions of this Society, but with some of its rules I perhaps might not altogether accord. I allow that this Society may be adopting one set of means, but I am bold to tell you, believing you are right in that course, that I think there are other right courses ; and I for one will, under the blessing of Providence, avail myself of every justifiable means for the accomplishment of the end.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—I merely wish to state, in reply to the affectionate and earnest appeal made to me by my esteemed friend, Dr. LUSHINGTON, that we have neither wish nor intention to use our influence for the diminution of the cultivation of sugar ; on the contrary, we desire to promote it. But in saying this, I wish it to be distinctly understood, that it is in connexion with those principles of justice to which I have adverted. If the British Government

will protect the cultivator of sugar, it will increase ten-fold ; if they will not, diminish it must. This is just the plain matter of fact statement. I pledge myself,—and if I live I shall soon be back in Jamaica,—that if there is fair and equal justice, that I will use every possible means I possess to increase the cultivation of sugar: but if there is not, if I must see my brother turned from his home, and my sister taken up as a vagrant because she has no home, if the cultivator of sugar be ruined, Jamaica shall be free.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—I am glad to have an opportunity of following at an humble distance the two distinguished gentlemen who have just addressed you. My mind, I confess, is not struck down into anything like sorrow or despair at the picture which has been so eloquently presented to you, and so properly placed before you, of the difficulties that still lie in the way: for I recollect that we shall have the benefit of that eloquence to assist us in their removal. We have, however, heard much to-day to delight us. We have heard the full refutation of every thing in the shape of prophetic argument which the slave-holder held out in order to continue his iniquitous domination. Every thing that they threatened of evil and of mischief has been confuted by the irresistible evidence of facts. When emancipation was granted, massacre, there was none; outrage, there was none; violation of property, there was none; no mischief, no evil, no injury to a human being: peace, quiet, contentment, religious feeling, morality, were the consequences of that great measure. Why, if the whites had been instigated only by the highest of all influence, but that which frequently leads astray, religious feeling, they would have been bound by the duty they owe to God, and their obligations to his authority, to exert every faculty of which they were possessed to abolish the reign of sin and immorality, and to increase reverence for God and good works. We have had a picture laid before us, not the result of imagination, not clothed in the language of poetry, but a simple narrative of facts; facts, which Mr. KNIBB himself has seen, which he has known, in which he has taken a part, and which put beyond the shadow of a doubt, the reality of the picture which is almost too brilliant for imagination to paint. I rejoice in this; but is there to be no other effect? What is it that we have now to do? We have, in the first place, to make our example understood throughout the world. We have to shew to America and to France the safety of granting emancipation, and the events detailed to-day have shewn it. I am not quite satisfied that France has done all she ought to do. Nothing is done so long as emancipation is withheld. The real friends of France who have been amongst us must carry back with them this, our conviction, that until they emancipate their negroes, they have done nothing. Ordinances are all vain as the idle wind, so long as you permit them to be administered by the master towards the person of the slave. Look at the laws which the legislature of Jamaica has passed. The blacks are free in point of law, they were free by eternal right before; yet you have a slave code actually enacted under the auspices of that unworthy successor of Sir LIONEL SMITH. I like to call things by their right name. I say that Sir CHARLES METCALFE is mischievous in his situation. He had a noble example set him, which he has taken care to imitate in one way; that is, by going in a directly opposite course, or he never would have given one moment's sanction to those laws, made to swindle us out of our money. I use this strong language, because it is the language of truth, and the words of truth should be spoken, and they should echo to Downing Street. Why should we pause? Why should we

hesitate? Why should not the minister be applied to at once? Why should there not be a deputation from this body headed by these two gentlemen? [Mr. Buxton and Dr. Lushington]. Are you aware that every one of these laws is in force, and that they continue so until they are disallowed by the Home Government? As the slave law, the *Code Noir*, is enacted and in full operation, we must not be left in doubt as to the intentions of the Government. You have gentlemen here who are members of the House of Commons; is it not a fit subject on which to address a question to Her MAJESTY'S Ministers? It is an important matter on which I feel deeply and personally involved; and I allude to it only in passing, but I know nothing of more importance than to ascertain whether we are to be swindled out of our money, and the negro to be wronged of his rights by this code. I would suggest that the honourable and learned gentleman who has been longest in Parliament, [Dr. Lushington],—the Honourable Baronet, Sir EARDLEY WILMOT will feel that I do not disparage his powerful assistance, which has been always consistent,—should put the question to Ministers and require an explicit answer. The people of England should know what is the truth. If it be as we apprehend, I am greatly mistaken, if from Land's End to John O'Groat's house, there will not be one universal shout of reprobation from all sects and parties against the re-enactments of the Slavery Code. Free labour in abundance affords the only chance of the experiment working well; but you cannot have free-labour in abundance, because the planters in Jamaica calculate upon the labour of both sexes in the field, while the negroes with great propriety keep their wives at home in their proper province, to attend to the domestic concerns of the family. To the very last moment, the Jamaica planters refused to take the lash from the back of females as they worked in the field. There is, therefore, naturally a decrease in the quantity of labour there; and how can it be supplied? Only by healthful emigration from North America, where the free negro is treated with unbecoming indignity, and by none treated worse than by my own unhappy countrymen, who having suffered persecution, ought to have learned mercy. The only prospect we have of keeping up a supply of sugar, equal to the consumption of this island, is, by encouraging emigration. But the laws which have been passed, tend to prevent labourers going to that island. No man will go to face the Vagrancy and Police Acts. In the first place, let us have these laws repealed; in the next, let us have ample security, that the contracts with these labourers shall be duly performed, that there shall be no false contracts. We shall best promote the cause of humanity everywhere, by taking away all excuses for the introduction of slave-grown sugar. I wish to meet the argument of the slave-owner, that we consume cotton, which is double dyed in blood—cotton, which it is proved is grown and produced by the massacre of a generation in every seven years. I hope that something will be done before the Convention separates, to give an impetus to the growth of cotton in the East Indies by free labour. Our humanity should not be restricted to one portion of the hemisphere;—and there are great and grievous blots on this country, occasioned by the continuance of slavery in the East Indies—but if we are driven to use slave-grown cotton, is that a reason why we should add to our sins an additional crime? Already individual avarice is in operation; petitions have been presented to the House for the admission of slave-grown sugar into this country: you must be up and doing, and not allow this question to obtain importance in the country.

We must not have slave-grown sugar, nor is it needful that we should. The beet-root produces an abundance of sugar. It is true, that the revenue would suffer by it; but is it not a pitiful thing to talk of the revenue, compared with the mighty interests of humanity? The sacrifice of £20,000,000 is nothing—it is the sacrifice of human beings, and giving new wings to the slave-trade, to fly and scatter itself all over Africa, that we must consider. We have certainly arrived at a crisis at which it becomes us to act as the friends of humanity ought to do. Does it not appear remarkable, that this crisis should arrive at the same time as the calling of this Convention, when men have assembled from all parts of the globe, to show to Great Britain that she has made a large sacrifice in favour of humanity; and that she ought not to allow the benefits of that sacrifice to be impaired by the efforts of men to extend the dominion of negro-slavery, and the diabolical pursuit of human misery? I said that I would address you for a few minutes only; I have done so principally from a desire of following the two honourable gentlemen who have last spoken, in paying my respectful tribute to the exertions which you have made, claiming humbly to be a participator in those exertions, and rendering the utmost aid which my faculties will enable me to do, in every effort to benefit the negro.

Mr. SCOBLE.—Does Mr. O'CONNELL, in speaking of the encouragement which should be given to emigration, include in it the transportation of the Hill Coolies from their own country to the West India colonies?

Mr. O'CONNELL.—The answer to that is very brief—most undoubtedly not. I divided the House against the Ministers on the subject of the Hill Coolies. I am fully persuaded that you might as well proclaim the slave-trade again as proclaim the admission of the Hill Coolies into our West India colonies; and I am equally convinced that the planters in the Mauritius are the worst guardians that could be appointed to protect these labourers. I would rather be a party to the total annihilation of that unfortunate race, than to their being subjected to a new species of slavery.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—Will our friend, O'CONNELL be pleased to explain how the question stands with regard to the Hill Coolie Bill? It is one respecting which we have felt the deepest interest.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—A bill was brought in to regulate passengers going by vessels from the West Indies. It passed the second reading, and then on going into committee, Lord JOHN RUSSELL moved, that this bill, relating to the West Indies, should jump to the East Indies. He stated that his object was to intimate to the House, that it was his intention to advise the Crown to issue an Ordinance to allow the importation of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius. We pressed that this Ordinance ought to be laid on the table before the Bill was proceeded with; to which his Lordship replied, that he thought it would be entrenching on the prerogative of the Crown. The time however has now arrived when we ought to see the Ordinance. The East India Company have taken up the subject, and mean to oppose the Bill, so that we shall have their support.

Sir E. WILMOT.—I had not the slightest intention or wish to say a single syllable to-day, but having been asked to do so by Mr. JOSEPH STURGE, whom I have the honour of calling one of my constituents, a gentleman with whom I have been acquainted in the County of Warwick for a considerable time, and whose worth I need not proclaim in this assembly, I could not refrain from offering a few remarks to the Convention. I stand before you at a great

disadvantage, because although approaching to the years of the honourable gentlemen who have addressed you, yet I am centuries behind them in their exertions in this holy cause. The question which has occupied your attention to-day, appears to me to lie in the smallest possible compass, it amounts to this ; Whether those who have been proclaimed free, shall enjoy freedom in the proper sense of that term ? Now in the year 1833, I was in the House of Commons, when I heard the Honourable Gentleman who brought in the Bill for the abolition of slavery state, that his object was to place the negro, when he was emancipated, in exactly the same situation as the British labourer, and I conceive that that is the design which you have in view. If that be the case, it appears to me that we are the most loyal, and the best subjects that Her MAJESTY has in Great Britain, because we are here to fulfil to the letter and to the spirit, the Act of Parliament that was passed for that purpose. I consider freedom to be the power of every man to do anything he pleases consistently with the laws of God, and the welfare of the community. We are, therefore, bound to use our utmost exertions to avert all unjust and iniquitous restraints from being placed on our fellow subjects in the West India colonies, whose freedom has been proclaimed by the Imperial Parliament. It was, therefore, with the greatest satisfaction that I heard Mr. O'CONNELL say, that it was the duty of every person, both in and out of Parliament, to beseech the Government to carry out these just principles. My sole object in addressing you is to pledge myself, as an humble individual, to aid you in the design you have in view. I agree perfectly with my honourable friend, Dr. LUSINGTON, that while you are adopting a right way, there are also other right ways ; and it is our duty to adopt every means for accomplishing the same result. I trust you will feel perfectly convinced that on this, and all occasions you will find me heart and hand, purse and person, at your service.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

The Convention then adjourned.

SEVENTH DAY'S SITTINGS, FRIDAY, JUNE 19, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

W. T. BLAIR, Esq., in the absence of Dr. GREVILLE, took the Chair.

WILLIAM WEMYSS ANDERSON, Esq., (of Jamaica).—I went to Jamaica about the end of the year, 1833, a year before the expiration of the old system of slavery, and I have continued there down to the time of my recent return to this country. I have been intimately acquainted with all classes of society in Jamaica, from the GOVERNOR to the poorest negro, and my attention was ever awake to observe the various systems which were in operation during that time. With respect to the slave system all the evils that had ever been attributed to it, I found to be verified ; indeed, it is impossible to exaggerate them. The statements of evils, too, which were alleged to have resulted from the apprentice-

ship system, were founded in fact. Lord Howick, when that measure was proposed in Parliament, had the sagacity to foresee these; and what he predicted, came to pass. As to the present system, I may say, in few words, that there can be no possible doubt in the mind of any reasonable, well-principled man, of its realizing all that has ever been expected from it. I have one statement to make on this subject, which I think of some importance. Some time before slavery was abolished, the complete exposure of the evils, the existence of which in the system the planters, up to the last hour, denied, had produced such conviction in the minds even of those who were indisposed to receive conviction on the subject, and had, I can assure you, so completely unsettled the security of slave property, that moral power *alone* would have swept it away. I mention this particularly with reference to our friends from America, that they may take courage, and be assured, if they continue in their present laudable course, of patiently and resolutely exposing the evils of the system, that at last, like the drops of water falling on stone, they will make a hollow. Had no compensation at all been conceded, the planters would have been compelled (that is my conviction, from what I saw of the state of the public mind, and the miserably low value to which property of that nature was reduced), for their own protection, to abandon the system. I may mention, in illustration, that there were many purchases of property made at that time, where the amount of the compensation money not only reimbursed the purchase money of the estate, but the price of large works, and stock of every kind upon it. I know there were many cases of that kind; and I doubt not, that the Convention will excuse me for not mentioning the names of gentlemen connected with these transactions. That was the case in Jamaica, and it will very soon be the case in America, if the present system of agitating the great moral question of abolition be continued. But I hope that they will put some influence in operation, which will effect the object more quickly than was done in the case of the British slaves. Now as to the value of property at the present moment, I can make it evident that it is not in that depreciated state which is represented by a large body of the planters. I am not a planter myself; I follow a profession in Jamaica, but it now and then happens that I have the disposal of estates; and in all those cases, I have been perfectly beset by people begging that I would give them the preference. No longer ago than on my voyage to this country, I was solicited by a gentleman, to whom I had been under some trifling obligations, to obtain for him a lease of a valuable estate, for which he was disposed to give a very handsome rent. I do not say, that a property at this moment without slaves would bring the enormous price which it would have done years ago with slaves upon it: far from it. Years ago properties were sometimes sold for a hundred thousand pounds. During those murderous times when slaves were compelled, at an immense cost of life amongst them, to make large crops, princely fortunes were sometimes invested in estates. But since the time when property was depreciated, in the way and by the causes I have stated, it has risen very considerably; in fact the value in towns and in their vicinity, has in many cases been doubled. I say it advisedly, and from experience. There are some sales of properties which I effected for those for whom I acted, of which I have since bitterly repented, from their subsequent increased value. There is another important feature in the prosperity of Jamaica, and that is, the establishment of Banks. If property there, were

going to ruin, should we find three Banks established in Kingston, where there was not one before? The capital of two of these was chiefly subscribed in the island. Their object, like others, was to advance money, and make profits. They do so by receiving the interest of money advanced to proprietors or secured on the leases of estates. The stock of one of these Banks has become so valuable, that the parties who originally subscribed to it three years ago, could now realize by sale, about 50 per cent. of premium. Another Bank called the *Planters' Bank*, (not a very favourite name, but still I hope it is doing well, for I am a shareholder in it), has already paid a dividend of five per cent. for the first half-year, and laid by a considerable reserve fund. I am not able to speak with the eloquence with which you were addressed on the former part of the day, but I hope that the eloquence of facts will not be entirely lost. I should advise those who want to speculate in Banks, to go to Jamaica, as the best place for carrying on their operations. If there were no security for property, it would be quite impossible to realize these profits. There has been much said to-day, and justly said, respecting the strange position in which we are placed, by the course pursued with reference to the cultivation of several important commodities. And when I tell you that I have been feeding my horses upon hay imported from England, you will readily perceive our unnatural position, and that the sooner it is altered the better. There are some estates that must and ought to be abandoned. There is one in which I have some concern, where a debt of £80,000 has been accumulated, and now it would not realise one-tenth of that sum. It had ever been a losing game to mortgagees and other parties; though it must have been gain to some, otherwise it would not have been kept up. The system has, however, led to debt and difficulty; for instead of Jamaica being in possession of money, there is more embarrassment there than almost anywhere else. I think it is important that the exact state of matters should be understood. Those having property in Jamaica, and living in this country, require clearer information than they have hitherto received. No doubt there have been many impediments to the proper working of the free-system in Jamaica, and by which its good name has been much injured. In the first place, I will state what these impediments are not, and then what they are. They do *not* consist in the total withdrawal of female labour from the field. The statement made by Mr. O'CONNELL, was a little erroneous; indeed he could not know the facts accurately; and I think the statement of Mr. KNIBB, involved a misapprehension. As far as married women are concerned, I believe they have withdrawn from the field, and I rejoice that they have. When I first went to Jamaica, a poor woman was obliged, with her hoe in her hand, to carry her infant on her back to the field, and lay it down under a tree, and go from time to time to look after it. That part of the system is terminated, and blessed be God for it. But healthy young women who have no such ties, are still found engaged in field-labour, just as I have seen them in this country, and I do not think that there is any degradation in it. The truth is, that many young females in the West Indies are unable to do anything else; I believe that many of them are unable to sew, and that is the only way in which they could otherwise gain their bread. But instead of a foolish unwillingness to work, I have seen twenty at a time engaged in the hardest of labour, digging cane holes. Again, *idleness* is not one of the impediments. It is absurd to say that it is. No human being can be idle without being miserable. Those who speak in general terms of the negro's idleness, sadly

neglect a consideration of details. Do you think that a man will rise from his bed, sit down to feed on roots, and then relapse into apathy? That is not the character of the negro. The negro feels the misery of idleness as much as we do. It has been untruly asserted, that an impediment, arises from the negroes devoting their attention to their provision grounds, to the neglect of working for wages. It is easy to show that this is impossible. During the time of slavery, when a negro had but one Saturday in a fortnight, he not only supplied himself, but carried provisions to the markets. Now, if the negroes devoted their time so entirely to the cultivation of their grounds, it would result in the provision market being glutted; and they would not procure as much by their sales, as from day-labour in the fields. The thing is so palpably incorrect, that it does not need demonstration. The negroes cannot raise the sugar-cane, because they have not the necessary machinery; they are not likely to raise coffee, because the tree must be several years in the ground before it bears: there is, therefore, no real danger of the planters suffering a loss of labour from the negroes being rendered independent, or being contented with their provision grounds. No person feels more desire than the negro to have everything comfortable about him. He will not be satisfied with his mere dinner of yams, his ordinary food in ordinary times; he likes respectable dress; he likes to see his wife and children, and everything about him looking respectable; he quite appreciates the appearance which good dress gives to a man; he likes to have a decent, well furnished house: in short, I know no people more sensible of the proprieties of life than are the negroes. I think therefore, that the hue and cry which has been made about these topics, has just shown that there must be some other motives at work, than those which appear on the surface. It is plain to the meanest comprehension, that those which have been adduced, are insufficient to account for the present state of things. Men will in some cases assign any motives, but the real ones; and very few men like to inculcate themselves. Now, I will state what I believe to be the impediments to the full and successful working out of the principles of our new-found liberty. In the first place, during slavery, as you all know, the negro had not been accustomed to view his master as his landlord; his labour had not been compensated, and his right to his little bit of ground for his support, was of the same nature as that of the horse to his paddock. In many cases the poor man, or his father before him, had planted his cocoa-nut trees, for each of which he is in some cases now charged 5*d.* per week of rent.

A DELEGATE.—Whether bearing fruit or not?

Mr. ANDERSON.—I am not acquainted with that, but they generally do bear very abundantly. The negroes had not been accustomed to pay rent, but they were far from being unwilling to recognise the principle of rent, except in some very rare cases indeed not worth mentioning, and which no high-minded person therefore would have adduced; but the landlord has erred most miserably in the mode both of charging and exacting this rent. I find that for land in the West Indies, as high a rent is charged to the peasantry as is now sought for land in one of the most beautiful parts of Kent. We all know that land in the colonies is generally not of much value. We can there frequently purchase an acre of excellent land for £3 sterling, in some cases £6 is paid; and I have known in some rare instances £12 given, but that is high. The ordinary price is £5. 6*s.* 8*d.* currency, or £3 sterling. Whereas in Kent, land brings from £100 to £150 sterling per acre. But notwithstanding

this difference in value in the actual purchase, rents are charged to the negro at a higher rate than they are to the peasantry of Kent. The sum of £2. 12s. sterling is the rent usually charged to a negro for a piece of ground, which he is able to work with his hoe; and it is not possible for him to work an acre during his leisure time. But the amount of rent is not charged according to the quantity of land, but the number of his family. For example, a man is charged £2. 12s. per annum for himself; the like sum for his wife, and if he has children above a certain age, one-half the sum for each of them; and this has often been paid. I am anxious rather to understate than overstate the matter. I know that there are cases, where children in arms have been charged 5*d.* per week for rent. The landlord has always avoided charging according to extent of ground. I have urged the absurdity of making the amount dependent on the number in the family, because a skilful man will make more from a quarter of an acre, than an unskilful one from two or three acres; and we also know that in the neighbourhood of London, one acre may be made worth six acres in another place. But the landlords will not recognise the right principle of rent-charge, because it would diminish their power of making a large set-off against the negroes claim for wages. I know that the negroes have been discouraged and aggrieved by this mode of charging rent; it has been one great source of hinderance to the beneficial working of the free-system, and thousands of pounds sterling have been lost, in consequence of the attempt to establish this inequitable mode of paying rent. But in addition to this, the landlord assumes the right of ejecting his poor tenant at a very short notice. Indeed, when he finds that the labourer will not agree to his terms, he thinks it sufficient, in many cases, to give him a week's notice, and then to turn him out of his provision ground, which is his little farm. Nothing can be more inequitable than that; no compensation whatever is made. If a similar practice were attempted in England, Scotland, or Ireland, the country would soon be in flames. This, therefore, has been a great source of obstruction to the successful working out of the free-system in Jamaica. I very much wish that these things were thoroughly understood. I do not know whether proprietors are aware of them, and I wish that a general invitation had been given to them, to come and hear the facts.

A DELEGATE.—They would not come.

Mr. ANDERSON.—I believe it. There is another evil effect which has arisen from all this. The planters say, that they are doing no more than exercising their legal rights. This question has been very much discussed among the lawyers of Jamaica. It is not for me to explain to the Convention legal opinions. But however the law may be, it is quite clear that if any party has a legal right, and insists upon it, in violation of the most obvious principles of humanity and equity, that man is guilty of dishonesty; and no one will pity him, if he bring down the consequences of his conduct upon his own head. The negroes are told that it is no more than the legal right of the master to do such things, and therefore that they must submit; and there are no people in the habitable world so ready as they to obey the law, when they are told what it is. They may deplore and bemoan the hardship, but they will instantly submit to the law. To illustrate my confidence in the negroes, I would say, that were I to hear that Jamaica was in flames, and full of every evil work, I should no more hesitate, so far as the negroes were concerned, to go there with my wife and family, than I should to go to the next street. I believe that **SIR LIONEL SMITH**, in his despatches, has

expressed a similar confidence in these people. I have heard that most honourable man say, when speaking of the peasantry of Jamaica,—and he has been in every quarter of the world,—that he was unable to find expressions in which to convey his admiration of this people. Is it, then, to be wondered at, that if the proprietors insist on the strict letter of their rights, in the most arbitrary or capricious manner, the negro should sometimes say, in self defence ; “ I, in like manner, will insist upon mine.” I am not at all prepared to say, that the negroes never act capriciously ; I think there are cases where they do, but it is their only defence. They may say to the planters, “ You can look with an un pitying eye upon an aged mother without a house, upon my wife and children turned out of provision grounds which I cultivated for them, and out of a house which I built for myself for a comfortable shelter ; you capriciously turn us out at a week’s notice, and say, that it is your legal right. Well, it is my legal right, to work only when I please, and, therefore, your canes may perish on the ground, and thus I will teach you a lesson.” I may mention that almost all the negro houses in the island, have been built by the negroes themselves, while slaves, and yet the proprietors charge them rent. In many cases, they were built on the Sunday, which was the only time they had to do it during slavery. Every man knows the law, that if you build a house on another man’s estate, it belongs to him. But, notwithstanding the ungracious position in which all these things place the rights of the proprietors, the negroes were, almost universally, willing to recognise them ; and as I have before said, it is most unfair, and most unkind, to urge the few instances in which they may have boggled at doing so. This is the real picture of matters in the West Indies, and I grieve for it, because I believe that those who look only at one side of the question, have used this as an argument against the successful working of the free system in Jamaica. I admit that these things have taken place in Jamaica, and that an immense loss of property has been the result ; but in a large proportion of cases it has been deserved ; as it might have been obviated by more judicious, more humane, and better principled conduct on the part of the proprietors, than they have pursued. Now there are many estates in Jamaica which are going on most gloriously ; and I have heard it stated by a number of attorneys, men of high standing, that they would not on any account go back to the old system. Indeed, I may mention, that people generally are becoming ashamed of it ; and, when told that it was not polite to refer to it, I have replied, “ I never wish to allude to it, unless your own conduct compels me now and then to do so.” In very many cases, I hope in a large proportion, the estates are doing admirably well ; and there is the most anxious desire on the part of those residing in the country, to make purchases or obtain leases. This shows that, notwithstanding all that has been said regarding the desperate nature of West India property, those most conversant with it, from their location, are willing to embark their fortunes in it. I do not think it is necessary to detain the Convention long on the effects of missionary exertions in Jamaica ; I may, however, mention one circumstance which came within my notice ; and I am glad to say a word on behalf of men who have been so much maligned. An attorney, whose name I need not withhold, because he died the other day, Mr. FARQUHARSON, who was Colonel of a regiment during the rebellion, and was, I believe, the means of averting a great deal of bloodshed, a truly religious and high-minded man, told me, that in the management of an extensive estate in the neighbourhood of Falmouth, he had

received very great assistance from Mr. KNIBB, in getting negroes to work for a much lower rate of wages than they would otherwise have done ; Mr. KNIBB being anxious to promote a spirit of peace. I hope that fact will go forth to the world. It is quite clear, that the evils we suffer are only of a temporary nature. There may be a great deal of property lost, if proprietors do not soon come to their senses ; but there can be no doubt that the free system will work as cheaply and as successfully, aye, more cheaply, and more successfully, than slave labour has ever done. Would you believe it, that up to the present time, the use of the plough has been almost systematically excluded from Jamaica ? Just imagine for a moment what would be the present state of England, if the people of this country had resisted the use of the plough, and insisted upon turning up the corn fields with a hoe ; and then you have a precise representation of what was the state of things in Jamaica. They are, however, beginning to bethink themselves of the propriety of adopting some of the present modes of abridging human labour. Just before I left Jamaica, Mr. STEWART was managing an estate with two or three men and a boy ; which under the old system, would have required about 100 negroes, thirty-five of whom would have constituted the great gang. Few sugar estates could be worked with a less number than that. The canes are now ploughed in, just as the crops are here. There are many other modes of abridging human labour ; and nothing would be more advantageous to Jamaica, than for a few English farmers to go there and manage the estates according to the English system, with the instruction they might obtain from the headmen. I wish some of the Essex farmers, many of whom, I understand, belong to the Society of Friends, would become planters in Jamaica. Their kind and conciliatory manners, their equitable and most righteous mode of dealing, combined with their strong good sense, would make many of the worst estates in Jamaica work to admiration. Were I an extensive proprietor in Jamaica, I would offer the strongest inducements to one of these gentlemen to become my attorney, and to take upon him the management of the estate, even though he had never seen a sugar cane in his life ; for I should feel assured of his success. All that we want is an improvement in the *morale* of the country ; that would be a remedy for everything. I saw in a newspaper the other day, the prospectus of a Jamaica Land Company. I only wish that it had been carried into effect. It was proposed to form a Joint Stock Company, for the purchase of land.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—The promoters of the Company have held a meeting only to-day, and there is every probability of its being established.

Mr. ANDERSON.—I am delighted to hear it ; there are several purposes which it will serve. In the first place, I hope it will abundantly reward the promoters ; but that I am sure will be a secondary object. In the second place, it will afford to the advocates of free-labour, a test to which they can always appeal, as to the real working of the system, unincumbered by all the disadvantages which at present surround it. It will be a test to which the whole world can appeal, as to the advantageous and profitable working of the free-system ; and it will enable the friends of the negro to rebut the calumnies, which are so industriously heaped on freedom by its enemies. There is another very important subject which naturally arises out of this, and to which, I hope, the Land Company will direct its attention,—the establishment of villages. The Convention will see from the statement I have made, the great necessity of attending to this point.

The CHAIRMAN.—That is a main object of the Company.

Mr. ANDERSON.—That is very gratifying. If they were to purchase one or two estates for experiments, they would not lose by it. With respect to the establishment of villages, you will recollect that Dr. ADAM SMITH, in his work on the *Wealth of Nations*, states, that upon the abolition of the English system of slavery in the time of QUEEN ELIZABETH, freedom found a refuge and a nursery in the towns, which then began to be incorporated. And so it will be in Jamaica. The proprietors in their mad career, driving the people out of the villages already formed on the estates, by making their tenures so precarious, and their lives so miserable, will compel the people to resort, as the English serfs did 300 years ago, to new villages for the establishment of freedom; and I am very glad that the names of CLARKSON, STURGE, and Sir LIONEL SMITH are to be perpetuated in the names of these nurseries of freedom. Now what is the remedy for the present state of things? That is the important question, and I think I can answer it almost in one word; security for the due and faithful administration of justice. I do not think that we can at present, considering the state of irritation of both parties, expect this from the local magistrates. O, how unbiassed a Judge ought to be! How careful are we in England that a Judge shall not have the remotest taint of partiality or interest. If we had a case before a Judge, whom we suspected of having the least bias, even though he were under the eye of the English public, where a man cannot do anything monstrous without being instantly posted in every newspaper, how annoyed should we be! What then must be the state of the negro's mind, should he feel himself to be, as the planters are now contending he ought to be, entirely and exclusively in the hands of the local magistrates? It is therefore absolutely necessary, in fact, if we lose this, we lose every thing in the colony, and I hope if there are any gentlemen present who possess influence with the Government, they will bear this in mind, it is absolutely necessary that independent stipendiary magistrates should be upheld and supported in the West Indies. It will be allowed, perhaps, that I am somewhat qualified to give an opinion on this subject, having been professionally engaged in the course of the last seven years, in many negro cases. There are many local magistrates, whom I honour, and you would also if you knew them; but taking them generally, even the best that could be selected by the GOVERNOR, and the most disposed to do justice, I am quite sure could not efficiently work out the great principles of freedom, and afford the necessary protection to the negro. I am satisfied that such a local magistracy could not be obtained in Jamaica. We have had stipendiary magistrates, it is true, and many noble-minded men there have been amongst them. I know not any situation in which a man could be placed where his character would be more tried, than in discharging the duties of a stipendiary magistrate in Jamaica. I do hope, therefore, that in these appointments, the Government will consider that they have a sacred trust confided to them; and that no application will be listened to upon any ground, except that of high character, strict integrity, and great intelligence. I hope, also, that they will be paid better: for at present they are miserably paid. Many of these excellent men have been in the greatest straits and difficulties; living in the West Indies, where the expenses are nearly treble what they are in this country, with incomes which would only enable a man to live here with the greatest economy. In order to get efficient magistrates they must be properly paid, and I hope that that point will be held in remembrance by every influen-

tial person who hears me. As to the recent laws respecting which so much has been said to-day, some of them are, I believe, peculiarly pernicious, but there is one in particular to which I would draw the attention of the Convention; viz., that for the protection of the fisheries. What are the fisheries in Jamaica? Not like the salmon fisheries of this country, some of which let for £2000 a year. I never knew a fishery there to be the subject of bargain and sale; such property was never cared for under slavery. But so anxious has the legislature been to get an additional hold upon the labouring population, that they have enacted a law respecting fisheries, as rigid as the game laws in England. It is perfectly absurd to speak of protecting the fisheries of Jamaica or Australia, by a summary jurisdiction of the severest character. If a man's ground is trespassed upon, there is the trespass law; and if he has sustained damage to the amount of forty shillings, he can go to the next magistrate, and obtain redress. But that was not, it seems, deemed enough; and if a man now throws a line into a river, flowing through a piece of ground not his own, he is liable to be apprehended and severely punished by a magistrate, without the intervention of a jury. I need not enlarge upon the tendency of such laws to debase the character of the peasantry. There was another law; the Pound law, which gave power to any party to take stray cows or horses which had been trespassing upon his grounds to the pound, where they were detained until the owner paid a certain amount of poundage. This was a considerable protection to the negro in his provision grounds, when the stock of the estate were allowed to go carelessly about, and broke down the fences, and destroyed the hopes of his crop, because he could then obtain recompense for the injury done. But now they have passed a law, compelling every negro who brings an animal to the pound, to present with it a written document as a warrant to the pound keeper to receive it. But the negroes cannot write, and that is one of the greatest evils under which they labour, and a man may sustain injury in a distant part of the country, and yet be unable to inform any one who can and will afford him redress. This again shows the necessity of stipendiary magistrates being established throughout the country.

Mr. SCOBLE.—How does the pound-law affect the interests of the planter?

Mr. ANDERSON.—It does not affect his interests in any way, it merely affects the labouring classes. If a planter pounds stock, he gives his servant, who is a negro, the necessary document, but when a negro is the aggrieved party, he has no one to furnish him with it. This was well understood in the island, and abundantly commented upon, at the time the law passed. But the great remedy we seek, is the faithful administration of the law. There are many laws in England of a very stringent character, which are very unsuitable for Jamaica. I have seen some dissolute persons there, whose masters refuse to take them up, and they are allowed to get their living how they can; but there are no vagrants in Jamaica, in the proper acceptance of that term. There are some provisions in the vagrant law, which I should not be sorry to see enacted in Jamaica, if we could get the law administered as it is in this country. I believe that I may differ from some of my friends on this subject, but that is my opinion. To show the importance of having stipendiary magistrates, and the strong reasons which exist for avoiding local magistrates, I will state one or two circumstances. We have heard a great deal about juries in Jamaica, and the strong bias of their minds as exhibited in a number of verdicts which have been given within the last few years. I know the fact, I have mourned over it, and those for whom I have acted, have frequently

suffered severely. I will give an example of it. There is a well known stipendiary magistrate in that island, STEPHEN BOURNE, a man who has suffered very much for his courageous and steady adherence to the cause of the negro, a man who deserves well at our hands. An action was brought against him three years ago, at the instance of a book-keeper for alleged false imprisonment. The circumstances were these. This book-keeper had beaten an old negro very severely over the head with a bridle. Complaint was made to Mr. BOURNE, and he thought that the injuries inflicted were of such a serious nature, that the negro might die ; and that he could not, therefore, with propriety take bail, lest it should turn out to be a case of murder, which we all know is not a bailable offence. He accordingly sent the young man to the nearest prison. He was not put into any horrible dungeon, but into the room which was occupied by the supervisor of the prison, a tolerably comfortable room, and one adapted for a respectable white man. He was kept there a few days, until it appeared that the negro was out of danger. Upon this, the book-keeper brought an action against Mr. BOURNE, for sending him to prison, when, as he alleged, it was merely a case of common assault, and consequently a perfectly bailable offence. A verdict was given against Mr. BOURNE for £300 currency of damages, and costs, which were very heavy. He applied for, and with some difficulty obtained, a new trial, and the jury then diminished the damages to £250 ; but the additional costs, it is unnecessary to say, exceeded the reduction of the damages. That is the treatment which he received from a Jamaica jury. In contrast with this, I will mention another case, in which an action was brought for false imprisonment, and its result. There were certain black persons, a grandmother, her grandson, and her son's wife, taken up on the charge of being run-away apprentices. Immediately on being sent to prison, and before trial, they were put in chains, and so kept for several days. One of them, I believe, was worked in the field gang. They were brought three miles down to Kingston, in chains, for trial before a stipendiary magistrate, who very properly inquired how it was that those people were in chains ? On being told that they were brought for trial, he, of course immediately, before proceeding one stage in the business, ordered the chains to be struck off. I then stated that these people were not apprentices ; that I was prepared to show they were free persons. I requested that he would suspend any adjudication of the case, until I had an opportunity of bringing the question of their freedom to an issue. I accordingly adopted the necessary proceedings for that purpose, and succeeded in establishing their freedom. I thought it was a fair case for trying, what damages a Jamaica jury would give, for what they had suffered, in being put most wrongfully in prison, and for all the indignities to which they had been subjected. I thought I should procure them some compensation, which would have been very agreeable to one's feelings, had I succeeded. The case was proved so completely, that it was impossible to nonsuit us. But what think you was the amount of damages to each ? Thirty shillings currency, about 18s sterling, and the parties to pay their own costs ; because, according to the law there, if a party raise an action for any damage, and the jury do not give more than 40s., it is deemed so frivolous, that the party is not entitled to his costs. The jury could not help recognising the claim to damages ; but, knowing the rule, they kept the amount below the sum which would have entitled these poor people to their costs. Of course they had no costs to pay ; for I had great pleasure in discharging the amount. I could narrate a great many instances of the trouble I have had with causes in

Jamaica ; but as several are known, it is useless to occupy your time. But we must remember, that the magistrates are chosen from the men who compose these juries. Now, if such be the temper of the juries, from whom the local magistrates are, and must be selected, what security is there for the due administration of the law, at present, by a local magistrate? Therefore, I trust, this Convention will not forget the propriety of pressing upon Government, the necessity of keeping up the stipendiary magistrates, weeding them, for there are a good many weeds amongst them ; making this situation more worthy the acceptance of men of talent and honour, but, above all, men of principle. To do otherwise, is to violate one of the most sacred trusts that was ever put into the hands of man. I trust that the Government will be held as having disgraced itself, if it send out any but men of well certified character. There is a long list of names which I could mention, but I should be unwilling to do so, lest I should pass over some, and appear invidious. I shall conclude by calling upon proprietors in this country, who may not find matters working to their profit or their satisfaction, to come out and inspect their estates for themselves. One of the heaviest evils under which we labour, is the want of a resident proprietary. It is a very pleasant and a very delightful country ; all that is wanting to make it an Arabia Felix, is improvement in society. It has already been very much improved. Emancipation lifted a weight off everything that was good, and noble, and religious. All at once, a sense of many important moral obligations sprang upon its feet. In every quarter we find places of worship and schools rising up for the emancipated peasantry. Marriage is becoming, as you have already been informed, very general ; I wish I could say universal. Prejudice against colour,—and I have one word to say to our American friends on this subject,—has nearly disappeared. There are many white merchants, who, since the emancipation of the slaves, have married the mothers of their children. They did not dare, or had not the moral courage to do so, before. A man, if he chooses so to do, may now marry, without any obloquy attaching to it, a person of colour. Colour is no longer the standard of rank or respectability. Some of our excellent Governors have in this respect set us a good example. Not only themselves, but the ladies of their families, have not hesitated to mingle in the same drawing room with ladies and gentlemen of colour. I know that this was particularly the case with the MARQUIS of SLIGO, and SIR LIONEL SMITH ; and were I asked to select at this moment the individuals in Jamaica, whom I deemed the most accomplished and elegant man and woman in it—individuals of the most spotless private character—I would point to a lady and gentleman of colour. And when the nobility of England are not ashamed or afraid to allow of such association with their families in the drawing-room ; are we to be told, that in any country in the world, persons of colour are to be refused, not only association in the drawing-room, but a place at table in the cabin of a steam-boat, as they are in America? I hope that will go across the water. I have a good many private friends in Jamaica, who are persons of colour, whom I hold it to be an honour and a privilege to have for my associates. I would say to our friends in America, try these persons. I do not advocate the commingling of all ranks in society ; I do not say that those in the situation of the educated and more wealthy classes, who necessarily move in a particular circle of their own, are to go and select individuals from a different level for their associates, there is no necessity for that ; the natural order of society may be preserved, and the distinction of colour at

the same time abolished. It is that which I advocate, and which I hope will be made clear by the report of what I have now said; because I wish it to go across the water to America, where I find that this prejudice is almost invincible; and where there is a hardness of heart on this subject, which is only to be understood by those who have witnessed it.

The CHAIRMAN.—I had not intended to take any part in this discussion, and I beg to apologise, if I am taking precedence of any other gentleman; but I cannot remain silent. I listened with the deepest attention and the highest interest to the important, and as I deem it, useful speech which we heard from Dr. LUSHINGTON, this morning. I allude particularly to the observations which he made on the importance of the extended cultivation of sugar by free-labour. I will now mention a circumstance communicated to me several years ago, in reference to free and slave-labour, by one of the most devoted friends our cause has ever had, the late ZACHARY MACAULAY, who was high authority, and a perfect Encyclopædia on all anti-slavery subjects. He said, speaking of the cultivation of sugar in the East and West Indies, that if the two were placed on a footing of equality with respect to protecting duties, drawbacks, and bounties, and if adequate encouragement were given to its culture in the East by the introduction of British capital and industry, he believed it might be made and shipped at Bengal to an almost unlimited extent, at a profit to the grower of a penny per pound. I hope this will be borne in mind by the British India Society.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—I do not wish to divert the discussion from its proper channel; but I am desirous of asking a question in reference to compensation, because I believe that our friends in England have unintentionally thrown an obstacle in the way of American abolition, by giving £20,000,000. I am anxious that this Convention should state whether they acknowledge the principle involved in compensation.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—I am preparing a resolution on compensation. I hope that it will have the benefit of Mr. LESTER's advocacy when the question comes before us.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—I hope that this Convention will, in the most unqualified manner, condemn the grant of £20,000,000, so far as it may be supposed to involve the right of slave-holders to compensation. It is a question frequently mooted in the United States. A distinguished gentleman from the South told me, that when the abolitionists of America were willing to come to the noble ground, taken by the abolitionists of England, and pay the slave-holders for their property, he would be willing to come forward and emancipate them.

Mr. CONDER.—I rise to order. We have not yet passed the resolution to receive the report on free-labour, read by Mr. JOHN STURGE.

Mr. FULLER.—There is a part of that report which I do not understand; or if I do understand it, it wants some explanation, alteration, or amendment. It is the allusion to the emigration of the Hill Coolies, and the coloured men of North America. As a delegate from the State Society of New York, I call on this Convention to be very cautious how it puts out any sentiment involving the principle, that the free-coloured men of the United States should emigrate to the British West India islands. It is a very solemn and a very important subject. I believe that every coloured man, who thus emigrates, will damage our cause by fostering the prejudice against colour.

Mr. JOHN STURGE.—There can be no objection to meet Mr. FULLER's

views by striking out the words, "And the United States of America." I do not admit that, as a matter of principle, it should be done, because all that we allude to is free emigration ; but if he supposes that it may be productive of mischief, the clause can be omitted.

Mr. FULLER.—The colonization advocates will get hold of this document, and I have no desire to give them a whip with which to flog me when I return home.

Dr. ROLPH.—It is desirable that while we put an end to one species of slavery, we should not establish another. If the free blacks of America prefer going to another country, surely no person can be so desirous of perpetuating slavery as to put a solemn interdict upon them.

Mr. FULLER.—I want the coloured man to be as free to go to the British West India islands as JAMES CANNING FULLER is, to go to the United States ; but I do not want this Convention to state its opinion that they ought to go, because the coloured people are divided upon the subject amongst themselves.

Mr. JOHN STURGE.—I quite accord with the views expressed, that we ought not directly or indirectly to afford any encouragement to the American Colonization Society.

The clause was then struck out of the report, and the resolution put and carried unanimously.

Mr. CONDER.—I rise to bring before the Convention the resolutions prepared by the committee, whose report you have received, I do not intend to add one word by way of speech or comment. I will merely state that the committee have endeavoured, as far as possible, to take up the leading points contained in the report.

The resolutions are as follows :—

1. That upon the evidence of facts, to which the attention of this Convention has been directed, it is satisfactorily established as a general axiom, that free-labour is more profitable to the employer, and consequently cheaper than slave-labour.

2. That of all kinds of slave-labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly, and the least productive.

3. That the large profits, which, notwithstanding the disadvantages of slave-labour, have been realised in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and other tropical productions, have arisen from, and depend on, two circumstances : first, the large tracts of rich unoccupied soil, which, by their extraordinary fertility, have repaid the expenses of imported slave-labour, under the rudest and most wasteful husbandry ; and, secondly, the artificial maintenance, by fiscal regulations, of the high prices it gained for tropical productions on their first introduction into Europe, those prices being so high as to support slave-cultivation in the absence of the planters from the management of their own estates, by, and

under a system which could not have succeeded in any other branch of the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of this or any other country.

4. That the continued employment of slave-labour, invariably tends to lessen and exhaust the fertility of the soil, so as eventually to destroy the profits of the planter, who finds himself unable to compete with the possessors of fresh lands. That, owing to this cause, the cultivation of the tropical produce by slave-labour, has been to a great extent abandoned in the middle states of the American Republic, where the slave-population is reared for the purpose of being sold to the planters of the South ; thereby proving that the value of the slaves would otherwise have been destroyed by their numerical increase, and the exhaustion of the soil ; as also, that imported slave-labour is dearer, by the profit realised upon the rearing of the slaves

5. That the higher cost of imported slave-labour, over the labour of a native slave population, is strikingly illustrated by the fact, that the cultivation of cotton in the United States, has reduced the market prices of the cotton of Brazil, cultivated by imported slaves, about one-third; and that, while the cultivation of Brazilian cotton has been stationary, that of American cotton has steadily increased.

6. That the superior cheapness of free-labour has been strikingly evinced in the cultivation of indigo, which, fifty years ago, was wholly supplied by slave-labour. As the result of British skill and enterprise, the indigo of India has gradually displaced from the market, the slave-grown indigo of the Carolinas and South America, till there is now, not an ounce imported into Europe ; and so far as regards the cultivation of that article, the labour of hundreds of thousands of slaves has been superseded by free-labour, the annual produce averaging in value, between three and four millions sterling.

7. That there is every reason to believe, that the success which has attended the application of free-labour to the growth of indigo in India, would follow upon the extended cultivation of other tropical produce, by the free natives of that vast empire, so as to supersede in other articles, the produce of slave-labour, and thereby contribute to extinguish both slavery and the slave-trade. That, in particular, as slavery in the United States is mainly dependent for its existence upon the import into Great Britain of the slave-grown cotton of America, to the amount, in 1838, of more than 400,000,000 lbs. weight, were measures adopted to encourage the growth of cotton in India, by free-

labour, not only would an incalculable benefit be conferred upon the millions of the Indian Empire, but, by supplanting slave-grown cotton in the European market, it would, as the certain result, lead to the extinction of American slavery.

8. That the superior cheapness of free-labour has been incontestably proved, in the West India colonies, by the rise in the saleable value of estates since the abolition of slavery, and by the rapid accumulation of wealth, in the instance of individual proprietors. That the advantages of free-labour cultivation, cannot, however, be fairly attested, or fully realised under a system of husbandry and general management which has grown up under the existence of slavery, and which is attended by a waste of human labour, that, but for monopoly prices, must have absorbed all the profits of cultivation. That the unrestricted competition of free-labour in the cultivation of sugar, would necessarily introduce a new system, by which the cost of production would be further diminished, and the fall of prices that must ensue would leave no profits upon slave-grown sugar. That under an improved economy and management, the extended cultivation of sugar, in the rich soils of Demerara and other colonies by free-labour, would speedily enable British merchants to undersell the sugar planters of Brazil and Cuba, so as to drive all slave-grown sugar out of the markets of the world.

Rev. JOHN CLARKE, (Delegate from Kingston and St. Catherine's, Jamaica, and for Berwick-upon-Tweed).—I rise to move that the resolutions brought up by the free labour committee, and now read, be adopted. In moving this resolution it would be out of place for me to detain the Convention for any long period. You have heard much stated to-day respecting Jamaica; you have heard much of the results of emancipation in that colony, and in other parts of the West Indies. You have also heard much respecting the advantage of free labour, and the iniquity of those laws which are now sought to be brought into operation. I will add a few circumstances which have come under my personal knowledge in reference to these matters. After a residence of nearly ten years in that interesting country, after having been engaged there during part of the period of slavery, the whole of the period of apprenticeship, and a portion of the time of freedom, you must be aware that I have seen and mourned over the evils and cruelties of slavery; that I have lamented because of the miserable disappointments which the people experienced from the apprenticeship system; and that I have rejoiced with a heart full of hope, with joy unspeakable, in seeing my fellow men rise to the enjoyment of their just rights. I have rejoiced in passing along the roads in not being able to see, as we did in the time of slavery and the apprenticeship, infants from a month or six weeks old, lying under a tree, or in the shade of the sugar canes, with one or

two old women to attend to twelve or twenty of these helpless infants. Such scenes do not now meet our eyes, nor pain our hearts. Mothers can now call their children their own, and they rejoice in attending to their wants, and in manifesting to them that kindness and regard which it was not in their power to display during the period of slavery. We rejoice also in seeing children who are further advanced in years attending schools, where they are taught to read the word of God, and other good and useful books, where they are also taught their duty to their fellow men, and those things which will be of advantage to them for time as well as for eternity. I have rejoiced to see them coming two or three miles, and sometimes even four or five, during the period of apprenticeship, to be instructed three evenings in a week in the art of reading. But our schools are now greatly increased both in numbers and in efficiency; and, although the people have to act, as it were, by faith, not knowing the advantages of education, yet they show that they value it by sending their children to school. The number receiving instruction in the schools in Jamaica, when visited by Mr. LATROBE two years ago, was according to his reports laid before Parliament, above 38,000 in the public, and upwards of 4000 in other schools. At the present time we may be assured that there are not less than 50,000 children in Jamaica alone, who are gaining useful information, and being brought up in the fear of God, and taught to walk in the way of his commandments. On the Sabbath, numbers of labourers may be seen flocking to the house of God, instead of, as formerly, going to the Sunday market to sell their provisions, or working in the field or the provision ground, to lay in a stock for themselves or their families during the coming week. Oftentimes when I have been so ill as scarcely to be able to engage in the services of the sanctuary, and have had a native missionary to preach to the people in the chapel, I have been so excited by seeing the multitudes crowd around who were not able to get within the hearing of his voice, that I have gone outside, or stood in the door of the school-room, and there instructed them. These are some of the results of emancipation. But in reference to free labour, I may state, it is working well; and this is admitted by men, who ought to know the advantages of free over slave labour. I have with me, an extract of a letter, dated October 23rd, 1839, in which a Doctor engaged in St. Thomas in the Vale, informs one of our ministers, who has at present the care of my people, that the planters are expecting fine crops in 1841, should the season prove favourable. Another Doctor, who is a member of the House of Assembly, and who has two sugar estates and a coffee plantation, gives similar testimony. A person writing to me, says, "The following extract from a letter received a few weeks ago, in answer to a note of mine, requesting an interview, (with the person to whom he alludes) and respecting the working of the free system, may serve the cause of liberty in England." The letter is as follows, "Dear Sir, I feel much regret that being in attendance at the House of Assembly last week, I did not receive your esteemed favour until Saturday evening on my return. It would have afforded me much pleasure to have seen both yourself and Captain STUART at Mulloch Hall, and to have given Captain STUART every information in my power, on the working of the free system. And I do not hesitate to say, that no one who will divest himself of prejudice, but must allow that we have every prospect of its ultimately proving a blessing to all classes." "The Doctor's opinion," (adds the same person, from whom I quote) "is rendered doubly valuable by his great agricultural know-

ledge, and his interest in the soil." This gentleman has been long in the island, and he has been going on there not quite so successfully in some cases as he wished to do, and as others were desirous of seeing him do. He had a difference, before I left, with his people, and they ceased to work on account of the rent question, which has to some extent disturbed the peace of the country. He came to me, and requested that I would speak to his labourers on the subject. I requested some of the principal people to wait upon me, and asked them why they had given over work. They told me, that the Doctor had threatened to burn down their houses, and had already caused the furniture of one person to be thrown into the highway; and now that the crop time was coming, they thought he wanted to take advantage of them: hence they had left off work. I wrote to the Doctor the simple statement which I had received, without offering an opinion upon it. He misunderstood me in the first instance, and thought I was giving an opinion, but I corrected this erroneous impression. He then writes to me under date of the 8th February, 1839, as follows: "As a proof how deeply my feelings are interested in having my people satisfied and happy, and how rejoiced I would be to find my properties going on smoothly and quietly, and affording an example to others, I am willing to place myself thus far in your hands. I will leave it entirely to you to fix the future mode of carrying on my estates, as to wages. I pledge my word to fulfil to the letter any arrangement you propose, and get the people to agree to. I am willing to pay the people 1s. 8d. per day, (1s. sterling) for each effective male or female labourer, and to all others in proportion, giving them their houses, gardens, and grounds free of rent, to the 31st December next, or for one year; or I will give 2s. 6d. per day, (1s. 6d. sterling) charging rent as you state, namely, 3s. 4d. for a family;" that is 2s. sterling, "and those, of course, who, having no house, yet have gardens or grounds, or gain their subsistence out of my lands, to pay such weekly sum as you may deem fair; probably the former mode will be the preferable one, as avoiding all disputes that might arise in relation to rents. If you will take on yourself to draw up such an arrangement as you deem just and equitable, I will sign it; and if success attend it, no one will more willingly acknowledge it than myself, and give you the full credit, and you will certainly be entitled to the thanks of every man in the parish." He says again, "I perfectly approve of the mode you propose of putting the people in possession of my sentiments, and trust some fixed plan may be drawn up, to enable us to go on quietly, for a time at least. I should certainly prefer some plan grounded on giving up the rent, so as to avoid trouble and expense in collecting it. A provision must be made for from twelve to sixteen hours work during crop, to enable me to get it off; three months would do it." I told him that I did not feel at liberty to draw out such an arrangement; that I had merely stepped in as a friend to both parties, to the people and to himself; that I had acted merely as a peace-maker in the matter, and had brought the people to this point, that they would engage to work for one shilling a-day sterling, and give him twelve hours labour, with the exception of time for breakfast and dinner, and that they would not lose much time for these during crop; that if he required a few hours more during the crop season, they would willingly give it him, requiring merely a trifling remuneration extra, 3d. or 6d. sterling would satisfy them. They came to me on the Saturday, and I sent them direct to their master. They went to work on the Monday and his two estates went on quietly during the taking off of the remainder of the crop. He

has sent his respects to me since I came to this country, and I am informed, that he and his people still go on in the most friendly manner. Before I left Jamaica, I had an opportunity of assisting 100 people, who brought to me the little money they had raised, which amounted to about £250 sterling. I bought for them 142 acres of land, at a cost of about £500 sterling. I gave my note of hand for the other half of the sum, to be paid in twelve months. This moiety has since been paid, and before I left the island, 100 titles were made out and signed; and about that number of people were occupying their places at this new township, which to shew their loyalty, they were pleased to call Victoria. The gentleman who signed the titles for the land is a magistrate of the parish, a member of the House of Assembly, and married to a lady of colour, the daughter of the custos of the parish. He came to my house and signed all those titles, for each of which, he could have made a charge of 7s. 6d. sterling, according to the laws of Jamaica, but he gave up that sum; saying, "Take it, to assist in repairing the road to your chapel." Moreover, he offered to me a piece of ground at a new township he was forming. I declined accepting it, except in the name of the Society; saying that I could not hold it in my own name, but would cheerfully receive it for the use of the Baptist Missionary Society. He made over the very first lot in the new township by a deed of gift, which he and his lady signed, to the Baptist Missionary Society. This is only one instance which I could give, out of many, of applications which we have had from proprietors in Jamaica, to make arrangements between them and their people. I have had two or three applications in a week from overseers, masters, and others, to act as a peace-maker between them and the labourers, in cases of disputed rent. Indeed, not only is this the case, but the Secretary of His Excellency, the Governor, in a letter addressed to me, May 18th, 1838, just before freedom commenced, thus writes, "His Excellency begs to invite your aid in sermons and exhortations in public, and your friendly advice in any occasional intercourse you may have with this class of persons, in order to impress on them what will be the real state of the law after the 1st of August next, and the obligations attaching to those who come into freedom at that period, as well as on those continuing in apprenticeship." It was then thought that the field slaves would still remain in apprenticeship. I assembled my people, and entreated them with the utmost affection, that, should such be the case, they would remain quiet, and submit to the law. They all assured me, that they would do so. We do not need to be called, "the sowers of political strife." We should be delighted if we had nothing to attend to, but our labours as Missionaries; but we are obliged to be purchasers of land, to act as lawyers, making out our titles; we are obliged to enter into contracts for building chapels, and to superintend their erection; we are bound to attend to the welfare of the people who come to us for advice; and on every occasion we give them the best advice that we can. When we see them oppressed, we feel it to be our bounden duty, in the sight of God, to stand up in their defence; and this we do, whether they belong to our denomination or not. We cannot see our fellow man oppressed, without doing what we can to obtain for him redress. And it is a cheering consideration, that to some extent, we have been used as instruments in the hand of God in alleviating human woe. It is a pleasing and gratifying reflection, that we have saved some from the dreadful lash, and some, perhaps, from death itself. The laws in Jamaica are certainly not operating well; but I will not occupy your time by reading more than

one or two extracts illustrative of their mal-administration. A gentleman writes me respecting a lame boy, whose arms were taken off near to the shoulder by a sugar mill, when a child. He says, "I am sorry to inform you, that a member of the church at Jericho, named JOHN PALMER, has been committed to the St. John's House of Correction for six weeks, for neglect of duty, a neglect over which he had no control. I went to see him on Saturday last, and obtained the following information. He states that he was hired by the overseer of Spring Vale estate, EDWARD WILLIAM BURKE, to watch the canes; that during the heavy rains in October last, he left his hut, and went to the house to obtain some food, but on returning he could not cross the river, and had to return to the negro houses to sleep there. On going to his hut on the following morning, he found that the cattle had broken through the fence, and got into the cane piece. The overseer then discharged him, and he was subsequently cited before the magistrate, who required him to pay the value of the canes; but as he could not do this, they sentenced him to six weeks in the House of Correction. I have obtained a copy of the commitment, and intend to send it to Mr. HARVEY by next post. My visit to the House of Correction has excited the fear of the anti-liberal party, and they have been anxious to know the object of it. The supervisor, a liberal and independent man, has had an attack made on him by a few concerning the matter." In another letter it is said, that the people are complaining bitterly of the heavy rents which are demanded of them. The letter is dated March 2nd, 1840. "At Williamsfield each family is charged five shillings per week (three shillings sterling) which is just half of a man's wages for the six days. The people are anxious to purchase land, but cannot obtain any near to the estate. They say they would gladly purchase a portion of the estate, if Lord HAREWOOD would sell it to them. Perhaps it would be to his advantage to do so, as he would by this means retain the people on the estate, and be sure to obtain labour for fair wages. The people at Moneague are also much distressed about rent. They complain that they are cheated, and made to pay double, because they have not used the precautions to take receipts." Thus we see that unprejudiced men in Jamaica, who are interested in the cultivation of the soil, are ready to affirm that free is better than slave labour, and that freedom is working well. I had an opportunity of witnessing this, on an estate adjoining my own house. In the time of slavery, the negroes were obliged to dig seventy holes per day; but now they will frequently dig a hundred in the same period, because their heart is in the work, and they know that they will be compensated for their toils. The increase in the price of land is very considerable. Land which I have purchased at £3. sterling, and sold at £3. 12s. to cover expenses, was bought in the days of slavery for less than 12s. sterling per acre. When looking out for land to form Missionary Stations, I found that it was rising in price in all directions. At Moneague, in the parish of St. Ann, I was asked £100. currency for a single acre, and a person paid for ground there at that rate on which to build a store. I gave £12. sterling, per acre, for some at a little distance from it. This certainly tends to show the advantage of free-labour in Jamaica. That which is done by this Convention will have a powerful effect on other parts of the world where slavery still prevails; and some of us now assembled, may live to see the day when slavery will be destroyed, not only in America and in the Spanish colonies, but in all other parts of the world, including even Africa itself, where it exists not only for the purpose of

procuring slaves for exportation, but where internal slavery is also prevalent to a great extent. Thus we may hope to see that the means which are now used by those whom God has raised up, will be blessed by Him, will be crowned with the greatest success, and to Him, and not to us, will all the praise and all the glory be given.

Mr. PRESCOD.—I will be as brief as I possibly can, but I must beg to call back your attention to one fact. We have heard a great deal of Jamaica, but I beg you to remember, that that colony comprises only about one-half of our emancipated population. I am aware, that in Jamaica the great experiment of freedom must principally be worked out; and it is to that colony, that foreign states will direct their attention, in order to observe the effects of emancipation. But as abolitionists, and it is in that character I address you, we have as much to do with the smallest as with the largest colony. As philanthropists, I apprehend that a single injury inflicted in any of the smallest colonies, will be regarded by you, to be as much an injury, as though it were inflicted in Jamaica. As lovers of justice, I presume, that a single right there invaded, will be considered a breach of your compact with the planters. We have heard much of the clamour raised against abolitionists, and I know of no subject on which I should be more disposed to make a speech, but I will only lay before you facts. My acquaintance with the Windward and Leeward Islands, would induce me to assign three reasons for this clamour. First, to excite the pity of the British Government, and induce them to consent to a system of emigration on a large scale, into British Guiana and Trinidad. Secondly, to enable the Colonial Legislature to pass laws for the coercion of the emancipated population. Thirdly,—and I should be afraid to mention it, if I had not seen it stated by Mr. JOSEPH JOHN GURNEY, in his letter published in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, from which I find that he has arrived at the same conclusion as myself,—to depreciate the value of property in the colonies, in order that attorneys may be enabled to purchase it cheap. We have heard how the labourers in Jamaica have conducted themselves; and I will now show you how those in the Leeward and Windward Islands, in Barbadoes, and Trinidad, have acted. Instead of going through the details, I will read one or two extracts. In a despatch from the Colonial Secretary, LORD GLENELG, to SIR EVAN MCGREGOR, the GOVERNOR-GENERAL of the Windward Islands, with special reference to the conduct of the Barbadoes labourers, he says, “I am commanded to convey to you, the expression of her MAJESTY’S satisfaction at the conduct of the emancipated population; and at the gratifying and decorous manner in which they celebrated an event of such vast importance to their future welfare. Such conduct warrants the anticipation of the happiest results to Colonial Society in general, from the great measure of freedom.” And again, in a despatch to the GOVERNOR-GENERAL of the Leeward Islands, he says, after adverting to the tranquillity with which the transition from apprenticeship to a state of entire freedom, had been effected in all those islands, “Their conduct at this crisis gives the best promise of the complete ultimate success of the great measure of freedom which has furnished this test of their capacity for freedom.” These extracts show the opinion entertained by that functionary, of the conduct of the labouring population on receiving the rights of freedom. I regret to say, that in none of the colonies, and particularly in Barbadoes, has that good conduct met with the response it deserved, in the conduct of the planters. A contract law came into operation in Barbadoes, simultaneously with the Emancipation

Bill. That law implied a contract from the circumstance of one week's continuous labour in one place. The people were unwilling to enter into specific contracts, and they were therefore turned into the roads with their wives, children, and aged parents ; and, as SIR EDWARD CUST truly observes, when a labourer is turned out of his hut, he finds it extremely difficult to get a settlement and employment elsewhere. That was the conduct of the planters when the negroes obtained their freedom, and such has been their behaviour up to the latest moment of my leaving the island to come here. I have seen enough in the colonies within the last two years, to convince me, if ever I doubted the fact, that slavery demoralizes and debases the slave-holder, much more than it does the slave ; and that if a law was required to prepare us for freedom, the slave-holder and not the slave needed the preparatory process. In a visit which I paid to the principal Windward and Leeward Islands in the early part of this year, I learned from the most respectable authorities, that in Trinidad, St. Kitts, Dominica, St. Lucia, and Antigua, crime had greatly diminished. But I will call your attention to a statement of the diminution of crime in Barbadoes, made by SIR EVAN MCGREGOR, in his opening speech to the Legislature, on the 26th of last November. He says, "On meeting the Legislative Houses, I am happy to refer, amongst the documents about to be laid before you, to comparative statements, whence it will appear that, during the last year of apprenticeship in this island, between the 1st of August, 1837, and the 1st of August, 1838, 10,868 punishments were inflicted under the authority of the Justices of the Peace ; and during the first year of freedom, between the 1st of August, 1838, and the 1st of August, 1839, not more than 2016." Here is a diminution of 7952 in the first year of freedom. Taking the population at 125,000, the proportion of punishments during that first year of freedom, would be two and a third per cent. ; and I have no doubt, from my knowledge of the mode in which justice is administered in the island, that one-third of those were improperly inflicted. Another fact will also show the reduction of crime in that island, notwithstanding the many wrongs of which the people complain. Previously to 1834, prisons were erected in the rural districts, at a great expense to the country, to receive the thousands of criminals which freedom was expected to make. But they have long been without tenants. They are now quite useless ; and, until they are thrown down by hurricanes, they will stand as monuments of the planter's groundless fears and extravagant follies. They cost upwards of £15,000, and were built as a necessary preparative for the emancipation of the *niggers*. Mr. KNIBB's statement with regard to the moral and religious improvement of the negroes in Jamaica, applies with equal truth to the Windward and Leeward Islands. The anxiety evinced for instruction of every kind, and especially moral and religious instruction, is remarkable, and cannot escape the observation of the most superficial. But I am sorry to say, that in some of the colonies we are not so well provided with Missionaries, as our friends are in Jamaica. I found in St. Lucia only one Protestant Minister, and he was attached to the garrison. When he was sick or engaged in his duties as garrison Chaplain, the Protestant inhabitants were without a preacher. There is one fact which I am desirous of stating, and with that I will conclude. The average crops of sugar in Barbadoes during slavery, were usually taken by the planters themselves in round numbers, at 23,000 hogsheads. Since the abolition of slavery, we have made much larger crops. In 1837, it was 32,755 ; in 1838, 33,133 ; in 1839, about 30,000 ; the return has not yet been given in. The crop this year

will be greatly below the average, owing to the severe drought which has for several months been upon the land.

Mr. TURNBULL.—To save the time of the meeting, I will simply read an amendment which I propose by way of rider to the second resolution. Concurring entirely in the truth of the abstract principles so ably introduced and supported by Mr. STURGE, provided the element of time for their development be allowed, yet I fear that their enunciation in this absolute form, may have a tendency to damp exertions which are still so necessary for the suppression of the African slave-trade. My rider is intended merely to operate as a caution, and will, I hope, speak for itself.

That nevertheless, inasmuch as the sugar plantations in the Brazilian empire, and in the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, the only countries in the world into which the victims of the African slave-trade are imported to any considerable extent, are notoriously profitable speculations; and, inasmuch as the price of slave-grown sugar in the English sugar market, meaning thereby, the short price free of duty, is now only 23s. per cwt., whereas the price of British colonial sugar is at least 47s. per cwt., free of duty, it is imperative on this Convention to pause before giving its high sanction to principles which, however true in the abstract, appear to be at variance with the anomalous facts connected with the cultivation of sugar, lest their enunciation should interfere with the exertions required for accomplishing the suppression of the slave-trade.

Dr. MADDEN.—I would not offer myself to the notice of the meeting; but that I think that this is a very important subject. It is stated in the second resolution, that of all kinds of slave-labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly and least productive. I am entirely at issue with the gentleman who has drawn up this proposition. I maintain that the question of the cheapness of labour is one that involves the consideration of a great many complex facts. They are these; first, as to the kind and degree of labour taken from the slave; secondly, as to the time when free-labour would ultimately become more profitable than slave-labour; thirdly, as to the description of free-labour that would be substituted for slave-labour. None of these questions are entered into; but the conclusion is at once arrived at, that free-labour is cheaper and more productive than slave-labour. From the above considerations, I shall be able to show, without occupying much of your time, that this conclusion is erroneous. I suppose that when a negro is bought by a planter in Cuba, for a sugar estate, it is calculated that he ought to last for twelve years. The cost of a Bozal negro is 500 dollars; his support and clothing I estimate at 25 dollars a year, which is 300 dollars for the twelve years, making a total of 800 dollars. Now, the hire of a free-labourer for twelve years may be roughly estimated somewhat in this way. The least on which you can calculate is three dollars a week for his hire, which amounts to the sum of 144 dollars a year—for the twelve years 1728 dollars. That is double the amount of the cost of a Bozal negro, and the expense of his food and clothing. The next is the time which you

will get out of a slave, as compared with that which you will procure from a freeman, and consequently, the performance of work for the master. The time for slave-labour during crop, which lasts six months, is twenty hours per day, making 2880 hours; and then calculating fourteen hours a day for the remaining six months, we have altogether, for one year, 4896 hours. From the freeman you would only obtain twelve hours labour a day, making 3456 hours, so that there is a deficit of nearly 1500 hours annually. With regard to the ultimate cheapness of free-labour, I have no doubt; with respect to its ultimate advantage to the community, there can be no doubt; but when it is stated in the resolution, without taking into consideration these complex facts, that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour, I think it might lead to an erroneous conclusion, and one which might impede our exertions for the abolition of the slave-trade.

Mr. SCOBLE.—The question before the Convention is undoubtedly one of the very greatest importance. The authorities which were quoted to us this morning, in the admirable report brought up by the free-labour Committee, were sufficient generally to establish the fact, that free-labour will be found, upon the whole, cheaper than slave-labour. The rider which I hold in my hand, and which my friend, **Mr. TURNBULL**, wishes to be added to the resolutions submitted to the Convention, contains a fallacy upon its face. It makes the price of slave-sugar, in the British market, at the present moment, to be 23s. per cwt., while it asserts the price of free-grown sugar to be 47s. per cwt. Now, what is it that makes the difference in price between these two classes of colonial produce, but what is usually termed the West Indian monopoly? It is that which makes the difference. Let the monopoly be got rid of, and I will venture to say, that free-labour will compete with slave-labour sugar of any kind. I contend, therefore, that **Mr. TURNBULL**'s statement will not lead the Convention to a right conclusion. **Dr. MADDEN** has also fallen into a mistake. He takes no account whatever of the capital invested in the slave when he is purchased and placed upon the plantation; and I differ with him entirely when he gives as the average of slave-life upon plantations in Cuba, a period of twelve years. I feel satisfied from all the inquiries which I have been able to make, that seven years will be found to be the maximum.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE.—Five the minimum—seven the maximum.

Mr. SCOBLE.—Then the calculation must be made on six years as the medium, and not upon twelve years. I am perfectly satisfied, that if gentlemen would sit down and throw the whole of this matter into figures, the result would give a balance vastly in favour of free over slave-labour. I would also remind the Convention of another important fact. In the case of sickness, there is a loss of capital, and the profit thereon, to the planter who buys a slave; whereas he loses nothing by free-labourers who are absent from that or any other cause.

Mr. TURNBULL.—I ask **Mr. SCOBLE** to disprove the fact asserted in the amendment, that sugar plantations in Cuba, in Brazil, and at Porto Rico, are profitable speculations.

Mr. SCOBLE.—That may arise from the fact, that there is not enough free-labour sugar cultivated, to bring into competition with that raised by slave-labour; and because the demand is greater at present than the supply. Let there be as much sugar grown by free-labour, as will supply the wants of the world, and we shall not hear anything more of the cheapness of slave as compared with free-labour.

Mr. PEEK.—I did not understand that we were met to discuss which was most profitable, slave or free-labour. It appears to me that you are descending essentially from the high ground which we are bound to maintain. The question is, whether slavery is right or wrong; not whether it is more or less profitable than free-labour.

Mr. TURNBULL.—I will read the resolution and my rider. The one to which it applies more particularly is the second, which is to the following effect:—

That of all kinds of slave-labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly and the least productive.

Now, we do not object to the abstract truth of the principle here enunciated, on the contrary, we believe, that in the long run it will prove to be sound and true; and there is not a member of this Convention, who desires more ardently to see its full and successful operation than my friend Dr. MADDEN, and myself. But then we apprehend great danger from its assertion in this absolute form; and we therefore wish it to go to the world, accompanied with the caution contained in the rider. It will then read thus—

That of all kinds of slave-labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly and the least productive. That, nevertheless, inasmuch as the sugar plantations in the Brazilian empire, and in the Spanish colonies of Cuba and Porto Rico, the only countries in the world into which the victims of the African slave-trade are imported to any considerable extent, are notoriously profitable speculations; and, inasmuch as the price of slave-grown sugar in the English sugar market, meaning thereby, the short price free of duty, is now only 23s. per cwt., whereas the price of British colonial sugar is at least 47s. per cwt., free of duty, it is imperative on this Convention to pause before giving its high sanction to principles which, however true in the abstract, appear to be at variance with the anomalous facts connected with the cultivation of sugar, lest their enunciation should interfere with the exertions required for accomplishing the suppression of the slave-trade.

A DELEGATE.—We can draw no inference as to the comparative cost of raising sugar by free and slave-labour, from its price in the market. The present high price of free-grown sugar, arises from the deficiency of the supply; the low price of slave-grown sugar, results from the fact, that we are not allowed to use it without paying so enormous a duty, that it excludes it from the market.

Mr. CONDER.—The second resolution is, comparatively, of so little importance, that, if it will shorten the discussion, or secure unanimity, I will consent to its being struck out. But I beg leave to observe, that the resolutions are no more than deductions from the facts contained in the report which has been received, and that ample evidence will be found in that report, to substantiate the propositions comprised in the resolutions. With regard to the resolution in question, the gentlemen who object to it, admit that it contains an abstract truth; but, if it be an abstract truth, it is true.

In the subsequent resolutions, proof of its being true, not merely in the abstract, but in fact, is adduced. It is stated, that the middle states of the American Republic, have been converted into vast breeding grounds for the southern market. This horrible fact shows that there must be a profit realized upon the rearing of slaves, which is paid by the purchaser. Another fact referred to, is, that American cotton, grown by native slave-labour, has to a great extent, superseded the Brazilian cotton, which is raised by imported slave-labour. Evidence in abundance to support the general statement, is to be found in Parliamentary documents, and published works that have been issued during the last ten years ; but I deem it unnecessary to go into further proof, as the gentlemen who move and support the amendment, admit that the proposition is incontestible.

Mr. JOSEPH PEASE.—The report of one of the wisest and best committees which the House of Commons ever appointed, most satisfactorily disposes of the whole question.

Mr. JOHN STURGE.—I will only say one word in explanation. I shall not offer the slightest opposition to the withdrawal of the resolution, because I do not think that it is essential to the series. But the reason why the argument was introduced into the report and formed a part of the resolutions was this, to show that by fair competition, free-labour would put an end to the slave-trade, by rendering cultivation by imported slave-labour an unprofitable engagement.

Mr. R. R. MOORE.—I am anxious that you should fully carry out the report : I never heard a document to which I listened with greater pleasure. No one who heard it can think that we are leaving the high ground of principle. But I think the first resolution should say, that we merely put these statements forward as facts, not as arguments against slavery. If free-labour were a hundred times more expensive than slave-labour, our duty would remain the same, slavery must be abolished. The facts which have been stated, show that nature rebels against slavery, and let us rebel against it too.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE.—Should there not be something put at the head of the resolutions to this effect ; that although we maintain that slavery should be abolished, independently of the question of profit, still we are of opinion, that free-labour is cheaper than slave-labour ; and further, that indigenous labour is cheaper than labour arising from the detestable resource of the slave-trade ? I am prepared to maintain both propositions, should it be requisite, but unless I hear further arguments, I should be unwilling to intrude on the time of the Convention. I consider that the arguments set forth by Mr. TURNBULL, and Dr. MADDEN, have been met by the observations of Mr. SCOBLE, upheld by another gentleman. They amount to this, that the elements of price in London, are exceedingly different with regard to home sugar, from those which regulate the price of foreign sugar.

Mr. TURNBULL.—It is admitted.

Mr. JUSTICE JEREMIE.—Then it follows that the proposition contained in Mr. TURNBULL'S rider is erroneous, inasmuch as he would have us suppose that you can get slave sugar for 23s. per cwt., whilst you can only procure monopoly or home sugar for 47s. per cwt., because the labour of the slave is cheaper than that of the freeman. That is the foundation of his proposition. But observe, when you do get slave sugar into the London market, what can you do with it ? Can you take it to Manchester and give it to your own population ? Can you even give it to your boatmen who bring it ashore ? Can you

introduce it in any shape or form for home consumption? No; you cannot; and it is only because you cannot so use it, that it is at that very cheap price. If the population of this country were allowed to consume foreign sugar, its price would rise exactly to the same level as British grown sugar, whether the product of free or slave-labour. The difference would be in the profit to the grower, but the price has nothing to do with that, the price is regulated by the quantity introduced, or in other words, the demand in the markets. What is the cause of the difference in price between silver and gold? It is not in the value of the metal, intrinsically considered, but because gold is scarce in comparison with silver, therefore it bears a higher price. But if from a change of circumstances, gold become more abundant than silver, the former would decline, the latter, increase in price. So it is with sugar. It is not by the present price in the market that we must estimate the profit to the grower, when we examine which is the cheapest and which is the dearest. In another part of his proposition, Mr. TURNBULL, if I rightly understand him, tells you that it is an established fact, that in Cuba and in the Brazils, the production of sugar by newly imported slaves is the most profitable engagement. I have heard this pass unnoticed over and over again, and if such a thing were possible, my late respected friend, a man whom I am surprised not to have heard already mentioned in an assembly of abolitionists, ZACHARY MACAULAY, would have started from the grave at so astounding a proposition. (A voice, "He has been mentioned.") I am delighted to hear it. What did he show at every opportunity in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*? That whilst the Jamaica people were complaining that we, the abolitionists, were the cause of the distress and bankruptcy existing in that island, the further you went back and the more slavery there was there, the greater was the cost to the planter, the greater his outlay; that where there was one bankrupt under the ameliorative system, there were twenty when slaves were introduced daily. That was the whole gist of his argument on this part of his subject, and so you will find it now in Cuba and in the Brazils. I have witnessed the working of both systems in the Brazils, in St. Thomas, and in our own islands, both in the East and the West. What is a sugar plantation under a system of slave importation? The rankest, the most wretched species of lottery. It is neither more nor less: Some draw prizes, but for one prize there are fifty blanks: where one man makes a fortune, twenty are ruined: you hear of the former, but the latter are studiously kept from public notice. This is a matter of notoriety amongst us; and therefore in every view which can be taken of this question, my friend, Mr. TURNBULL, is proceeding on a fallacy. Now, although as abolitionists, we contend for the abolition of slavery on grounds independent of profit, and regard it as anything but a money question, still we unfortunately know that the world is not entirely composed of abolitionists; and that though this question is to us a subordinate one, looking as you do to principle and not to price; yet there are men who view it in a very different light, and I should very much regret any conclusion being arrived at by this Convention, by which your opinions could be misrepresented on a subject, on which misrepresentation has ever been rife. However, therefore, we, as abolitionists, might view the case, the progress of our cause on public opinion, would be essentially damaged by the adoption of this rider. I hope the Convention will go to the vote upon the point, as it has been put, whether free-labour is not ultimately and in every sense, as a general principle, more profitable than slave-labour, and whether indigenous labour is not more profitable than new.

importations. I will admit of one exception, and one only. A planter at certain seasons, just like any other tradesman or manufacturer, will be pressed for labour; there will at certain periods arise a sudden and immediate demand for employment; and if when he is so pressed for workmen, he can go into the slave-market, seize upon half a dozen or a dozen of his fellow-creatures, and work them day and night till they are dead, he may make an immediate profit which were otherwise lost to him, but this immediate profit he makes by the murder of his fellow-men. These, however, are only extraordinary emergencies, which are not to be taken into account, in discussing or settling a general principle. I am prepared to confirm by experience, the facts stated in the report, and therefore I am prepared to affirm every resolution based upon them. I never knew facts more completely proved, or a case more fully made out.

Rev. JOHN BIRT.—When contending for the abolition of slavery, one of the most powerful economical arguments we then employed was, that free-labour would be cheaper to the planter than slave-labour; and connected with that, the subordinate question, that indigenous slavery would be cheaper than imported slave-labour. That was a prospective argument, and if we now omit all reference to the subject, and do not pronounce a decided opinion upon it, our opponents will say that we have been foiled by the result, and are afraid to avow the disappointment. I therefore think that the danger lies not in making statements, which some may allege are inconsistent with our principles, because we would abolish slavery at all events, but in bringing ourselves and our cause under the suspicion of the public, by being silent on such a subject as this. But we have no inducement to be silent, because the evidence has been so clear, as to convince not only the minds of gentlemen prepared to weigh the subject, and to judge whether the statements were in themselves consistent or not, but to convince parties unpractised in such calculations, of the truth now asserted in the resolutions before us. We ought not, therefore, to withdraw it, but fully and in the most public manner to declare, that every expectation we then formed, has been more than realized.

Captain STUART.—I shall move an adjournment; the subject is of unspeakable importance, and cannot be too fully discussed.

Mr. FULLER.—I will second that resolution.

Captain STUART's motion was then put and carried in the affirmative, and the Convention adjourned accordingly.

EIGHTH DAY'S SITTINGS, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1840.

(MORNING).

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq., in the Chair.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

Rev. T. SCALES.—Last evening, when CAPTAIN STUART moved the adjournment, we were considering the rider, submitted by Mr. TURNBULL, to the resolutions on the subject of free-labour. Mr. JOHN STURGE wishes to address the Convention on that point.

Mr. JOHN STURGE.—I last night offered a few words in explanation, with the hope, that by giving up the second resolution the objections of Mr. TURNBULL might be obviated. The Convention appeared to me, without coming to a vote, decidedly in favour of the resolution. I, therefore, claim attention to the few observations which I purpose to make, on what I consider the inconsistent character and baneful tendency of Mr. TURNBULL's proposition. In the first place, it compares the price of Cuban and Brazilian sugars in the markets of Europe, with the monopoly price of our colonial sugar in the British market; the one being 23s. per cwt. the other 47s. per cwt. But it should be remembered, that this latter price has only been obtained in consequence of the sugar in the British colonies failing short, since emancipation, of the consumption of the country. Before that period—and this brings the matter to a decisive issue—the colonies produced 30,000 tons per annum more than we consumed, the whole of which, went into the markets of Europe, at the same price as the sugar from Brazil and Cuba. As it is not to be presumed that the planters would have continued to produce a surplus over the demand of this country, for which they had a monopoly, unless they derived a profit from it, this fact affords undeniable evidence, that the cost of producing and bringing it to market, was at that time under 23s. per cwt.; and, as it can be shown that sugar is now raised in our colonies at least as cheaply as before emancipation, it also proves that the cost of production, which is the only fair subject of comparison, is at the present time below that sum. There is yet another fact in support of our views; at this moment the sugars of Brazil and Cuba are under-sold in the European market, by the free-grown sugar of Manilla and Siam. But further, in what a position should we appear before the world, if we append to the resolutions, such a rider as that proposed by Mr. TURNBULL? In these resolutions, we declare certain principles, and in the rider we deprecate giving the high sanction of the Convention to the principles which we have thus declared. Can this Convention possibly send out a series of resolutions of such a contradictory character? The rider brings into comparison the 23s. per cwt., which Europe is paying, with the 47s. per cwt., which England is paying for sugar, in a manner calculated to have a most baneful tendency with reference to the important question before us. This difference in price is the most imminent danger with which we have to contend, inasmuch as if the people of this country are led to believe that it is a necessary or even a permanent result of emancipation, they will demand the opening of the English markets to slave-grown sugar, a result, which I cannot contemplate without horror. But the rider so places the subject before the country, as to increase this danger to a very great degree. There is another point to which I will allude before I sit down. The rider declares, that the sugar plantations of Brazil and Cuba are profitable speculations. I grant that in some individual cases they may be so, but I deny that this is the case generally. On this point, you heard yesterday the observations of Judge JEREMIE, than whom no man is better acquainted with the colonial system, having passed his life among sugar plantations.

Mr. TURNBULL.—Not among these.

Mr. JOHN STURGE.—But having lived in the Mauritius, where the slave-trade was carried on, and where the circumstances were therefore similar. I will occupy your attention for two minutes longer, while I quote other authorities. If there have ever been two men in this country of the highest authority on such a subject, they are the late JAMES STERNES, and the late

ZACHARY MACAULAY. Both had been in the West Indies, and each had devoted a long life to the study of colonial questions. They were better acquainted, and I say it advisedly, with all the details of the colonial system, than any of the planters themselves. Both these men were decidedly of opinion, and they have recorded it in their numerous publications again and again, that slave cultivation, was a system, involving ruin to those engaged in it. Yes, Sir! The moral laws of God have branded slavery as the most atrocious system the world ever saw; and his providential laws have decreed, that as a system, I do not say in all individual instances; but as a system, it shall entail ruin on those embarked in it. I will read a short extract from a pamphlet which I hold in my hand. It is entitled, "A Short Review of the Slave-trade and Slavery, with considerations on the benefit which would arise from the cultivation of tropical productions by free-labour." It quotes from a work of Mr. STEPHEN's, the following passage. "The late able and eminent colonial agent, Mr. MARRYATT, in a speech in Parliament, observes, 'There are few estates in the West Indies that have not, during the last twenty years, that is, from 1793 to 1813, been sold or given up to creditors.' And from a work of Mr. MACAULAY's, the following statistical returns from the West Indies, furnish a remarkable confirmation to these views. It appears by these returns, that the distress of the planters in general, runs parallel with the fertility of the soil cultivated, and with the consequent high appreciation of his slaves. If we take the four colonies of Demerara, Berbice, Trinidad, and Honduras, where the average value of slaves is the highest, and the soil most fertile, we shall find the proportion of slaves taken and sold in execution, in five years, to be as high as *one in twenty-eight* of the slave population; whereas, in the other eight colonies, from which we have returns of the sales in execution—St. Vincent's, Tortola, Bahamas, Nevis, St. Christopher's, Barbadoes, Dominica, and Grenada, and in which the prices are low, the proportion of slaves so sold is only *one in sixty*; and leaving out St. Vincent's and Tortola, which seem to involve some doubt, it is only *one in eighty*." I will only make one more observation. Judge JEREMIE alluded to the high authority of ZACHARY MACAULAY, and to his labours in the anti-slavery cause. It is impossible to appreciate them too highly; his pen was ever in his hand; and during a long life, he devoted it entirely to this subject, and no man has rendered more important service to the African race; and no man, either of the past or the present age, has a higher claim to the grateful reverence of all the friends of freedom. I cannot, therefore, sit down without expressing my deep regret, that his son, the present Secretary at War, should be the advocate of the transportation of Hill Coolies into the Mauritius.

Mr. TURNBULL.—The whole gist of my observations may be condensed into one word—*speedily*. I need not repeat that Mr. STURGE and myself are at one on the great principle of free-labour, as a system, being the most economical; but before it can come into full operation, I can foresee an infinity of mischief in relying upon its successful competition with the wasteful system of the slave-trade. If we are to trust to the cheapness of free-labour, as the sole means of driving the produce of slave-labour out of the market, we must wait with patience till the high price of 47s. per cwt. shall have been reduced to 23s. per cwt., and perhaps a great deal lower. It is for this reason that I have drawn up the rider, which whether it passes or no, will serve to warn us against the too flattering expectation, that free-labour is to triumph

so speedily. It is quite true, that a portion of the present price of 47s. per cwt., arises from the monopoly of the market which our own colonies now enjoy.

Mr. I. CREWDSON.—A great part.

Mr. TURNBULL.—But another part arises from the fact, that free-labour is not yet in full operation; and until that be the case, I humbly maintain that the principles of the original resolution are not to be implicitly relied upon.

The question on the adoption of Mr. TURNBULL's rider was then put to the Convention, and negatived.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—The sixth resolution relates to the successful cultivation of indigo; and to the fact, that free-labour has displaced slave-grown indigo from the markets of the world. The seventh resolution then goes on to state,

That there is every reason to believe, that the success which has attended the application of free-labour to the growth of indigo in India, would follow upon the extended cultivation of other tropical produce by the free natives of that vast empire.

After reading the whole of the sixth resolution, Mr. PHILLIPS proceeded.

I think that so far as America is concerned, two subjects which have engaged the attention of this body are of such incalculable importance, as to throw all others, comparatively, into the shade. The first is, the resolution passed by the Convention with respect to the action of the church; the second, the question involved in this resolution, the success of the efforts which are now making in this country to encourage free-grown cotton in India, and to fill the markets of Great Britain with that article. It appears to me, that this Convention cannot discuss a more important topic, with reference not only to American slavery, but slavery in general, than this. In this opinion, I doubt not, that I have the concurrence of all the other American delegates. I think that is the enterprise around which should cluster all our sympathies; and to which should be directed the principal efforts of the abolitionists of Great Britain. The most beneficial effects will follow such a scheme. Every arm should be stretched out, and the whole phalanx of veteran abolitionists ought to rally round this last hope of putting an end to slavery in the world. In regard to America, it is not a matter of opinion, but of history, that the main prop of the slave system is cotton. When the revolution ended, slave property had become of little value. The introduction of cotton had not then taken place for agricultural purposes. At that time was enacted the celebrated ordinance of 1787, drawn by THOMAS JEFFERSON, prohibiting slavery in all the vast territory which lies to the north-west of the Ohio. In the course of a few years cotton was introduced; its culture became successful; the price of slaves rose. At this time, the territories now forming the states of Mississippi and Alabama, and that of Louisiana, were added to the Union. Mark the difference. None dared to propose the prohibition of slavery, as in 1787. Why? Because cotton had raised the prices of slaves. Again, in the northern slave-holding states, Virginia, Delaware, and what are called the slave-breeding states, after the year 1820, and down to the sitting of the Virginia Convention, the slaves in these states again fell in value, cotton not being much cultivated there, and

the exportation of slaves not having commenced. Things got to such a state, that JOHN RANDOLPH prophesied the time would soon come, when the master would be anxious to run away from his slave, and not the slave from his master. At that time, an attempt was made to put an end to slavery in Virginia, because slaves were not a good article in the market. But now, since the foundation of new states, and the extension of cotton planting, have given rise to, and rendered profitable the *internal slave-trade*, the slave-breeding states are as firm as any other, in asserting the divine appointment and the excellence of slave institutions. When the price of cotton was high in the Liverpool market, then it was said, slavery was sanctioned by the Scriptures; but when the price was low, then the ears of the southern planters were open to argument. Some abolitionists in this country complain that they very seldom see papers from the union, and that they do not know the state of the anti-slavery enterprise. Let them send to Liverpool and see the price of cotton, and they will then know how fierce the opposition is, which the friends of the slave have to meet. It has been asserted by an intelligent writer, that the attachment of the states to slavery has been all along, from the first introduction of cotton to the present day, in exact proportion to the price that article has borne in the market. The legitimate inference from these facts is, that if we can put into the market an article that will drive American cotton out, we shall uproot the firmest foundations of the slave system in America. In regard to our northern states, even there it is my own opinion, that it was the unprofitableness of slavery, and not principle, that led to its gradual extinction. It was only because we had not lands rich enough, to bear the extravagant waste which slave cultivation entails, that we put an end to slavery, though it afterwards became our dread. I state these facts regarding my own country, because I think they bear strongly on the question before us, and tend to show from the actual history of the past, that if we are successful in our own present East Indian scheme, we shall terminate American slavery. Another point I wish to press on the attention of the Convention, is, the connexion subsisting between the Northern and the Southern States. At present when we address Northern audiences on the subject of slavery, they are deaf to our appeals. The whole North is intimately bound to, and connected with, the South; and it is not till we sever the North from that dependence, that we shall be able to address it, and be heard with effect. It is my conviction that the success of the enterprise in regard to East India cotton, has bound up with it the death warrant of slavery, and that the death warrant of that system is to be signed in Liverpool. But let me entreat you not to relax your moral efforts. When you send men to America, let them be men resembling GEORGE THOMPSON; men, whose principles will bear a sea voyage, and whose sickly life will not wither and die, the moment they get out of the hot bed of English abolitionism. When the slave is free, we will welcome GEORGE THOMPSON back to our shores; we will then show him the result of his labours, and he shall hear in the shout of these emancipated men, that gratitude which every American abolitionist is now labouring to express.

Mr. SAMS.—I wish to address a few words to the Convention on this subject, which appears to me to be one of the most important that can possibly engage our attention. There are about 2,700,000 of our fellow-creatures held in cruel bondage in America; and a feasible, tangible mode, as it appears to me, may be clearly seen, for utterly destroying the dominion of slavery in that

country. In British India it is well known, there are large tracts of waste uncultivated land, which is capable of producing excellent cotton, in abundance, and thereby furnishing an ample supply for the whole wants of our great commercial empire. By bringing those tracts into cultivation, we shall likewise produce a double benefit. A large number of our fellow-subjects in British India are greatly distressed by heavy taxation, and want of employment, on the one hand ; and by a consequent succession of famines, which have desolated numerous parts of that interesting land, on the other ; very many, indeed, of the people have died of hunger. We may, in the manner now suggested, afford them employment, and thus they will not only be enabled to obtain a comfortable subsistence for themselves and their families, but also plentifully to supply the demands of Manchester and Liverpool with cotton of a good quality, the whole produced by free-labour, and thereby destroy American slavery, by withdrawing the demand for the staple slave-grown commodity. For I understand it is capable of demonstration, that the free-labour cotton, thus obtained, will cost little, if at all more than the half, that this country at present pays for the cotton raised under the sighs and tears of the poor oppressed people of colour. I do hope that we shall not separate without coming to some resolution, that may have an important influence on this great question.

Rev. J. H. HINTON.—I beg to occupy your attention for a few moments in reference to this resolution, not for the sake of making a speech, but to confirm the view taken in the resolution,—by an authority who is not here to speak for himself, I wish he were—but it is an authority to which this Convention will most respectfully bow, WILLIAM EWART GLADSTONE, Esq. In the debate in the House of Commons, on the apprenticeship question, March 30th, 1838, he made use of these very remarkable, and they ought to be very influential expressions, “If the facts were thoroughly investigated, it could be shown that the British manufacturers were actually the most effectual encouragers, not only of slavery, but of the slave-trade itself. By what means was the slave-trade with the Brazils carried on? By British manufactures directly imported from this country. The British manufacturer sent his cotton goods to the Brazils ; these were immediately shipped off from the Brazils to the coast of Africa, and were there exchanged for human ware, which the Brazilian trader brought back. You, said the Honourable Gentleman, “who are so sick of apprenticeship in the West Indies,”—appealing to the philanthropists of this country—“You, who cannot wait for twenty-four months, when the apprentices will be free, are you aware what responsibility lies upon every one of you at this moment, with reference to the cultivation of cotton in America? There are 3,000,000 of slaves in America. America does not talk of abolition, nor of the amelioration of slavery. It is a domestic institution, which appears destined to descend to the posterity of that free people ; and who are responsible for this enormous growth of what appears to be eternal slavery? Is it not the demand that creates the supply? and is it not the consumption of cotton from whence that demand arises? You consume 318,000,000 lbs. of cotton which proceed from slave-labour annually, and only 45,000,000 lbs. which proceed from free-labour ; and that too, while you have the means in India, at a very little expense, of obtaining all you require from free-labour.” There is an old saying, *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*. If ever that was applicable, it is applicable now. We have an enemy to teach us. We shall be fools, indeed, if we do not learn from his lips.

Colonel MILLER.—It will be recollected, that about the middle of the period, during which the West India question was agitated, the West Indians threatened to secede from Great Britain, and come under the dominion of the United States; and a curious circumstance, bearing particularly upon this question, is, that three or four years since, our Southern statesmen threatened to leave the union, if we did not cease agitating the question, and come under the Government of Great Britain. They want our cotton, said they, and we will go there. It is known to every intelligent abolitionist in the United States, that the demand for American cotton in the Liverpool market, is the main support of American slavery. The cotton dealers will buy it where they can get it the cheapest; and depend upon it, that so long as they will buy the American cotton, because they can procure it for a trifle less than free-grown cotton, so long will slavery exist. When they will make a slight sacrifice, slavery with us will die.

Rev. N. COLVER.—Allow me to read a short extract from a South Carolina paper, on the subject of the ‘Cotton Circular’ of some of the planter politicians of the South and West :—

The plan proposed by the circular, to effect a combination between the banking interests of the south and the great commercial cities and the cotton planter, whereby the former shall advance to the latter, to nearly the value of his cotton, so as to enable him to hold it until the market is favourable, the writer strongly objects to, as based upon the assumption, that the cotton planters as a class, *are debtors*. He admits that such is the fact to a great extent, in regard to the planters of the south-west, but maintains that there is also a large class in the south who are not in debt, and stand in no need of Bank advances, to enable them to anticipate their annual income of cotton. He inquires somewhat significantly, whether a combination to *keep up* the price of cotton, would almost necessarily produce combinations to keep it *down*; and suggests whether it might not make it the interest of consumers in France and Great Britain, to encourage and *foster the production of cotton out of the United States*, and beyond the reach of such combinations of Banks and bankers, as are contemplated in the ‘Cotton Circular.’

The concluding portion of the article is worthy of attention, as it may furnish the friends of emancipation with some hints, as to the *great obstacle* now in the way of their object.

The southern planter, if he confines himself to planting, *without speculation*, asks no aid from Banks, his cotton will be his passport through the commercial world. By the blessing of heaven, he is enabled to raise the noblest weed that was ever given for the comfort of the human family; a weed, destined to make a new era in modern commerce, if those who raise it have spirit and virtue enough to scorn and

defy the banking and speculative quacks of the day. *I have no idea that the slave-holding race could maintain their liberty or independence for five years without cotton.* It is that which gives us our energy, our enterprise, *our intelligence*, and *commands* the respect of foreign powers. The Egyptian may look with devotion to his Nile, as the source of the power and wealth of Egypt; the pilgrim and inhabitant of the Holy Land may bathe in the sacred Jordan, and take comfort from the belief that he has washed away his sins; the Hindoo may worship the Lotus, under an idea that Vishna created Brahma from its unfolded flowers; but a genuine *slave-holder in South Carolina*, will ever look with reverence to the cotton plant, as the source of his power and his liberty. All the parchments upon earth could never protect him from the grasping avarice and *financial fury* of modern society. If he expects to preserve the PECULIAR INSTITUTIONS of his country, and *transmit them to posterity*, he must teach his children to hold the *cotton plant in one hand and the sword in the other*, ever ready to defend it.

A COTTON PLANTER.

It has been clearly shown, that the proposition of growing cotton in the East Indies, is a remedy for slavery; and as far as human means are concerned, it appears to me to be almost the only one. We can reach the slave-holders somewhat through the churches, we have access there, but they form but a small body of people; and speculators and cotton growers manage political affairs in spite of the churches. We have no island of Great Britain to put down slavery in the southern states of America, as it did in the West Indies. They exercise their own political power; they govern themselves; they have barricades against our publications, and the way-laying of the public mails keeps light out of the country. Their consciences are seared as with a hot iron. Just so long as the cotton grower can make it profitable to raise cotton, so long you may talk to him of religion, but you may as well talk to the idle wind, he heeds it not. While he can grasp his cotton bags, and make himself respectable by his wealth, so long he disregards us. Until that can be reached, our efforts are hopeless. But touch the slave-holder's pocket, and you touch his conscience, for in his heart it has long since lost its lodgment. If you do not touch him in his pocket, where are we to look for relief? Years will roll on, but we shall still continue to labour and struggle: for having taken hold of the moral influence with which God has honoured us, we shall never let it go. It is with us a matter of principle, and we shall not cease to wield the weapons which God has put in our hands. The way, however, to bring it home to their hearts, is by filling the European markets with cotton, and taking from them the means of sustaining themselves in their iniquitous course. We are few there in number, we hoped in God, but saw not the means by which he was to accomplish deliverance. But when I read the lectures of GEORGE THOMPSON, whose name will ever be precious to the abolitionists of America, for having come to us, and encountered the fierce

storm that burst over our heads; when I first read his lectures upon the East Indies, a dawn of light broke in upon me; and I said in my soul, if abolitionists will turn their energies there, if Great Britain, in that magnanimity with which she has freed her own slaves, will turn her attention to that question, and supply herself with cotton from the East Indies, the American slave-holders must yield. I hailed it as an omen for good. I look far more to the practical pinching results of this upon the slave-holders, than to all our talk, our speeches, and our discussions. This enterprise has my hearty co-operation, all my hopes for the slave cluster about it. Let every Englishman feel, that while he buys American cotton, he renders ineffectual all our efforts to abolish slavery in the south.

The CHAIRMAN.—Owing to my long residence in the cotton growing region of the United States, I can speak to the price at which cotton could be afforded by the planters of that country. Some years ago, I considered cotton planting a highly profitable business, when the article would command 12½ cents, or sixpence sterling per lb. where it was raised. But considering the high prices paid for slaves within the last seven years, as well as for lands, I do not suppose that cotton can be afforded at all at a less price than 9 or 10 cents, or fivepence sterling per lb. I will also advert to a remark that has just been made by one of the speakers, in reference to the *consciences* of slave-holders. I do not doubt that many of them, especially the smaller slave-holders, feel much concerned on the subject of slavery, so far as they themselves are connected with the system, and that they would be glad to see it terminated. But they are often prevented from acting as their consciences dictate to them, by the intimidating influence of the larger and more influential planters. The large slave-holders, as a general thing, possess the *power* in every department of the slave-holding states. They are on the bench, at the bar, in the legislature, in the pulpit; they are in fact, the occupants of all stations of influence; and by their combination, the smaller planters are kept in awe, and prevented from emancipating.

Rev. J. KEEP.—I rise to suggest that the mighty influence which as philanthropists and abolitionists, we can and wish to wield, is a moral influence. It was on moral and religious grounds alone that in the United States we took up the abolition question; and here rests the hope of our success, looking upon all political and commercial considerations as subordinate. But in the course of the remarks which have this morning been made, I perceive that we have in some degree lost sight of the majesty of moral influence, and have thereby given undue weight to commercial and political views. Whilst I will sustain my brethren in the remarks they have made respecting the growth of cotton, I desire that that should be considered as a collateral question, and that we should make specially prominent the moral power of this Convention.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—Allow me to make one or two observations. You might as well adduce arguments to show that you may purchase goods from men who you know have stolen them, as to contend that you are not using moral influence, when you come to a resolution not to purchase cotton which is the produce of labour by iniquitous means. You by no means lessen your moral influence, when you refuse to deal with men-stealers, or purchase the commodities which they bring to market.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—It appears to me that all the speeches which have been delivered are in conformity with the resolutions submitted to the meeting,

and that they have presented a variety of views by which they may be supported. But as several Americans have spoken in favour of the advancement of British commerce with India, it may be interpreted by some, that they have done so to the disadvantage of the commerce of America. I wish to offer this practical remark in aid of their views, and to show that what they have stated, ought only to be interpreted as the lifting up of a warning voice to the Americans, to institute the growth of cotton by free-labour; and not drive the British to that course which will otherwise be open to their enterprise in India. Their statements will operate powerfully; but in my apprehension, the American voice should only go to encourage the Americans in the establishment of free institutions. They have persons acquainted with the mode of cultivating cotton, and they are in a position, in which they can at once compete with the free-labour of the East. I submit to the committee to whom these resolutions are to be submitted to be printed, that a great practical effect will be produced by their coupling with them a statement, taking the idea from W. E. GLADSTONE'S speech, as to the quantity of free labour cotton manufactured, consumed, or exported after it has been manufactured in this country, as compared with that of slave growth. Let them go back a few years, to show how the one has increased and the other decreased up to the present time. It will then bring the fact under the notice of all who read it, and remind them how materially they may contribute to the object we have in view.

Mr. SPRAGUE.—I am, as it is known to some of my American brethren, almost an eleventh hour man in the ranks of abolition; but still I have an opinion on this subject, and I trust some feelings of philanthropy and benevolence towards my fellow men. I state my opinion before this respectable audience, with some diffidence, because in some respects it will run counter to that of some of the American delegates. I am aware that the leading abolitionists of America have taken that view of the cotton question which has been advanced here to-day, but still to this, as to all other questions, there are two sides. If you interfere with the interests of the American people, or rather the slave-holders which compose the majority in the south, is it to be supposed that they will sit idle, and see you take away all their profits without any attempt to counteract it? The CHAIRMAN knows very well, the contest which has been going on in that country, for several years, on the subject of the tariff, and the protection to American industry. If their interests are at stake, they will chime in at once with the other party, and be as ready to foster American industry as any persons in New England. These things will have their effect, and I would not have British abolitionists place too much dependence on this movement. There has been another point under the consideration of the Convention, which, I think vastly more calculated to promote the abolition of slavery than this. If it can be proved to demonstration to the American people, that free is cheaper than slave labour, the work will be done. I have been not a little incredulous upon this subject, and I am not fully satisfied upon it now. You prove to us that lands in Jamaica are worth more now, than they were before emancipation; but that does not prove that free labour is cheaper than slave labour. There are a variety of causes for this. The negro invests the fruit of his labour in land, and that creates a demand for it, which did not exist before. This evidence will not be a demonstration to us; I grant that there is some arising from another source, and it is that which cheers my heart in this work. But there is

another view which I take of this subject. The British nation will not get much credit on the score of philanthropy for superseding us in raising cotton. It is natural enough and right enough, that the British public should seek their own aggrandisement; but as abolitionists, you will gain no credit in America for this movement. It will be thrown in our teeth, that we have chimed in here with the British nation and the East India Company; and it may hedge up our way. I merely throw out these ideas for the consideration of the Convention. I am an American citizen; that country I love, and to it I owe allegiance. I, therefore, beg your indulgence while I briefly state the view I take of the great question which has been agitated in America, and with which you have not perhaps been made fully acquainted. Mr. PHILLIPS has told you, how intimately connected the northern are with the southern states. They are interwoven like lace work. You wonder that the people in the free states are not all abolitionists; you think it strange that any conscientious and Christian people should apologise for the present state of things, and not aid your efforts with all the warmth of your own feelings. But imagine for a moment Ireland and Scotland to be slave countries, that they are in your midst, represented in your Parliament, preponderating there, both in numbers and in influence; consider this question as agitating the kingdom, shaking it to the centre, endangering the stability of the throne; and I ask what would then be the feeling of the British nation? whether some who have warm hearts on the subject now would not waver? There is, however, a deep toned religious feeling on this question in America, and whatever may be our obstructions, there is a point of principle involved in it which abolitionists never can surrender, never can give up. But lest it may be thought strange, that I should utter some of these sentiments, I would remind you of the following fact. The venerable JOHN QUINCEY ADAMS, who was once President in these States, was the first Minister Plenipotentiary to this country, after the peace of 1783. On his introduction to GEORGE THE THIRD, the formalities being over, the KING observed to him, "It is said, that you are the least prejudiced in favour of France of any of your countrymen." "Sire," said JOHN ADAMS, "I have no prejudices but for my own country." The KING answered with great quickness, "an honest man never will have."

Mr. STANTON.—I rise to state a few facts merely; but first allow me to say, that I should be very sorry to have our American delegates divided on any subject in this Convention, but I more especially regret, that they should appear divided on the question of patriotism to our country. If there be one feeling which tenants my bosom, approaching in strength to those religious feelings which we are all bound to cherish supremely, it is love for the land of my birth. It has been said by the honourable gentleman, whom I love and honour as a friend, who has just taken his seat, that Great Britain will get very little credit, on the score of philanthropy, for encouraging the growth of cotton in her own possessions, to the exclusion ultimately of American cotton; that it will be regarded merely as a happy stroke of policy, &c. That may be the case, and for this simple reason, that honesty is the best policy. Therefore it is politic for Great Britain to be honest, which I fear she cannot be, so long as she purchases thirteen millions every year of slave-grown cotton. Let Great Britain be honest, and not bribe to cruelty the wielder of the cow skin and cart whip in America. Again, with regard to patriotism, I appear here to-day, not as the representative of one portion of my country merely,

but of all the American people ; therefore not excluding from my sympathies the three millions who are robbed of their birth-rights, and who, by our American Congress, have been declared as unworthy to petition even for mercy, in their own behalf. In behalf of these three millions of, not only suffering, but dumb Americans, I stand here to plead ; only asking with reference to them, that you should pay him who digs the cane-hole, him who sows the cotton seed for his honest labour, rather than his robber and oppressor. I am here as the humble advocate of the rights, the privileges, and the interests of these three millions of unfortunate Americans—and God forbid that I should exclude them from my sympathies ! Again, my honoured friend knows, that the overthrow of slavery is of vital importance to the continuance of our free institutions. If we do not abolish slavery, slavery will abolish and utterly destroy the most splendid fabric of government, that ever lifted its majestic dome to the admiration of the human race. The stream of slavery has been for some time washing away gradually, but surely, the very cornerstone of our republican freedom. We are working out a demonstration, in the United States, for the world, namely, that man is, in the broadest sense of the term, capable of self-government ; that the elective franchise ought to be as free as the air we breathe. The system of slavery, interwoven and inwrought with our institutions, is a poison which is slowly, but certainly destroying the vitality of our republican liberty. I come to this Convention for aid as the *dernier resort* : for it is the last hope of freedom in America. Again, the honourable gentleman has said, that we have one way of touching the pecuniary interests of the planter or the cotton-grower ; namely, by proving the superiority of free over slave-labour. Granted : it is the very thing which we ask you to do. We ask England to come into the market, and undersell the American slave-grown cotton, by that which is raised by free-labour in the East Indies. But I did not rise so much to make a reply to my friend Mr. SPRAGUE, as to state facts, without any embellishment. I would not give our proceedings too much of an American aspect ; but if you will aid us to abolish slavery in America, then the good and the great among us will shake hands with British philanthropists ; and we will unite, not only to abolish slavery throughout the world, but to supersede it by free principles, and the religion of Jesus Christ. The main pillar, pecuniarily, of American slavery, is cotton ; the corner stone of the system is not granite or Portland stone, but a cotton bale. Cotton is the staple article of our commerce. You are aware of the fact, that it constitutes in value nearly one-half of the exports from America ; and that Great Britain purchases from our cotton growers, about 450 millions of pounds annually, which at a rough estimate, may be valued at thirteen millions sterling. This, of course, furnishes us with the *sine qua non* for carrying on our commercial and monetary operations in our own country and throughout the world. The standard in America, by which we estimate values, is not gold and silver coin, so much as the price of cotton. Our eagle-eyed American bankers and merchants who are linked to slavery, do not look at the price of stocks of the United States Bank, or the Stocks of the various Insurance and Railroad Companies, to learn the state of the money market ; but they look at the weekly arrivals from Liverpool to ascertain the price of cotton in Great Britain. As cotton rises or falls in Liverpool, so is not only the money market, but the slavery of America affected. I will illustrate this by a fact. In the year 1832, when NATHANIEL TURNER, with a few misguided men, traversed one of the counties of Virginia

excited rebellion there, and made the chivalry of the "old dominion" turn pale before a handful of insurgent negroes, the Virginian legislature, at the next session, took into serious consideration the question of the abolition of slavery in that state. Sentiments were uttered in that legislature honourable to that people, and worthy of a state which was foremost in maintaining the declaration, that all men were created free and equal. The fears of Virginia, for a time, shook hands with philanthropy. But mark the change, and its cause and consequences. While that legislature was in session, news arrived from this country, that cotton had risen 33½ per cent. in the Liverpool market. The consequence was, that large fields, hitherto uncultivated in the South Western States were opened, and brought into cotton plantations; a mighty impulse, (in order to supply those states with slaves from the North), was given to the internal slave-trade; and those men in Virginia, who had been rampant for abolition only the month before, now suddenly found that there was a canal thrown open to drain off that portion of the negroes which had occasioned them uneasiness. They were sent to cultivate the southern fields; and the internal slave-trade became an important, though disgusting feature in the commerce, between Virginia and the more southerly states. Why was it, when in 1835, there was an outburst of mobocratic violence, almost like a volcanic eruption throughout the country, that we were obliged to hide ourselves from the storm, and a beloved British philanthropist was driven from our shores? It was because in 1835 cotton rose 15, and then 25 per cent. in the Liverpool market. It was the Manchester manufacturers who drove GEORGE THOMPSON from our country, by their demand for cotton. The American slave-holder knows that all which is valuable in the public sentiment of the world is against him; he knows that the literature of the world is against him; that the religion of the world is against him; that the spirit of the age is against him; that the mighty genius of reform which is at work from John O'Groat's house to the Land's End, nay, more, round the world, is taking the torch light of inquiry, and going down among the dark systems of despotism, and touching their foundations with the finger of decay; he knows that that is against him. But men with full pockets and empty consciences will defy the genius of everything. Why were the slave-holders of Mississippi, in 1837, compelled to send their slaves to fishing, in order to get their living? It was because cotton suddenly fell in price. I recollect seeing a caricature, during the great monetary pressure of 1837, exhibited in the streets of New York, representing a free-coloured preacher in the sacred desk, (and slave-holders too must feel caricatured by seeing a free-coloured man preaching to the people), and these words were put into his mouth: "Merchant is flat; bank is flat; cotton is flat; nigger is flat; all is flat." It should have begun the other way, "Cotton is flat;" consequently merchants are flat; bankers are flat; and the American slave-holders are bankrupts. Cotton was at the bottom of that unparalleled and disastrous state of things. The cotton-trade in our country is the legitimate father of the internal slave-trade, a traffic which was not exceeded in atrocity by the African slave-trade in its palmyest days. It is the cotton fields of the South which make such a dread vacuum in the ranks of the slaves, in order that the cotton of America may compete in your market with the free-grown cotton of the world. Are gentlemen aware that the victims of the internal slave-trade in America amount to about 80,000 or 100,000 per annum? I see a gentleman on my right, (DANIEL O'CONNELL, Esq.), who, for a speech, on a former occasion

received a challenge to fight a duel from the republican representative at the Court of St. James's; where we should be misrepresented at present, if we had anything but a slave-holder. He is the fit representative of the American people as they now are; but when that spirit which sent Mr. STEVENSON to this Court shall have been exorcised, then we will send a genuine republican to represent us in Great Britain. Permit me to read a fact or two, with regard to the internal slave-trade; and I shall confine all I have to say to the state of Virginia, as that seems the point in dispute between Messrs. STEVENSON and O'CONNELL. I shall read from the *Virginia Times*, a weekly newspaper, published at Wheeling, Virginia, and one of high repute in that state. I will only give the substance of the article. This paper estimates, that in the year 1836, when cotton brought an enormous price at Liverpool, the number of slaves exported to the South, from Virginia alone, during the twelve preceding months, was 40,000, the aggregate value of whom has been computed at about 24,000,000 of dollars. Again, the *Natchez (Mississippi) Courier*, says that the states of Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, and Arkansas, imported 250,000 slaves from the more northern states in the year 1836. Perhaps that estimate may be rather too high, though I apprehend, if we could arrive at all the details of this horrid traffic, it might prove very correct.

The CHAIRMAN.—It must be a great mistake.

Mr. STANTON.—It probably includes all the slaves introduced, both by traders and by the emigration of their masters. I think it is too large myself; but the following from the *Virginia Times*, confirms in some degree, the truth of the statement. In the same paragraph with the one above referred to, it is said, "We have heard intelligent men estimate the number of slaves exported from Virginia within the last twelve months at 120,000; each slave averaging at least 600 dollars, making an aggregate of 72,000,000 dollars. Of the number of slaves exported, not more than one-third have been sold, the others having been carried by their masters to the state—they having removed, together with their property."

The CHAIRMAN.—I think this calculation, although made by a slave-holding Editor, is altogether exaggerated. The loss of that portion of labour from the state of Virginia would have been at once felt, and no such complaint has ever been made.

Mr. STANTON.—I think it is too large, but it is the only data we have, and it is given to us by our enemies. I have, however, other and higher authority, with regard to whether Virginia be or be not a slave-breeding state. I do not mean to go into it at length, nor should I have done so at all, had I not been requested by gentlemen around me. I have in my hand the testimony of distinguished statesmen of Virginia. I begin with THOMAS JEFFERSON RANDOLPH. In his address to the Legislature of Virginia, in 1832, he says, "Virginia has been converted into one grand menagerie, where men are reared for the market like oxen for the shambles." The Hon. CHARLES FENTON MERCER, a member of Congress from Virginia since 1817, asserted in the Virginia Convention of 1829, "The tables of the natural growth of the slave population demonstrate, when compared with the increase of its numbers in the commonwealth for twenty years past, that an annual revenue of not less than a million-and-a-half of dollars, is derived from the exportation of a part of this [slave] population." Some of this testimony is very revolting. I thought I had said enough in regard to the slave-trade, when I asserted, that it could vie in its horrors with the African slave-

trade. I will allude briefly in summing up, to one or two additional facts. I have already stated, that our exports to this country, in the article of cotton, are about £13,000,000 sterling per annum. You are aware that the northern states generally are opposed to abolition ; and for the same reason as the southern states, that is, that it would affect their pockets. The southern states are the growers for the country ; and the north, the manufacturers. The south is able, from the purchase of their cotton by Great Britain, to buy our wares and merchandise in the north ; and hence it comes to pass, that the northern people are averse to abolition, for fear of offending their customers in the south. When GEORGE THOMPSON, pleading the cause of the slave, was driven from our shores by ferocious persecution, I thought he could do but little for us. When he came to this country, and had the onslaught with Mr. BRECKENRIDGE, we thought he was doing something ; but when he took hold of the East India cotton question, we saw, to use homely phraseology, that he had got his finger on the sore and tender spot of American slavery. My friend Mr. KEEF said, that we must rely mainly upon moral power for the overthrow of slavery. I admit it, but I beg to state, that moral power must expect to exert its influence upon those among us not involved in slave-holding, that they may hedge around the slave-holders with a wall of fire from which they cannot escape. From the day that God came out of his place, and overthrew PHARAOH and his host in the Red Sea, down to the abolition of slavery in your West India islands, you have yet to record the instance of any people guilty of slave-holding who voluntarily repudiated it. What is the state of your Jamaica colonies ? Although you have purchased the liberty of your negroes by a gift to the planters of twenty millions, and shown the planters the superiority of free-labour so clearly, as almost to dazzle their eyes, why is it that you have yet to hold over them the legislative rod of the British Parliament ? It is because slavery so deadens the conscience, perverts the intellect, and stultifies the moral sense of man, that nothing but the arm of power can wring the freedom of the negro from the grasp of the slave-holder. I do not undervalue moral power, but that, so far as the United States are concerned, must be exerted on the free ; and those who are free among us must exert their power on the slave-holder. American slavery can be attacked in two ways, by appeals to the conscience, and the pocket. I rejoice at the resolutions on ecclesiastical action, which have been passed by the Convention. That is one arm of SAMSON stretched out ; and the other is, to perfect, by proper legislation, your system of freedom in the West Indies, and of free-labour, in the raising of cotton, in your East India possessions. Thus British philanthropy and British policy may stretch out its arms like SAMSON, and take hold of the two main pillars of American slavery—conscience and the pocket—and with one mighty impulse, bring the whole fabric, with all its abominations, tumbling to the ground.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—As it is desirable to speak but for a short time, there is none to be wasted in apologies, and I will therefore come to the business at once. Yesterday I pressed upon the meeting the necessity of having some explanation from LORD JOHN RUSSELL, on the subject of the Jamaica laws. It is not foreign to the topic before you, but immediately involved in it. I found that neither of the honourable gentlemen who were here yesterday, thought it necessary to address any question to LORD JOHN RUSSELL on the subject ; and as my maxim is, to be doing as well as saying, I determined, in my capacity

as a member of the House of Commons, to set the matter at rest. I asked him, whether the Jamaica laws, passed by the late assembly, had been approved of by the Government, or whether the Royal Assent had been suspended or refused. The answer to the first question appeared to be satisfactory : for his Lordship said, that the Government had not assented to several of them. I wished to make the answer tangible ; and I asked, whether he would state what the laws were to which the Government refused their sanction. I am sorry to say, that the reply was not to my mind satisfactory. It was, as I understood it, this, that the Royal Assent had not been refused to any, so that practically all the laws are in operation ; but that particular clauses had been referred back to SIR C. METCALFE, with directions to disallow them. What those clauses were, he stated, it would take too long to specify. That is the exact position in which we are placed, and it seems to me, to be a position requiring some exertion on our part ; for this matter is directly identified with the present question ; for you cannot have cheap labour in Jamaica, till the labouring population are preserved from penal enactments. It must deter American freemen of colour from going to Jamaica, when they find that they will be subjected to more slavery there, than they are at home ? Are you aware that there are in Jamaica two millions of acres of uncultivated land ? With proper arrangements to assist the negroes in making purchases, I do believe, from what we have heard of their character for industry and honesty, that not one shilling of the purchase money would be lost. A nation of free labourers would thus be raised up, ready to earn the highest wages which the price of sugar would enable the planter to pay. LORD JOHN RUSSELL, in answer to SIR ROBERT PEEL, also spoke in laudation of the proceedings of the Jamaica Legislature last session ; and said that SIR CHARLES METCALFE had convinced the Government, that it had concluded in the most favourable manner. These are facts upon which we should be prepared to act. Above all things, let us not delay one moment in bringing this question, regarding the state of the law in Jamaica, to a satisfactory result ; and if there be anything objectionable in those clauses which have been assented to by the Government, let us bring the integrity and honesty of the people of England to bear upon them, and insist that they shall not be put in force. Another point on which you have spoken, is the growth of cotton in the East Indies, and it is delightful to see how the evolutions of practical humanity aid each other. Slavery exists in the East Indies, and wherever practical slavery exists,—not mere oppression, for your efforts are directed to the liberation of the actual bondsman,—it comes legitimately within the range of the objects of this Convention. Slavery exists to a frightful extent in the East Indies ; the flag of the East India Company waves over more slaves than we have already emancipated, and it requires all our exertions for its suppression. But slavery never can produce cotton there, in the quantity demanded by this country ; it must be the produce of the cheaper free-labour system. That brings you at once to the contemplation of another mighty movement on behalf of humanity ; and that relates to the state of the tenure of lands in the East Indies. So long as these people are in a state of poverty, rendered poor by the oppression of the East India Company, they will be exposed to the greatest misery. In addition to this, famine succeeds famine, with frightful rapidity ; and mothers have actually been seen to throw their children into a river, because they had not the means of giving them nourishment, and could not endure to see them perish of hunger. But I desire not to be misunderstood. I do not want the

Anti-Slavery Society to mix itself up with East India affairs. I think, as you have very properly kept yourselves distinct from the African Civilization Society—and there is an abundant sphere for your action—so there ought to be constituted another body, whose express business it should be to look to the state of the land tenures in India. As I have taken the liberty of intruding this subject upon you, will you permit me just to add, that if there be those who concur with me, perhaps they would join with so humble an individual as myself, in making an effort to form a Central Society for benefiting the East Indies, in some of the great northern towns. I would wish to disconnect it with London, that it may not interfere with this Society, and that we may avoid the sinister influences existing in London. How proud I should be, to attend a meeting at one of our great northern towns. The East India Company say that the people are entitled to the land, but on the other hand, that they have a right to place upon it what rent they please. A man's title to land is of little value, if there be some one else who can make him pay what he chooses for it. It has been said by the honourable gentleman from Massachusetts, [THE HONOURABLE SETH SPRAGUE], that America will give us no credit for philanthropy, in using cotton grown by free British subjects, in lieu of American slave-grown cotton. I do not exactly understand what he meant. Does he think that we are about to get cotton from India without paying for it? We pay the Americans for the cotton we purchase, and we shall pay India for what we procure from thence; so that whether we get it from America or from India, the result is the same. The great pecuniary advantage, that we shall gain by the use of East India cotton, will be this; the inhabitants there will become consumers of our produce. But we are not assembled to gain credit for philanthropy, but to be recompensed by our consciences, and by that Judge who sees the heart, and will reward the intention. We have not met here to obtain human applause, but to do good. Let the result be what it may, we fear not reproach, and we care not for applause. But after all, will not America give us credit for humanity, when we gave £20,000,000 sterling to purchase freedom? Did we expect an immediate reduction in the price of West India produce? On the contrary, it was known, that some years must elapse before we could procure sugar as cheaply, as during the days of slavery. We made a personal, a national sacrifice; we bought the freedom of the negro at an expense of twenty millions sterling, and a higher price for sugar; but, oh! there was a sweetness in the draught beyond it. Never yet was there an act of humanity more transcendent, and free from every stain of individual selfishness or bias, than that of the emancipation of our slaves in the colonies. It was a commercial people, a calculating people, a proverbially money-loving people, that made the sacrifice: they loved money much, but, blessed be God, they loved liberty more. Therefore, whatever may be the miscalculations of the Americans, our course is plain and obvious. I cannot believe that the consciences of the slave-holders are so seared with the red hot iron of tyranny; that they have grown so hardened with the lash of human censure, that the hides of their consciences are more hardened than the skins of their unfortunate negroes. No! no man, no set of men can bear to be long despised. If Europe proclaim in a voice of thunder to America, that no slave-holding American shall be received into society, shall be treated as an honest man, shall have the courtesies of life shown him, except those he purchases; there is not a case-hardened man among them, who puts to death a generation in seven years, who will not feel its effect. Why is it that the

slave-breeders in Virginia, and in the other slave-breeding estates, have always got a market for their slaves as soon as they grow up? Because seven years destroys a generation. The man who deals in such traffic, and who lives sixty or seventy years, sacrifices a million of human beings, to the Moloch of his avarice. To imagine that such persons are to be received as fellow-men, will, I trust, soon be a poetic vision, and not the reality of human life. I do not despair of a moral effect being produced on America; but I also know that other motives may be brought into very powerful operation. Let me mention one fact—a thousand persons in a state of slavery are required, in order to raise a given quantity of produce; they cost the American slaveholder £25 per annum per head; whereas, in the East Indies, you can have a thousand labourers for £5 per head per annum, making a difference of £20,000 per annum. I ask, whether, if proper exertions be made, American slavery can compete for a single year with the results of free-labour in India? We are, therefore, in every point of view, encouraged to prosecute our labours; we shall not only convince America of the value of free, as contrasted with slave-labour, but the collateral results of our efforts, will throw over the East Indies a gleam of brightness, with which they have never yet been irradiated. If there be a determination in this country to look closely into these matters, I do not fear the result. We shall, by increasing the produce of free-labour, increase the freedom and happiness of the Indian race.

A lengthened conversation occurred here, respecting an appeal to Ministers on the subject of the Jamaica Laws, in which MESSRS. BAINES, STURGE, TAYLOR, and O'CONNELL, took part.

MR. R. R. R. MOORE.—While the produce of cotton in the East Indies may be one of great importance to America, as a means of terminating slavery there, and it may be important to other interests; it is as a question of principle that I chiefly regard it. I have no sympathy for the southern cotton grower. I feel that I should not discharge my duty here, if I did not say, that we, as a nation, are practically supporting slavery. We support it, by purchasing nearly 400,000,000 lbs. of cotton annually from the slave-holders of America; and we never can say that we are clear of the guilt of slavery, till we have made every possible effort to grow, in our own possessions in India, all the cotton that we require. But though we do use this large amount of cotton, we do not use one-hundredth part of what the world wants. India, with her 100,000,000 of inhabitants, is ready to give us all the produce that we can consume, and requires manufactured cotton from us in return. China, with her 300,000,000 of inhabitants, requires manufactured cotton from us. I would not, however, argue this as a mere money question. If it cost us more for free than for slave-labour produce, still we should be bound to advocate it. Consistency with our abolition spirit requires us to do all we can to promote the growth of cotton in India. We shall thus afford to the long robbed and bowed down Indian, the means of support; while at the same time we confer the inestimable boon of freedom on the American slave. We should endeavour to prove to the world, that we are thoroughly consistent in our abolition principles; and we are not consistent while we use slave grown cotton, when we might procure the produce of free-labour; we are not consistent while we advance money to America to enable it to grow slave cotton.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—I wish to obviate one difficulty which has occurred to the mind of my colleague, [the Rev. J. KEEP]. He seemed to be fearful of

the result of this measure, because he apprehended it would compromise the great moral principle on which we have felt ourselves bound to conduct this holy warfare, for the extermination of the greatest monster that ever assailed our liberties. I hope that I would be the last to relinquish the grasp of the moral weapons which we have hitherto wielded for the destruction of slavery; and did I think that by patronizing free-labour we compromised that principle, I would give my vote against it. But I consider any warfare, not opposed to moral principle, is justifiable against such an enemy as that we have to deal with. If you feed the enemy you will prolong its life. We hope that you will cut off the supply, we will cut off the retreat, and then the monster is doomed to death.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I believe that we are all entirely agreed on the great principles for which we are met, in our detestation of slavery, and in a determination to use every lawful means for promoting its abolition. I further believe, that we are generally agreed, that it must be principally by the force of moral principle that we shall succeed. For myself, I confess that I entertain the opinion, that it will be almost exclusively by this means that slavery will be overthrown. It was by this instrumentality that the bondage which lately existed in the British West Indies has been terminated, and within a few years, slavery must and will fall in America, if the same means be properly used. We are also agreed upon the general principle that free-labour is cheaper than that performed by slaves, and that honesty is in this, as in other instances, the best policy. But there are two or three resolutions now before the Convention, in which are contained statements with which I cannot agree; and I submit to those who have brought them forward, that they had better be withdrawn. I allude to the three last. The first asserts that the growth of free cotton in India, will certainly extinguish the production of the same article in America. This I must regard as doubtful. We know that slavery has been long maintained by fiscal enactments, notwithstanding its impolicy. The next relates to the value of free-labour. I think that the circumstances stated, prove the advantage of free-labour, taking into account the community at large, but I am not sure, that they alone prove the cheapness of free-labour. The last resolution contains an allusion to Demerara, but until freedom be fully and fairly carried out there, it appears to me undesirable that it should be referred to in the way in which it now occurs. We know that a large amount of oppression has been practised in that colony, and we cannot be sure that such will not be the case in time to come. I, therefore, submit the withdrawal of these three resolutions.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I second the amendment.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I will not question for one moment that these resolutions should be withdrawn; but I should lament it as a circumstance highly injurious to our cause, inasmuch as they embody the views of almost every abolitionist that has graced this country or the world, from the time that THOMAS CLARKSON commenced his career, down to the present day. If there was one subject, on which the mind of the sainted JAMES CROPPER, dwelt longer and more forcibly than another, it was the great question which we have now before us. I cannot express the surprise I feel, that we should take any other view of this question of free-labour, than that of its being a moral question. Do we not bribe the planter of America? Are we not directly his employer? Is it not our money which he takes to Virginia? Is it not from the money we give him, that he lives in prodigality and splendour?

Is not slavery at this moment found in the United States, because we for forty years have been sustaining the system, by the consumption of slave-grown produce? It is, in a moral aspect, the most solemn question that can be brought before us. It is a personal question. As individuals, we are taking the very first step in the cause of humanity, and if we do not take this, I do not see how we can justify the consistency of our subsequent procedure. I must fling back from myself, and all with whom I have been associated in humble labours to promote the welfare of British India, the accusation, if it be brought as such, that we disregard moral means. I will undertake to say, that every gentleman who votes for the adoption of the three last resolutions, is pre-eminently employing moral agency in this great work. Will it be said, that Mr. PHILLIPS, Mr. STANTON, or any other gentleman who has spoken on the subject, is not contemporaneously with this great measure, prosecuting all those other measures which have been recommended? I need not inform the Convention, that this great question of bringing free produce from India, has lit up the taper of hope in the bosom of American abolitionists. My attention being drawn some time ago, to the condition of the inhabitants of British India, in consequence of the famine prevalent there, I was led to consider the subject now before the Convention. Little did I then expect that a response would come from the other side of the Atlantic; but I have received letters from the most distinguished men in that country, declaring that of all the schemes which are at work for the redemption of three millions of our fellow men in that land from slavery, this is the most simple, the most practicable, the most certain. I implore my friends around me, for their own sakes, not to withdraw these resolutions. I ask them to state fully to the Convention, the grounds on which they would withdraw them. If ever I looked to the power of expression, I look to it now. I cannot divine the reasons why the resolutions should be withstood. I will not make a speech. I am content to leave this matter in the hands of the Convention. If this subject be not self-evident; if these resolutions do not commend themselves to your consciences; if you do not deem it necessary to pass them, in order to justify all your measures; if you are not convinced by all that THOMAS CLARKSON has written, and by what we saw here the other day; if you are not convinced by the labours of that man of humanity and philanthropy, JAMES CROPPER, and by those of others who have laboured with him in this cause; if you are not prepared to reject the whole of the report read by Mr. JOHN STURGE, and also the sentiments of others whom I might name; do not reject these resolutions. I speak not as connected with any other Society. I speak only as an abolitionist, and as a humble member of this Convention. But I believe that if you would prosecute with success the great cause in which you are embarked, you will have recourse to the instrumentality to which I have referred. Do not let us have any confusion of terms. To abstain from slave produce is a great and influential measure, founded on the scriptural principle, "Cease to do evil, learn to do well." We shall never cease to do evil, while we import 400,000,000 lbs. of cotton annually into Liverpool, the produce of American slavery. We never can cease to do evil, while we pay £13,000,000 per annum, to men who drive men and women like cattle to the cultivation of cotton. Since my lectures went over to America, I have received innumerable letters from all the free states, with the exception of the more western states of New England, approving the course which, I trust, we are now about to pursue. I grant to Mr.

ALEXANDER that the resolutions may be amended ; but I submit to the Convention whether they are opposed to them in principle ; if they are not, let us not withdraw them in the eleventh hour. Our American friends have poured a flood of light on the subject ; can we resist their united testimony ? They declare in the name of the abolitionists of America, that this is one of the most powerful remedies for American slavery as it now exists. There are three millions of our fellow men now in bondage in that country. Why are they in that condition ? Simply, because slavery is a source of profit to their masters. Make that slavery unprofitable, either by bringing in such an amount of cotton as shall depreciate its value, or drive it out of the market ; and you not only terminate slavery in the southern states, but destroy the internal slave-trade between state and state. Let these agencies go on *pari passu* ; let neither be rejected. It would be casting a reflection on the sincerity of those who have advocated these resolutions, to suspect that they would place these operations in the fore front of those moral means to which such reference has been made. But in company with them, let these means be employed ; and I believe that they will prove effectual in accomplishing your object, in a much shorter time than you could attain it without them.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—My friend, G. W. ALEXANDER, has pointed out what he conceives to be a want of the full assertion of principle, in part of the resolutions ; and I fear that in one or more of the three last, we might commit ourselves too EXCLUSIVELY in favour of the growth of free produce in INDIA, especially as we have a committee appointed on the subject of slavery in India, and there are some resolutions coming forward in reference it. There is no one who attaches more importance than I do to free-labour being brought fairly into competition with slave-labour ; but there is a British India Society which can work out this question ; and it may give offence in some quarters, if we too exclusively give encouragement to free-labour in one particular quarter. I think there was something worthy of attention in the remark of our friend from America, who has just spoken in reference to this subject. It is desirable we should not needlessly identify ourselves with the labours of any particular Society, however excellent it may be. If an alteration could be made, so as to leave the question open, as to the competition of free-labour from all parts of the world with slave-grown produce, I should not object to the withdrawal of the amendment.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I can have no objection.

Mr. J. T. PRICE, moved, Mr. JOSEPH SAMS, seconded, and it was resolved, That the mover and seconder of the amendment, with the committee on free-labour, withdraw, to make arrangements on the subject. On their return,

Mr. ALEXANDER read the resolutions, with a few verbal alterations which had been made by the Committee, and which he thought rendered them satisfactory.

They were then read to the Convention, and carried unanimously in the following form.

1. That upon the evidence of facts to which the attention of this Convention has been directed, it is satisfactorily established as a general

axiom, that free-labour is more profitable to the employer, and consequently cheaper, than slave-labour.

2. That of all kinds of slave-labour, that of imported slaves has been demonstrated to be the most costly, and the least productive.

3. That the large profits, which, notwithstanding the disadvantages of slave-labour, have been realized in the cultivation of sugar, cotton, and other tropical productions, have arisen from, and depend on, two circumstances; first, the large tracts of rich unoccupied soil, which, by their extraordinary fertility, have repaid the expenses of imported slave-labour, under the rudest and most wasteful husbandry; and secondly, the artificial maintenance, by fiscal regulations, of the high prices gained for tropical productions on their first introduction into Europe, those prices being so high as to support slave-cultivation in the absence of the planters from the management of their own estates, by, and under a system, which could not have succeeded in any other branch of the agriculture, commerce, or manufactures of this or any other country.

4. That the continued employment of slave-labour, invariably tends to lessen and exhaust the fertility of the soil, so as eventually to destroy the profits of the planter, who finds himself unable to compete with the possessors of fresh lands. That owing to this course, the cultivation of the tropical produce by slave-labour, has been, to a great extent abandoned in the middle states of the American Republic, where the slave-population is reared for the purpose of being sold to the planters of the south; thereby proving that the value of the slaves would otherwise have been destroyed by their numerical increase, and the exhaustion of the soil; as also, that imported slave labour is dearer, by the profit realized upon the rearing of the slaves.

5. That the higher cost of imported slave-labour, over the labour of a native slave population, is strikingly illustrated by the fact, that the cultivation of cotton in the United States, has reduced the market prices of the cotton of Brazil, cultivated by imported slaves, about one-third, and that while the cultivation of Brazilian cotton has been stationary, that of American cotton has steadily increased.

6. That the superior cheapness of free-labour has been strikingly evinced in the cultivation of indigo, which fifty years ago, was wholly supplied by slave-labour. As the result of British skill and enterprise, the indigo of India has gradually displaced from the market, the slave-

grown indigo of the Carolinas and South America, till there is now, not an ounce imported into Europe; and so far as regards the cultivation of that article, the labour of hundreds of thousands of slaves has been superseded by free-labour, the annual produce averaging in value, between three and four millions sterling.

7. That there is every reason to believe, that the success which has attended the application of free-labour to the growth of indigo in India, would follow upon the extended cultivation of other tropical produce, by the free natives of that vast empire, and of other portions of the world, so as to supersede in other articles, the produce of slave-labour, and thereby contribute to extinguish both slavery and the slave-trade. That in particular, as slavery in the United States is mainly dependent for its existence upon the import into Great Britain of the slave-grown cotton of America, to the amount, in 1838, of more than 400,000,000 lbs. weight, were measures adopted to encourage the growth of cotton in India and elsewhere, by free-labour, not only would an incalculable benefit be conferred upon the millions of the human race now unemployed, but, by supplanting slave-grown cotton in the European market, it would, as the certain result, materially aid the extinction of American slavery.

8. That the advantages of free-labour cultivation, cannot be fairly attested, or fully realized under a system of husbandry and general management which has grown up under the existence of slavery, and which is attended by a waste of human labour, that, but for monopoly prices, must have absorbed all the profits of cultivation. That the unrestricted competition of free-labour in the cultivation of sugar, would necessarily introduce a new system, by which the cost of production would be further diminished, and the fall of prices that must ensue, would leave no profits upon slave-grown sugar.

Mr. FULLER.—I wish to lay before the Convention a document which I have this morning received from America.

“In the General Assembly of the Presbyterian church, sitting in the city of Philadelphia, last month, Dr. HAY moved the following preamble and resolution.

Whereas slavery as it exists in these United States, is interwoven in the civil polity of those portions of the union, where it is found; and on this account all ecclesiastical action in relation to it by the General Assembly is rendered extremely difficult and of doubtful utility; therefore,

Resolved, That it is inexpedient to take any action in relation to the subject.

Mr. WELLS moved the following as an amendment to Dr. HAY's motion :—

Whereas, involuntary slavery, as it exists in the United States, although itself a violation of the rights of man, and of the laws of God, is so interwoven with the civil polity of those portions of the union where it exists, as to render ecclesiastical action extremely difficult; therefore,

Resolved, That this assembly take no further action on the subject at this time.

Dr. SAMUEL H. COX moved the indefinite postponement of the whole subject, which was carried."

The Convention then adjourned.

EIGHTH DAY'S SITTINGS, SATURDAY, JUNE 20, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

J. G. BIRNEY, Esq., in the Chair.

SLAVERY IN MOHAMMEDAN COUNTRIES.

Dr. BOWRING.—I have been charged by the Committee to propose to the Convention for its adoption, two addresses having reference to slavery in Mohammedan countries. Perhaps, I may be allowed to say a word or two on a topic, intimately associated as it is with this, which was brought before the Convention this morning. I must express my gratification, that the principles introduced into those resolutions, which had a special bearing upon our possessions in the East, were so generalised, as to comprehend the whole question in every part of the world. The topics to which these addresses relate, are intimately associated with those general principles—principles, which wherever applied, and which particularly apply to those portions of Europe and Africa, to which these documents refer,—will be productive of great, important, nay, magnificent results. The Convention cannot be unacquainted with the fact, that the extensive cultivation of cotton in Egypt is of modern introduction, although it is quite certain that the plant was indigenous in that interesting country in exceedingly remote times. In one of the ancient cemeteries of Abydos, in which the great mass of interments probably took place more than two thousand years ago, I took out with my own hands the mummy of a child which was swathed in cotton wool, no doubt the produce of the country. I think I mentioned before, that when the VICEROY of Egypt was engaged in an expedition up the Blue Nile, far within the tropics, the cotton plant was found growing wild, producing cotton of a splendid quality and to a great

extent, which I have no doubt, might supply our own markets. If peace and security from the slave hunts could be introduced into Eastern Africa, it cannot be doubted, that that part of the world would furnish most extensive supplies. The rate of wages in those countries, is even lower than in the East Indies. Agricultural labourers cannot obtain more than from three half-pence to two-pence half-penny per day. Those regions are naturally fertile in the highest degree; and if there be desolation, destruction, misery, universal disquiet, and universal distrust, slavery and the slave-trade are the causes. One cannot but be gratified with those warm expressions of sympathy which have fallen from different speakers, directed to different races of mankind. I have remarked, and to me it has been a subject of delightful reflection, that almost every speaker seems to have had in charge, some portion or other of suffering humanity. It is a happy part of our constitution, that the objects which are nearest, become dearest to us. It is upon this principle, that our domestic, our social, our patriotic affections are grounded; and, it would appear as if we had each of us a mission to cultivate some particular part of the great field of philanthropy. I therefore feel myself as it were, impelled to look with some interest on the races of Eastern Africa, amongst whom it has been my privilege to dwell. I cannot forget those bright eyes; those gay, joyous, dancing hearts; those sounds of music which I have heard from the rising to the setting sun. I cannot but remember with what gratification I have looked upon their transient happiness, with what sympathy I have witnessed their sufferings and sorrows; and, now how sweet it is to think, that your exertions may diminish what there is of misery among them, and augment what there is of felicity! I give no opinion respecting countries which I have not visited; I shall take no part in the discussion, as to whether Eastern or Western Africa affords the best chance, the most promising field for your exertions. But sure I am, that if you can attain the co-operation of some of those Oriental Princes, to whom you are about to appeal; if you can prove to them, and it is capable of proof, laying aside all questions of duty and morality, that they have interests involved in the overthrow of slavery; if you can associate, as I believe you can, their prosperity with the liberty of the negro, a great point will be gained in furtherance of the common object which we all have in view. Two addresses were directed by this Convention to be prepared by the Sub-Committee, which I represent, founded upon the two resolutions adopted by this body on Wednesday. With reference to the first address, I would remark, that it can be easily shewn to the satisfaction of the GRAND SEIGNIOR, who is the representative of the CALIPHAT, that slavery is opposed to the teaching of the Mohammedan law: for undoubtedly the Koran avows, that any man who is not an abandoned infidel, at enmity with God and Mahomet his prophet, I am now confining myself to arguments likely to influence a Mohammedan; in other words, that a person professing Islamism, cannot be held in slavery, It was after having had frequent interviews with distinguished men of the Mohammedan faith, that I was induced humbly and respectfully to submit to the Convention; first, that those countries were not beyond the control of public opinion in the West; and secondly, that if the GRAND SEIGNIOR could be induced himself to re-assert the authority of the Mohammedan law, the fact of that proclamation would deter a great number from dealing in slaves, and lead to the emancipation of multitudes. The address which it is proposed to send to LORD PALMERSTON, is this:—

To the Right Honourable LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, G.C.B., M.P.

MY LORD,

I have the honour to communicate to your Lordship, a resolution unanimously passed at a meeting of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held at Freemasons' Hall, on the 17th of the present month.

Associated for the great object of abolishing slavery, by means solely of a moral, religious, and pacific character, they have not been inattentive to the course of events in the Oriental world; and they breathe an earnest prayer that the crimes and calamities of war may be prevented, by the friendly intervention of the powers of Europe. They would humbly and earnestly implore your Lordship, to use your high authority for connecting the overthrow of slavery with the consolidation of peace.

In considering the situation filled by the GRAND SEIGNIOR, as the representative of the CALIPHAT, the Convention feel a strong conviction, that if a declaration could be obtained from his IMPERIAL HIGHNESS, condemnatory of slavery, in any or all its forms, encouraging the manumission of slaves, and calling the attention of the Mussulman world to the state of opinion among civilized nations and governments, such a declaration could not but produce a happy influence throughout the Ottoman Empire. And the Convention respectfully suggest to your Lordship, that the friendly interposition of Great Britain, could be employed for no nobler purpose, and that its success would reflect high honour on the head of ISLAMISM, be eminently instrumental in strengthening the foundations of the Turkish Government, and in diminishing the fearful amount of degradation, wickedness, and misery, which everywhere accompany slavery.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your Lordship's obedient Servant.

I believe that the interference of the British Government in the way suggested in that address, is not only practicable, but will be attended with the happiest results.

Dr. BOWRING then read the resolution on which the address to the PACHA of Egypt is founded, and said,

Upon that resolution, which I hope the Convention will find no difficulty in cordially approving, the following address to the PACHA has been drawn up :—

To His HIGHNESS MAHOMET ALI PACHA, VICEROY OF EGYPT,
&c. &c. &c.

May it please your HIGHNESS,

An assembly of men gathered from various parts of the world, are now met in this Capital to discuss the best means of putting an end to slavery and the slave-trade.

It has come to their knowledge, that when a representation was made to your HIGHNESS, that the Egyptian troops had been engaged in hunting slaves, and had received slaves in payment of their wages, your HIGHNESS was pleased to communicate your dissatisfaction, and to express your wish "to abolish a dishonourable traffic, even though its abolition should be attended with some sacrifices."

Your HIGHNESS's declaration has been laid before the Parliament of Great Britain, and thus it has come to the knowledge, not only of the British people, but of the civilized world; and I am instructed by this Convention to convey to your HIGHNESS the expression of their gratitude for the steps you have already taken, and their earnest hope that you will deign to give complete effect to your just and generous intentions. They will hail with delight every pacific measure which your HIGHNESS may adopt, in order to impede the importation of, and the trade in, slaves; they have witnessed, with much satisfaction, all that has been done to encourage and protect the blacks in their painful pursuits of agriculture; and are persuaded, not only that the tranquillity, but the prosperity, both of Government and people, are intimately connected with that unmolested industry, which can never exist, while the persons and the properties of the negroes are exposed to unchecked violence. They would trust that your HIGHNESS might also consent to abolish the slave-markets in Egypt; and, if they thus urge on your HIGHNESS these their most respectful solicitations, it is that they have been encouraged by past evidences of your humane purposes, to appeal to you for giving them their full development.

I have the honour to be,

Your HIGHNESS's most devoted humble servant.

Mr. R. ALLEN.—These documents are exceedingly interesting, and I am much pleased with them; but I doubt if it is consistent to point to the example of civilized nations, when so large a portion of the civilized world as America, is still guilty of slavery.

Mr. STACEY.—There is a hope expressed, to which I can hardly assent, that of strengthening the Turkish Empire: the seat of Mohammedanism.

Dr. BOWRING.—The reason why it has been introduced is, that the Government have talked of strengthening the Ottoman Empire. The words have no reference to a question of religion.

Rev. J. BURNET.—No man here wishes to see the Turkish Empire destroyed. We should like to see all nations strengthened. Anything which revolutionizes a nation must be productive of great injury, in the bloodshed and other evils to which it must lead. We do not speak of Mohammedanism, but simply of the natural strength and the amelioration of the civil institutions of the Turkish dominion. As, however, the word Islamism occurs, and it may be liable to some objections, because it may be misunderstood, there can be no difficulty in altering it.

GEORGE BENNET, Esq., moved, and the Rev. WILLIAM JAMES seconded, That the resolutions and addresses now read, be adopted. They were then put and carried without dissent.

ABSTINENCE FROM SLAVE PRODUCE.

Captain STUART.—I rise to move,

That this Convention earnestly recommends to the friends of humanity and religion every where, the disuse of slave-labour produce; and instead of it the use of free-labour produce, as far as practicable; and to promote this object, that the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to institute at their earliest convenience, a careful inquiry into the produce of slave labour, and to prepare for circulation as complete a list, as they can, of those commodities which are thus produced, furnishing, at the same time, a statement of articles which are obtained by free-labour.

The same lively regard to the sacred objects requiring the time of this Convention, which has made me zealous for the exclusion of irrelevant matter, and which has induced me to take no share in the protracted discussion just concluded, on the results of emancipation in our own lately enslaved colonies, although that discussion related to matters on which, above all others, except the church question, I was earnestly desirous of speaking, constrains me now to limit my observations as strictly, as I possibly can, to the resolution itself. This subject is, in my opinion, as important as that of any of the resolutions which have been presented to your consciences and your hearts. The resolution presents two topics. First, it calls upon you to disuse slave produce, because by using it we more directly and effectually, than by any other means, support slavery, and mingle with our superfluities the blood of the slave. And, secondly, it urges the use of free-labour produce, as far as practicable, because, thereby, while we honestly please ourselves, we administer in the most beneficial manner to the wants of the industrious poor. I say that these two recommendations should be acted on, as far as practicable, because I am persuaded that duty in this matter requires only what is practicable, without sacrificing life or health.

Rev. W. JAMES.—I simply second the resolution. In order that it may be carried fairly out, a committee ought to be appointed to draw up a list of articles, which are known to be the produce of slave-labour, and in a parallel

column, articles the produce of free labour. We should then be able to carry out the former part of the resolution, and thereby give a very effectual blow to slavery throughout the world.

Rev. J. BURNET.—There is one phrase which may, perhaps, get us into a little difficulty. When we say, that we are to disuse anything with which we associate so much evil, “as far as practicable,” it may be construed to mean, just as far as it is convenient for us, and thus give too great a latitude to persons of easy conscience in this matter. I am afraid that some of our adversaries may think that we are like themselves. If you mean to discountenance the products of slavery in this way, it will be better to do it honestly and unequivocally, and to leave individuals to find out impracticabilities without suggesting them. It would be more consistent with anti-slavery principles, and with the genius of this Convention, if you were to recommend the disuse of these things where persons are ready to agree to it. I think every slave-holder in America would say, that he was desirous of discountenancing slavery, “as far as practicable;” but you would find that their impracticabilities would be very numerous. I think it would be better to omit the words “as far as practicable.”

Captain STUART.—I shall support the retention of the words.

Mr. G. BENNET.—I like the resolution as it now stands. I think it has been very carefully and very judiciously drawn, and avoids laying a burden on any man's conscience. If the words, “as far as practicable,” be omitted, the members of this Convention who henceforth use the products of slave labour will violate their consciences. Pass the resolution as it is, and I think that it will operate in a right direction.

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE.—I agree in opinion with Mr. BURNET.

Mr. G. BENNET.—It might be very easy to carry out the resolution here, but I think it would be very impracticable to find anything in America which is not the produce of slave-labour.

Colonel MILLER.—There are thousands in America, who “touch not, taste not, handle not,” anything produced by slave labour. My family have for many years used sugar manufactured from the maple tree, for which we pay ten cents, while we could buy New Orleans sugar at five cents. Talk about Americans; we eschew every article of slave produce, and would pay fifty cents instead of five, if it were required, to put down American slavery. I was talking with a slave-holder on board the *Great Western*, and I told him that the abolitionists would starve them out. He inquired how. I replied, that there was one-third difference, at least, between the labour of a slave and that of a freeman. I had been in five slave states, and I never yet saw a slave that I could not do five times more work than he. But there is a spirit in man that never was, and never will be, finally subdued by the whip. When God created man, he gave him a spirit of liberty as his birthright, and it cannot be flogged out of him; and there is a spirit in a freeman that will make any sacrifice for liberty. I beg that these remarks may be reported; for when I throw overboard my abolitionism to please any ecclesiastical body, or any set of men under heaven, I will give up the abolition enterprise, and show myself a recreant to human freedom. I see a lady present, who for the last fifteen years has not had under her roof one solitary product of human servitude.

Mr. FULLER.—I do not want to draw invidious comparisons, but I believe there are hundreds more in the United States, who conscientiously abstain

from the products of slave-labour, than there are in this land. The main object of my rising was, to impress upon the Convention the necessity of the abolitionists of England, adopting in practice, the principle of the resolution, and thereby assisting us in destroying slavery. I should be glad to go into the manufacturing districts to buy free cotton goods. There is a shopkeeper in the village where I live, an abolitionist, who would be glad to have the produce of free-labour in manufactured goods to sell to his customers. I do not wish to be harsh in my expressions, but I hold the receiver to be as bad as the thief; and if there were no slave produce consumers, there would be no producers of it. It is to the women that I look for the support of this noble cause, in every country and in every clime. It is to woman and to woman's heart that I love to appeal on this very subject. I hope they are bringing up a race to succeed us, who will be sound in principle as well as in practice. Where do our abolitionists go when they have got the elective franchise? We can go for our parties, but show us a man who abstains from slave productions, and 99 out of a 100 will give him their votes. I do hope that we shall adopt something sound and strong, and not resort to expediency. I have nothing to boast of, but I have not used slave-grown sugar for these twenty years. I was deterred from it by reading a publication by THOMAS COOPER. I was glad to hear a clerical brother talking on the subject the other day; but I saw him afterwards to my regret taking a pinch of snuff. I went to him, and inquired from whence the snuff came, to which he replied, he really did not know. I think the question did no harm.

Mr. BROOKS.—I will make only one observation. We have heard of labour being procured at $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ per day, and of this being brought into competition with slave-labour produce. What must be the state of civilization among persons willing to work for such an amount as that? Let us not talk lightly of questions of principle. If we are to come to principles, let us examine them all.

Mr. SAMS.—There is no parity between $1\frac{1}{2}d.$ in this country and in distant lands.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I do not think that we are at present in a position to take an active step on this resolution. I desire to be instructed, by what has passed in the course of the present week, on the subject of slave-grown produce. I wish not only to be instructed myself, but to see others instructed also. But I do question whether this Convention is sufficiently consistent in its own conduct at the present hour, to be prepared to pass such a resolution. I do not think that any body of sensible men should pass a resolution involving a recommendation to others, unless they are prepared to carry it out in their own conduct. I do not think, that the subject of the consumption of cotton, and the dealing in cotton, and the various ramifications through which they spread themselves, have been sufficiently considered by the anti-slavery public, to justify us in adopting the proposed measure.

Mr. I. CREWDSON.—I think the passing of this resolution may do us a great deal of harm; it may not be improper to adopt it at a future period, but the suitable time has not yet arrived.

WILLIAM LUCAS, Jun. Esq. (Delegate from Hitchin).—I would impress on the Convention the necessity of hearing CAPTAIN STUART. He has endeavoured to make himself understood, in a way that satisfies me. We ought to give the resolution more consideration than it has yet received. I apprehend that a part of our duty hereafter will be to carry out the recommen-

dation in our different localities. But it behoves us to be cautious that we send out nothing from this Convention, which we are not fully prepared to maintain ourselves. I feel that I want to be instructed. I should be sorry, if the resolution were positively negatived ; but there are many points which stand connected with it, into which I cannot now enter.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I feel a very deep interest in this question, and for a considerable time I have looked pretty closely at it ; and, though I am one of those guilty parties who have never wiped their hands of the use of slave-grown produce, particularly in the shape of cotton, yet I hope the resolution will not be hastily dropped. I think we should strengthen the hands of those who are faithful, and encourage those who are weak. I have this morning been with our dear and venerated friend, THOMAS CLARKSON, and he has put into my hands a letter, an extract from which, he is desirous should be read. It is from a well-known friend of the cause, SAMUEL WEBB, of Philadelphia. He says, "I understand the abolitionists have the majority in England, nay, some say all England is abolitionised. If anything like that be the case, let not this appeal to you for help, evaporate in wordy sympathy for us, or for the poor slaves. We ask not for pecuniary nor for physical aid ; but if your people are abolitionists, (which I do not doubt), let them say to the avaricious slave-holder, 'keep your cotton at home, it is stained with blood ! Your sugar is moistened with the tears of suffering humanity ; we will have none of them ; we can procure a supply of such articles free from the taint of slavery.'" I am fully aware that this question is surrounded with a good many difficulties, particularly with respect to the article of cotton ; but I think that many of us might do more than we have hitherto done in our individual practice ; and I therefore trust, that some resolution to promote this object, I care not how it is worded, will be adopted by the meeting.

Mr. JOSEPH PEASE.—It is desirable that the soundness of the sentiments contained in that letter from SAMUEL WEBB, should not be lost sight of by this Convention.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I received a communication a few days before I left Scotland, from the Secretary of the Free Produce Association of Philadelphia. They have already possessed themselves of some free-grown produce, and they are offering a premium for it, if it be sent properly certified. They are willing to take from this country a considerable amount of manufactured goods, if they can be assured that they are manufactured from free-grown produce. There is great interest excited in the United States on this subject ; and I think it would strengthen the hands of abolitionists very materially, if the resolution, provided it cannot pass in the present form, could be so modified as to include ourselves, and to lay it down as a principle worthy of being observed.

Mr. BOULTBEE.—So far as my judgment goes, it appears to me to be well drawn up ; it does not compromise my conscience at all, and I should be glad to see it adopted.

Rev. T. SCALES.—It strikes me, that if we look back to our proceedings, and reflect on the resolutions adopted by the Convention, with reference to free-labour, and couple with it the opinion which was so decidedly expressed on that subject, the passing of a resolution like that now before us, must be considered as one of the necessary objects and consequences of this Convention. We are convinced that it is our duty to give a preference to the produce of free over slave-labour. If that be our conviction, then it

is right that we should recommend it also to others. There is no pledge required ; and we do not wish to recommend to others, that which we do not consider of the utmost importance to practice ourselves. I am aware that the question is surrounded with many difficulties, and that while we are using articles which we suppose to be the produce of free-labour, they may have been produced by slaves. But all that is implied, is, that so far as our means of knowledge extend, we will adopt the one and reject the other.

JOSEPH FERGUSON, Esq., (of Carlisle).—As the manufacture of cotton is so intimately bound up with the interests of this country, I am afraid that any resolution of this kind would be an impediment to many sincere friends to the abolition of slavery. I think we ought to pause, and deeply consider the consequences of adopting this motion. Unless it is regularly carried out it will in my opinion do more harm than good.

The CHAIRMAN.—At anti-slavery and other meetings in the United States, similar resolutions have been passed. They have been well received, have been acted on to a considerable extent, and have, doubtless, served to sustain, in some measure, the anti-slavery feeling of the country. I can corroborate what Mr. FULLER has said, in relation to it generally, as well as what he has stated as to its influence on elections. It must be admitted, however, that the difficulties connected with the subject are by no means inconsiderable. Slave-labour, in some form or other, enters into nearly all the substantial articles of commerce, that are in ordinary use, and ranked as necessities. To substitute these articles by others free from the taint, would often involve expense, that people of small or moderate means could not meet. It is, therefore, well that we should not proceed further in the resolution than a mere recommendation, that the measure should be carried out as far as is practicable, leaving it to every one conscientiously to decide, how far he can carry it out in his own case.

Mr. DAWES.—In my opinion, the conscience of the American slaveholder will never be effectively reached, unless the demand upon him be urged by persons of disinterestedness of motive, persons moved to make the requisition under a deep sense of obligation to God and their fellow-men, persons whose whole life and conduct evince that practical self-denial, so needful for the oppressor himself, who would grant liberty to his bondman. As a member of the Convention, I conscientiously united in recommending to the ministry and churches of our country, a line of conduct consistent with their discipleship, and honourable to the name of our blessed Redeemer ; and which, if obeyed, would subject them to great trials and persecutions. I believe that many here will have to “endure all things,” ere the deep-rooted system of slavery in my country is broken up, that the church must separate herself from the slaveholder, and that the injunction, “thou shalt not in anywise suffer sin upon a brother,” can not be met with anything short of what we have done. But I am now much grieved to find, that when in the accomplishment of our object, we are required to practice the principles established for others, there should be any lack of consistency, or any unwillingness to endure privations for the best good of others. Would not our love and sympathy for the oppressed and the oppressor be suspected, and our testimony weakened, while we continue to be partakers in the fruits of unrighteous exactions? Might not the slavery apologist, with justice exclaim, What doest thou more than others? Brother, first pluck the beam from thine own eyes. We have now arrived at a solemn crisis in our pro-

ceedings ; and while I have fervently desired that no one should go back, my mind has been peculiarly impressed with the trials and proofs appointed unto the Gideonitish host, ere the achievement of their conquest. To human view the efforts of all are needed ; and who will consent to have the miseries of the bondman protracted, for the sake of a little self-indulgence ? The merchant who buys and sells at the expense of tears, and groans, and unrequited toil, should see in us evidence of personal sacrifice ; and ere we become efficient instruments in this cause, our position and practice must be such as to commend us in the sight of God, to the consciences of all men. Holding these views, I shall vote for the adoption of the resolution.

MR. PRICE.—I should concur with CAPTAIN STUART in promoting the adoption of this resolution, if I could be persuaded that the members of this Convention were themselves consistent, and in the practice of that which they hereby recommend. I do not apprehend that such a resolution could be brought forward by any one in this Convention, more consistently than by CAPTAIN STUART himself. I do not know, but I will take it for granted at present, that CAPTAIN STUART is not clothed with cotton, the produce of slave-labour ; that whenever he sweetens and takes a cup of coffee, he is sure that it is the produce of free-labour, and that the same holds good with all the other articles with which he has to do. I have not a sufficient knowledge of the second of the resolution, to be able to come to the same conclusion with regard to him ; I will, however, assume that that is the case. But if we examine the dress of those present, I doubt not that we shall find the products of slave-labour, and that we have not been sufficiently attentive to the subject, to be able to come forward and recommend that which we can say we habitually practice ; namely, the exclusive use of articles the produce of free-labour. If we could, then, I think we might with propriety send out this advice. I do not regret that the conversation has taken place, but I think the course of wisdom would be to withdraw the resolution. It is not to be supposed, that every speaker can express the sentiments of all who are present ; but I have expressed my individual sentiments. I rather shrunk from coming forward to avow them, but I felt it my duty to declare what I thought was the course of sound wisdom, that of not attempting to pass such a resolution as this. It is a subject which I have considered very closely, and I perceive that it is capable of being deliberated upon in two ways ; first, as a measure of Christian principle ; and, secondly, as one of expediency. In listening to the resolution as it was read, I did not perceive that it went the length of making a declaration, that we felt ourselves bound as Christians to adopt and to recommend that course. That would have seemed to involve the principle. It does not go so far, therefore, it only takes the ground of expediency. In that point of view I shall be easy, though it should pass ; but I hope, that the individuals who hold up their hands for it, will feel that they are called upon to be exemplary themselves, that they are taking the right ground in pursuing that course ; that henceforth they will not clothe themselves in a cotton dress, or draw on a pair of cotton stockings. That was my course at one time ; I felt a scruple upon the subject, and I believed that I was conscientiously bound to pay attention to it. But in the course of years my sentiments underwent a change. I am exposing myself exceedingly, by making this acknowledgment ; but still it is the simple truth. Suppose I were in a slave district, where the articles placed before me to sustain my body had been cultivated by slaves, I should hold that the articles themselves

were not produced by slave-labour alone, but by the blessing of Divine Providence, as well as by that labour. There are, therefore, various ways of viewing this question. Let every one do that which seems to him right. I only wish that every one should be consistent in his course.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—In my judgment, all that we have heard by way of objection to the principle, is merely a powerful and convincing argument in favour of our own consistency, but no argument against the adoption of the principle itself, as embodied in the resolution. I think, if we say, we recommend you, not on the ground of expediency, but of principle, to abstain from all slave produce, we are grossly inconsistent, unless we carry it out in our own practice. Having studied the subject some years ago, I arrived at the conviction, and I owe it greatly to the instrumentality of CAPTAIN STUART, that it was my duty to abstain from the slave produce of our colonies. I act, therefore, only in accordance with my convictions, when I say that I am prepared to vote for this resolution. My personal consistency is a matter for which, of course, I am answerable to God.

Mr. R. ALLEN.—The discussion has been interesting, and I think it will send many of us to the stern ground of principle, and that many will feel a beclouded conscience on the subject. But I think, that the words “as far as practicable,” should be omitted. The first moment I heard them, I was reminded of a poem which I knew some fifteen or twenty years ago, three lines of which I will repeat.

“I own I am shocked at the purchase of slaves,
And think those that buy them and sell them are knaves ;—
But what should we do without sugar and rum ?”

No one has a higher opinion of CAPTAIN STUART’S anti-slavery principles than I have ; but I think the words, “as far as practicable,” savour much of the last of these lines.

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE.—I would move as an amendment to the resolution, the addition of the word, “adopts,” before the words, “earnestly recommends.” I think every one, after what we have heard of American slavery, would give up every comfort in the world to promote its abolition. Do not let us pause by saying, that it is inconsistent with our practice. If we have hitherto been wrong, let us set ourselves right now, and pledge ourselves to the adoption of this practice.

Mr. FRANCIS BARKER, seconded the amendment.

Mr. R. PEEK.—I think we shall all agree to the resolution, if a transposition were made in it. We first of all adopt it, and then recommend the procuring of information on the subject. The question is, whether we should not get the information first, and then adopt the resolution.

Rev. JOHN BARFITT, (of Salisbury).—This is the first time that I have stood up to address the Convention since it sat ; but I have listened with great interest to the discussion on this, to me, most important question. I do not think it is one which we should dispose of very hastily. A committee has been, or is to be, appointed to inquire into the various products of free and slave labour, with a view to submit the result to this Convention. I merely rise to suggest, whether, upon the whole, seeing that this is a most important question, involving many consequences, it would not be better to defer passing the resolution, until that committee make their report. The Convention will then be in possession of a knowledge of those things from which they must

abstain, if they carry out the resolution. It is not a very impossible case, that there may be individuals in the Convention to-day, who have not anticipated a resolution of this nature, and who may not be aware, as others are, what are the products of free and slave-labour. It appears to me from what I have heard during the discussion, that there are certain commodities of slave-labour produce, which we are under a kind of necessity to use, and therefore, it behoves us seriously and solemnly to consider this part of the question. I, for one, am disposed to think, that if, as members of this Convention, we lift up our hands in support of this resolution, we ought to carry it out. I believe that I should afterwards feel some compunction of conscience if any article of my dress were composed of cotton.

The CHAIRMAN.—It will be impossible for that committee to report during the sitting of the Convention.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I shall be glad myself, if the Committee to whom this matter is to be submitted, should be able to throw over this subject, so imperfectly understood, some new light. In my opinion, there is not much clearness on the subject. I have known many among my personal acquaintances, who have to a certain extent, practised abstinence from the use of the productions of slave-labour. In reflecting on the course they have pursued, it has given me great pleasure : for I considered it a noble testimony against the enormous crime of slavery. But it has always appeared to me, that there was far from anything like perfect consistency in their conduct. The resolution, as it now stands, is very indefinite. It proposes, that parties should abstain from the use of such products “as far as practicable.” That amounts to nothing. Great diversity of opinion will be entertained as to what is practicable. I have known persons who flattered themselves, that they were acting on this principle, because they abstained from wearing cotton goods, and using sugar, that were the products of slave-labour ; and yet I have known them to sell articles of merchandize from persons who encouraged slave-labour, and who, by encouraging it, obtained the money to pay for those articles. Suppose I conclude to act on this principle. I am a physician, or a minister of the gospel, dependent on my profession for a support. Could I settle in Manchester, that I might there heal the sick, or preach the gospel? I could not. Why? Because Manchester, with its great population, is itself supported by the products of slave-labour ; and I should have to take my salary, or my fees, from that same source. I could not, therefore, acting on this principle, go to Manchester, though it were to save the bodies, or even the souls, of thousands of its inhabitants. Yes, it seems to me, that, if we are to maintain consistency, we must not only abstain from using the produce of slave-labour ourselves ; but we must abstain from going among, or at least from receiving the money of people who derive their support from the manufacture of such articles. And is it not true, that if this principle were to be acted upon, and some who have addressed us on the present occasion, contend that we are not to regard it as a matter of expediency, but of principle ; it would starve more than one-half of the present inhabitants of this island. Will any one say, that we are bound to give up our lives, for the sake of abstaining from the products of slave labour? And we certainly are, if such abstinence be required by *principle* ; for many could not live twenty-four hours without touching such products, and duty must be always performed, come what may. The whole matter is beset, as it seems to me, with innumerable difficulties. I like to see persons practice this abstinence, “so far as practicable ;” but while they denounce

the use of such productions as sinful, do not let them think that *they* are pure, unless they abstain *entirely*, and take no money from those who obtained it by any connexion with the hated produce. I would have no objection to paying a double price for free grown products. If I had but a shilling in the world, I would rather give it for one yard of cloth made by free-labour, than for ten times that number produced by slaves; and if the resolution merely proposed to give encouragement to the products of free-labour, I would vote for it with all my heart. I do not say, that I will not vote for it, even now; for, possibly, the difficulties which have been adverted to, may yet be removed; but I do say, that I believe the object aimed at by this resolution, is infinitely more easily attainable by other means. I believe, that, by endeavouring to enlighten the public mind of Great Britain, on the subject of raising the various articles usually produced by slave-labour, in the East and the West Indies, in the former more especially, ten thousand fold more might be done for the overthrow of slavery in a single twelvemonth, than by discussing the principle of this, or of any similar resolution, and endeavouring to enforce its observance on men, for fifty years. Let but the people of England know of the resources of India, and of the facilities it presents for producing all those articles, whose production now gives life and sustenance to the slavery of America, and of almost every other country, where it exists; and very soon, I would venture to predict, all occasion even of discussing resolutions of this sort, of settling these new questions of casuistry, or of overcoming these difficulties arising from scruples of conscience, would soon be removed by the utter overthrow of slavery itself.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I do most seriously object to the resolution on the ground of expediency. There are a thousand trains of consequences to be carried out, similar to those which Mr. BRADBURN has suggested. Be it cotton that is grown, it never belonged to the slave; they steal the slave, and there lies the wrong, and whether we use it or not, it never goes back to the slave. If a man has stolen property, and you convict him, it probably returns to its right owner. We ground a deeper charge against the slave-holder than growing the cotton, he has stolen the man that cultivates it. If you refuse to use cotton, because it is sinful to retain men in bondage, and yet you receive money, the produce of that cotton, you become a partner in the grower's guilt. If he brings you a pound of cotton, and pays you with it for his breakfast, you cannot sell it; but if he sells it first and gives you the money, you are equally culpable. I would not use the profits arising from intoxicating drinks; I believe it is as profoundly wrong as slavery, because it is taking advantage of propensities highly injurious. In all your gain, you would defile your consciences, and I would not put my conscience, or the consciences of others, in such a position as that. There was a time when we had made up our minds, that it was wrong to use slave produce, and a boy would no more have touched a sugar plum than he would poison; but when we attempted to carry the principle out, we found that it entirely failed. I object then to the resolution on the ground of expediency; it does not touch the point under consideration: it is a nullity. It is very much like the constitution of the first Temperance Society, in which the members pledged themselves not to drink more than they needed, but many needed enough to get intoxicated two or three times a week. I know the purity of CAPTAIN STUART's views, I love the purity of his mind, but in this resolution there is no standard. It requires us to abstain from slave produce, as far as it is con-

venient. It is convenient to one to wear a cotton shirt ; it is convenient to a second, to wear a cotton waistcoat ; and to a third, it is convenient to abstain from both. Here is a ground on which my conscience would be brought to bear on the subject. Whenever, and wherever I can see that abstinence will effect the cure, will do the work, there I will abstain ; but when I am placed in circumstances, that to me would render it conscientiously wrong to do it, there I shall refrain from it without regard to consequences. While you are paying in Manchester and Liverpool for our cotton, so long will abstinence be without any effect. Nay, if two ships enter the port, one laden with free, and the other with slave grown produce, if I go and buy the former, I leave so much more of the latter to compete with it in the market. Now, turn your attention to the East Indies, bring your cotton from thence, and then you will reach the evil. Establish a clear rule, and then we shall be able to obey it ; but there is no rule in the resolution now before the Convention.

Mr. J. BACKHOUSE.—I should be sorry if we were to pass this resolution. I am satisfied that it would prove a dead letter ; for it is impossible in the present state of things to carry it out. Seeing that in the resolutions we have already passed, we have laid the axe to the root, let us not talk of lopping off the branches. The latter must fall, if the axe is kept firm to the former. I could cordially unite in a resolution for the encouragement of free-labour produce, to the utmost possible extent. That I think is tangible ground, and we should know what we were about ; but if we enter into these things too minutely, we may weaken what we have already done.

Rev. J. BENNETT.—The amendment makes the principle of the resolution stronger. The resolution itself must be a nullity, but the amendment seems to pledge us to something absolutely impracticable.

Mr. I. BRAITHWAITE.—I should be very sorry to cast a stumbling-block in the way of any man's conscience ; but I do fear, that if we pass this resolution, that will be the effect. I do not see how we are to carry it out. I would have every man act after being fully persuaded in his own mind. A man may do without cotton goods, a man may do without coffee, but is he prepared to give up the dollar due to him from a man who procures it from this source ? If we look at the subject in all its bearings, I think we shall find that the principle cannot be satisfactorily carried out.

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON.—I am somewhat surprised at this subject being brought on in a resolution like the present. Had the discussion taken place when we were considering the propriety of encouraging free grown cotton, and the results accruing from it, I have not a moment's doubt that it would have obtained the serious consideration of every individual who listened to the details. But I am convinced, that by carrying a resolution of this kind now, we shall only weaken the impression which, I trust, has already been made. It spreads over too wide a field for us to grasp. I should be very glad, if the mover and seconder would consent to its withdrawal.

Mr. BARKER.—I have no idea that we are recommending anything which we are not prepared to adopt. It is a question deserving our deep consideration. I trust that whatever becomes of this resolution, we shall all, as far as possible, act on its spirit.

Mr. STACEY.—I would suggest to the mover and seconder of the amendment, as well as the original resolution, the propriety of their being withdrawn. It is clear that the Convention is not prepared to adopt the proposition, with that unanimity with which it ought to go forth.

Rev. J. KENNEDY.—I think an amendment may be made to which all parties can agree. I would submit the following—

That in order to facilitate the use of free-labour produce, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to institute, at their earliest convenience, a careful inquiry into the produce of slave-labour; and to prepare, for circulation, as complete a list as they can, of those commodities which are thus produced, furnishing, at the same time, a statement of articles which are obtained by free-labour.

There are many parties who wish to use free instead of slave-labour produce. I am one of that number, but without further information I do not know how to carry out my wishes.

Rev. J. BARFITT.—I beg to second the amendment.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—I will support the amendment.

Captain STUART.—I should like to speak against all the amendments. I have not for several years past used any article of slave-grown produce, and I have never found any difficulty in it. On all occasions, from my youth upwards, I have had reason to bless God that my conscience has been my own and not another's. I see that you are not prepared for the discussion of this question; but I cannot withdraw the resolution. I therefore leave it in your hands, to do with it what you please.

Mr. I. CREWDSON.—I could not conscientiously consent to the first amendment, or to the original resolution. If they were to be carried out in Lancashire, they would involve the inhabitants of this country in distress, which no one here can calculate. With regard to my personal accommodation, I could forego, without much difficulty, all that is required; but I cannot close my eyes to the sufferings it would entail. We are, I hope, preparing the way for the introduction of free grown cotton. It has been a source of great satisfaction, that hitherto almost every subject has been decided unanimously; but I must to the uttermost oppose this resolution. The last amendment is, I believe, consistent with the feelings of all.

Colonel MILLER.—I support the original resolution. The Bible is on our table, and we are there told not to be partakers of other men's sins.

The CHAIRMAN then submitted Mr. KENNEDY's amendment, with the understanding, that if it were carried, it would be a substitute for the original resolution and the first amendment. It was carried by a very large majority.

Professor ADAM.—I hold in my hand the report of the committee appointed to inquire into the subject of East India Slavery. It is to the following effect:—

The Committee appointed to consider the subject of East India slavery, beg leave to report the following resolutions:—

1. That it appears by the most authoritative evidence, that there are, in British India, two distinct systems of slavery derived from the

former Hindoo and Mohammedan Governments, and legalized, regulated, administered, and enforced by the British Government in India.

See Macnaghten's Principles and Precedents of Hindoo Law. Macnaghten's Principles and Precedents of Mohammedan Law.

2. That Hindoo slavery, illegal, and existing only as a custom under the Mohammedan government, has been legalized by the British Government in India, not by a positive, direct, and unequivocal enactment, which must have been submitted for the approval or disapproval of Parliament, but by a doubtful interpretation of a law, the letter of which is acknowledged to be silent on the subject; and that Mohammedan slavery, legalized by the same means, practically exists in forms and circumstances, in which even the Mohammedan law does not recognize its validity.

See Galloway's Observations on the Law and Constitution of India, chap. i. p. 10—25. Harington's Analysis of the Laws and Regulations, vol. i. p. 67, 68, and p. 262 note. Macnaghten's Principles and Precedents of Mohammedan Law—Preliminary remarks, p. xxx—xxxix. Macnaghten's Principles and Precedents of Hindoo Law, vol. i. p. 113.

3. That slaves in British India are both agrestic and domestic, and that the total number of slaves does not certainly fall short of 500,000, and probably greatly exceeds that number, exclusive of the number of slaves in dependent native states and principalities.

See Parliamentary Papers relating to Slavery in India, published in 1828, 1832; 1838.

4. That slavery in India, appears to have originated in Hindoo and Mohammedan conquest, to have been increased under the native governments by the sale of criminals, outcast concubines and their offspring; and under the British Government, by the sale of criminals, and to be perpetuated at the present day, by the sale of free children by their parents, by the kidnapping of free children, by the sale of freemen by themselves, by the importation of slaves both by land and sea, and by the hereditary slavery of children born of slave parents.

See Parliamentary Papers as above. Colebrook's Digest of Hindoo Law, vol. ii. p. 344. Institutes of Manu, chap. viii. v. 415. Mr. Augustus Phipps's Tracts on Land Tenures in India. Harington's Analysis of the Laws and Regulations, vol. iii. p. 747. Macnaghten's Principles and Precedents of Mohammedan Law, p. 314, 315. Hamilton's East India Gazetteer, vol. ii. p. 652, 653. Annual Statements of the Administration of Criminal Justice in India. Mr. Chaplin's Reports on the Deccan. Calcutta Christian Advocate, August 24th, 1839. London Times of January 23rd, 1840. Buxton's African Slave-Trade.

5. That the treatment of male domestic slaves, with the exception of those who are eunuchs, appears in general to be mild ; that the number of eunuch slaves in Mohammedan families throughout India, appears to be considerable, implying the continued commission of unnatural, and atrocious barbarities on the persons of slaves ; that female domestic slaves are subject to the arbitrary will of their masters, and are in general beyond the protection of the law ; and that agrestic slaves, both male and female, are subject to much oppressive and cruel treatment, from their own masters, and from the community, without adequate protection in the enjoyment of the rights, which the law nominally secures to them.

See Parliamentary Papers relating to Slavery in India, published in 1828, 1832, 1838. Colebrook on the Husbandry and Internal Commerce of Bengal. Colebrook's Unofficial Papers quoted by Harington, in Analysis of the Laws and Regulations, vol. iii. p. 743. Dr. McCook's Report on Assam. Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. vi. p. 950. Dr. F. Buchanan's Travels in Mysore, Canara, and Malabar. Memorial to the Madras Government—Appendix D. p. 36. Mr. Chaplin's Report on the Deccan.

6. That the British Government of India has, at different times, introduced various ameliorations into the law and practice of slavery in India, but that these ameliorations are in part only declaratory, even in form ; as in the case of the prohibition by proclamation, not by enactment, of the exportation of the natives of India as slaves, in part directly opposed to the provision of an act of the Imperial Parliament, as in the case of the Act 51, Geo. III, cap. 23, making the slave-trade, felony, the provisions of which have been expressly and avowedly set aside by the East India Company's Bengal government, in as far as those provisions required the importation and exportation of slaves by land, and in place of them the provisions of regulation X., of 1811, of that government, had been held in force, and in great part are practically inoperative, affording little real protection against the evils and abuses to which the institution of slavery is inherently and essentially liable.

See Parliamentary Papers as above. Harington's Analysis of the Laws and Regulations, vol. iii. pp. 756, 759, and 749, 750—vol. i. p. 72 note. Colebrook's Digest of Regulations, vol. ii. p. 902. Statute 51 Geo. iii. chap. 23. Regulation X. of 1811 of Bengal.

7. That numerous ameliorations of the law and practice of slavery, have been recommended to the British India Government, by its own servants, which have been wholly neglected ; and that the requisition of the Imperial Parliament, in the Act of 1833, to take means forth-

with to mitigate the state of slavery, to ameliorate the condition of slaves, and to extinguish slavery throughout India, as soon as such extinction shall be practicable and safe, and to prepare and transmit drafts of laws and regulations for such purposes, has been equally disregarded, except by the appointment of a commission in India, the constitution, the labours, the recommendations, and the results of which, if any, are wholly unknown to the British Government, the British Parliament, and the British people in the year 1840, seven years after the passing of the Act, directing that the means for the above purposes should be forthwith taken.

See Parliamentary Papers relating to Slavery in India, published in 1828, 1832, 1838. Harington's Analysis of the Laws and Regulations, revised edition, vol. i. p. 68—73 note. Adam's Letters on the Law and Custom of Slavery in British India, Letter viii. Charter Act of 1833.

8. That in the bill for renewing the charter of the Honourable East India Company, introduced into Parliament in 1833, there was a clause providing for the abolition of slavery throughout British India, on the 12th of August, 1837; that this clause was omitted when the bill came before the House of Lords, and the clause which has been referred to, in the resolution immediately preceding, substituted; that during the same year, an Act was passed, abolishing slavery in the West Indies, Mauritius, and the Cape of Good Hope. Yet, notwithstanding the strong feeling of the House of Commons, as shown in the clause which they adopted, the explicit provisions in the said clause of the Act, and the lapse of seven years, nothing effectual has been done to fulfil the just expectations of the Parliament, and people of this country. That, therefore, it is for the British nation to direct their immediate attention to this important subject, and to seek the immediate and entire abolition of personal slavery throughout the whole of British India.

I am desirous of saying a few words. The first point to which I am anxious to direct your attention, is, with reference to a statement made this morning in connexion with the subject then under discussion. Some doubt was entertained respecting the cotton brought from India, inasmuch as it is well known that slavery still exists there. The fact is in this report made sufficiently apparent; but I must add, that so far as our information at present extends, it is only in one cotton district, that of Tinnevely, in the South of India, that prædial slavery exists; and, consequently, a very large proportion of the cotton sent from India, and the still larger quantity consumed in India itself, is almost wholly the produce of free-labour. I think it highly important that this fact should be borne in mind, in connexion

with the discussion upon which we entered this morning. Under the government of the East India Company, there have existed, almost if not altogether unknown to the people of England, two distinct systems of slavery, legalized and enforced by the Company's Government. But is this the only stigma of the kind remaining on our national character? No; the English people are flattering themselves that all the Crown colonies are free from the stain of slavery; but in that they are entirely mistaken. Ceylon is a Crown colony, not administered by the East India Company, and ought to have been included in the Emancipation Act, which you wrung from the Government of England. But that colony includes in its population, at the present moment, not less than 30,000 slaves. Is this a subject which ought to escape the attention of the Convention? I know that you are pressed for time, and I have, therefore, taken the liberty of mentioning that subject now. But neither the question of East India, nor of Ceylon slavery, must be allowed to rest. We must act in both these cases, and compel, as we may—if the people of England speak with the authority which belongs to a free people—compel the Government which serves them to do their duty, and to carry into effect its positive engagements.

Rev. J. ACWORTH.—I am quite sure that it is not necessary to trespass on the time or patience of the Convention, to induce them to adopt the resolutions read by PROFESSOR ADAM. It was believed by many, perhaps by far the majority of the inhabitants of this country, that slavery, so far as the British Empire is concerned, was wholly at an end. Some of us were aware that it still existed in a mitigated form, in a part of our East Indian possessions, but very few knew of its continuance in Ceylon. Whilst we are calling upon our American friends and urging them to do their duty; whilst we are addressing the French people and other countries, which hold their fellow-creatures in bondage, we must feel it doubly obligatory upon us to do what lies in our power, to sweep away the last fragment of stigma from our own national escutcheon. I beg to move the adoption of the resolutions read by PROFESSOR ADAM.

Rev. JAMES PEGGS, (of Bourn).—It is with very peculiar interest, that I rise to address you on a subject to which my attention has been directed for several years, and on which a great want of accurate information prevails. BISHOP HEBER said, "No slavery legally exists in the British territories at this moment;" referring to the time at which he wrote his interesting Journal. An article was published in *The Friend of India*, December, 1823, in which the writer has fallen into the same error. It has been correctly stated, that when the East India Charter was renewed, it was proposed that slavery in India should be abolished, on or before the 12th April, 1837, and in that state the Bill passed the House of Commons, but when it came into the House of Lords, the DUKE OF WELLINGTON made the following observation:—"I insist upon it that there exists no necessity for framing any laws or regulations with regard to slavery in the East Indies; I have served in that country, and lived among the people, and I never knew an instance of cruelty being practised towards the slaves, if slaves they ought to be called." This shows indeed, that "great men are not always wise." The consequence of this observation, made by the Noble DUKE, was, that the original clause was rescinded; and two clauses to which reference has been made, were inserted in its stead, committing the whole question of slavery to the Government of India. A Commission has been so long sitting, that I am afraid the Commis-

sioners have gone to sleep. It is, however, very important that the state of slavery in India, should be brought before the Convention, and through it, before the world. It is with a view to this object that I now stand before you. I have waded through the voluminous Parliamentary Papers on this subject, from which it appears, that the number of slaves in British India, is—

	SLAVES.
Canara, Malabar, Coorg, Wynaud, Cochin, and Travancore	400,000
Tinnevely	324,000
Trichinopoly	10,600
Arcot, S. Divison	3,000
Ditto, N. Ditto	17,000
Southern Concan	2,000
Surat	2,000
Ceylon (the Garden of Eden in India)	27,397
Assam	11,300
Penang	3,000

Total 800,297*

The registrations, however, it must be observed, have been very imperfectly attended to, and these are the only items which I could gather; but surely they are sufficient, and more than sufficient, to show that there is a demand for the same exertions for their liberation, which we made on behalf of the slaves of the West. Allow me to read an extract or two on the condition of the slaves, which I would contrast with the statement of the Noble DUKE. "Nothing can be more deplorable and wretched," says T. H. BABER, Esq., "than the condition of the slaves of Malabar, whose huts are little better than mere baskets, and whose diminutive stature and squalid appearance evidently shew the want of adequate nourishment." "The slave, (says Mr. GRAEME, in his Report of Malabar in 1822), has his sieve of a hut in the centre of the rice lands; but on the coast, at least, he is an industrious, and not an unintelligent being, in good condition, and nothing deficient in bodily frame. In the interior, he is a wretched, half-starved, diminutive creature, stunted in his food, and exposed to the inclemencies of the weather, whose state demands that commiseration and melioration, which may confidently be expected from the humanity of the British Government." Another witness, the last I will adduce, A. D. CAMPBELL, Esq., in answer to questions put by the Board of Control, says, "The creatures in human form, who constitute, to the number of 100,000, the agrestic slave population of Malabar, being distinguishable, like the savage tribes still to be found in some of the forests of Arabia, from the rest of the human race, by their degraded, diminutive, squalid appearance, their dropsical pot bellies, contrasting horribly with their skeleton arms and legs, half-starved, hardly clothed, and in a condition scarcely superior to the cattle they follow at the plough? I am by no means satisfied, that due provision is made for the support of agrestic slaves in sickness or in old age. Their masters are bound to support them; but in the absence of any summary means to enforce the obligation, I fear the poor and infirm slave, is often left to the doubtful remedy of a law-suit against his master, or to the uncertain charity of his brethren, stunted

* See The present state of East India slavery, chiefly derived from the Parliamentary Papers on the subject. By James Peggs, late Missionary in Orissa. London 1840; p. 83.

in their own means." This is not the testimony of a Missionary, who from his sympathy with the people, might be charged with colouring the facts; but it is the testimony of a civilian, passing among the people, and marking what transpires. But at this time of the meeting, it would ill become me to detain the Convention. Happy shall I be to give any information, or to prepare any brief document, which by means of publicity, might bring the subject clearly before the public. I most cordially second the resolution.

Mr. J. BACKHOUSE.—Is there any slave-trade carried on in India?

Rev. J. PEGGS.—Such has been the vigilance of the Government, that but few slaves are imported; but still there is what may be called an internal slave-trade carried on. The slaves are either sold with the land or apart from it. There is no restraint upon the sale. It is not usual to sell men from their wives, because they can so easily run away.

Mr. J. PEASE.—I know that there is an immense sum of human misery in the East Indies, calling for our sympathy, and demanding the exercise of every effort which this Convention can put forth. In round numbers, there cannot be less than half a million of slaves in that deeply interesting country. I may be asked, what is the remedy I propose; would I set them free? The great difficulty which presents itself is, that when they are liberated from their cruel bondage, they have not an inch of ground to cultivate, nor an employer to give them a single day's labour. True, they have an immemorial right to the soil of their native country; but when land is let out to tenants, it is only on this condition, that the owner comes and takes what part of the harvest he chooses, and thus in periods of drought they die for the want of food. One-third of that country is in the possession of wild beasts; it should be taken from them and given to man. You would then, by free labour, be able to produce such a supply of cotton and rice, as would put down slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I wish to impress upon the Convention, that they must not only pass resolutions, but act upon them. You read to us our declaration of Independence, and in contrast to it point to our slave-holding states, while you ring in our ears that Great Britain is free. But when this Convention rises, it will go forth to the world, that Great Britain is still a slave-holding country; that she is not yet cleansed from its stain. Your admonitions will fall powerless, until you have washed it away. In answer to your lessons, addressed to other nations, it will be said, "Physician, heal thyself." We were ignorant of your East India slavery, but the facts are now brought to light.

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE.—**Mr. COLVER** has stated, that we must act out on this subject, and thus far I am prepared to go fully with him. The facts of the case should, however, be clearly stated. It is not the English Government which holds this people in slavery, but the East India Company; a body on whom it is exceedingly difficult to operate. The act of the 51st **GEORGE III.** would have put a stop to the slave-trade in India, but the Government rendered it ineffectual, by declaring that it had no application to the transportation of slaves from one part of a country to another. Do not let **Mr. COLVER** tell the Americans that we are not abolitionists, because we cannot get rid of East India slavery. In order to effect it, we must go to the East India Company, and they must consult Mohammedans and Hindoos. A slave in the East Indies belongs to a servile caste, and is, therefore, much oppressed. He cannot approach within fifty or sixty yards of a man of a

higher caste. One gentleman who held 300 slaves, whose personal property they were, and who had a right to the produce of their labour, has set them all free. He pays them regular wages, but they are still in a servile caste. We claim for every one personal liberty, and a right to the wages they can earn. That is what we are seeking to obtain on their behalf, and we shall never rest until it has been accomplished.

A DELEGATE.—They are not held in bondage by European slave-holders, but by the natives of India.

Mr. PRICE.—But it is to the people of England that we appeal. The East India Company is under the control of our Government; we have renewed their charter, and we must renew it again. While I am up, I wish to make one or two remarks for the information of the Convention. The resolutions read have been carefully prepared by the committee. In addition to that, there is in the margin of the report, a reference to authorities in support of the propositions set forth. It was deemed important to introduce them, prior to the report being laid before the Convention. The question is a broad one, and it is requisite that it should be taken up by the British community. Even the Committee of the Anti-Slavery Society cannot produce much effect; and it is not to be supposed, that the object we have in view can be attained in a short time. But as we are pressing the cultivation of articles in the East to come into competition with the slave-grown produce of the West, it is highly important that this object should be speedily gained; otherwise we shall make slavery in the East so valuable, that another £20,000,000 will be required to get rid of the evil. The gentleman referred to by my friend MOORE, of the name of BROWN, told the committee, that if any of the three hundred men whom he had liberated, misconducted themselves, the highest and the only punishment he could inflict, was to dismiss them from his service. If the Government of this country could be induced to appoint a commission to confer with the East India Company, for effecting the extinction of slavery, it would be perfectly practicable. This is the time to lay the axe to the root of the tree.

The resolutions were then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. BIRNEY having vacated the Chair, it was taken by **Mr. JOSEPH STURGE**.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I have not prepared, on the part of the committee, a report in detail on slavery in Texas; but, on their behalf, offer two resolutions. To make them fully intelligible, a preamble accompanies them, referring to the principal facts, in support of the resolutions. The resolutions are as follows:—

Whereas the people of Texas by their late revolt, have shown themselves signally ungrateful for the national hospitality that was extended to them as strangers, as well as for the benefits conferred on them as emigrant settlers, by the Mexican Government; and also in the violent dismemberment of Mexico, have shown themselves reckless of the peace and integrity of states: And, whereas, the said people of Texas in re-establishing slavery in that country, from which the justice and

humanity of Mexico had wholly expelled it; and in their formally authorizing and encouraging the slave-trade from the United States, leave no room to doubt, that their aim is to perpetuate those iniquitous systems through all time: And, whereas, the said people of Texas in thus acting, have shown themselves regardless, not only of the claims of natural justice, but of Christianity; have arrayed themselves in hostility to the public sentiment of civilized Europe, but more especially to the principles and measures of the people and Government of Great Britain, in relation to the abolition of negro slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world:—Wherefore be it resolved,—

1. That Texas ought not to be received into the family of nations, whilst she retains in her written form of government, a provision for the establishment and maintenance of negro slavery, or authorizes and encourages the slave-trade, by granting a monopoly of it to the slave-holders of the United States.

2. That in the opinion of this Convention, it would justly bring under suspicion the sincerity of those nations who have abolished slavery among themselves, and pledged their efforts for the suppression of the slave-trade throughout the world, were they to acknowledge the separate national existence of the people of Texas, whilst they continue their detestable warfare against the happiness and freedom of the negro race.

I will briefly allude to matters in the United States, which are connected with the one before us. There we well understand what is meant by the Missouri struggle, which terminated in the "Missouri compromise." The Congress of the United States, is authorised by the Constitution, to admit new states to the Union. Kentucky, the first new state, was admitted in 1793; Tennessee, in 1796; other slave states succeeded, till at last the true friends of the constitution, becoming alarmed at the growing number and power of the slave states, determined on making a stand against their further admission. This they did, when it was proposed to introduce Missouri into the Union. The slave states which had previously been admitted, with the exception of Louisiana, (in 1812) had constituted part of the territory belonging to the United States, at the time the Constitution was adopted. This was urged in favour of their admission, notwithstanding slavery was provided for in their written constitutions, inasmuch as the "new" states are entitled to full equality with the old ones. The state of Louisiana, for whose admission no such plea could be urged, as it was taken from the *territory* of Louisiana, acquired by purchase, (in 1803), long after the adoption of the constitution of the United States, made application to be admitted to the Union in 1812. But as the country was on the eve of a war with Great Britain, and as opposition to its admission would necessarily produce distraction among the advocates of that measure, it was not opposed with the zeal it would have

been, under other circumstances. The situation of the United States was different at the time when Missouri, which like the state of Louisiana made part of the territory of Louisiana, applied for admission to the Union. It was then that the struggle commenced which terminated in what may justly be considered, the establishment of slavery, and the predominancy of the slave power in the United States. Before this, the general government had never been brought to the point of deciding directly in favour of the extension of slavery, or against it, and of violating, or corroborating, the principles asserted in the Declaration of Independence, and substantially incorporated in the United States' constitution, and in the constitutions of the several states, not even excepting the slave states. The result of the Missouri struggle was, that Congress admitted that state to all the rights of the Union; and this, after a full discussion of the merits of slavery in all its relations, effects, and consequences. Although the free states are by far the most populous and prosperous, and have a decided majority in the popular branch of the legislature; yet it has been so contrived, in the admission of new states to the Union, that the slave states have been kept equal in number to the free, and therefore, possess an equal number of senators in the other branch. Whilst this is the case, and the slave-holding senators are unanimous in supporting their system, it will be impossible to pass a law for the abolition of slavery, even in the district of Columbia, or in the territory of Florida, where Congress possesses full power to abolish it. Add to this, that slavery is a bond of union, that binds together the politicians of the states where it exists, in much firmer coherence, than any that has yet been found to bind together the politicians of the free states, in opposition to it. The slave power has but little cause of fear, whilst it can maintain an equality in either branch of the national legislature. Even with less than an equal number of votes in the senate, it will be able to foil the friends of emancipation, until a great change takes place in the popular sentiment of the free states in relation to slavery. The slave power has always succeeded hitherto, in winning over the most aspiring and ambitious of the free state politicians, who, from the lukewarmness of their own immediate constituents in relation to emancipation, have had but little to apprehend from their dissatisfaction, whilst the united movement of the slave-holding states in their favour assures to them whatever reward, in the way of office or preferment, it is understood they are to receive for their open fealty to the slave power. The slave-holders, then, feel themselves in but little danger as long as they can retain an equality in the senate. They were astonished, themselves, at their success on the "Missouri question." Before that, they had been comparatively modest in their pretensions; so much so, as not materially to have affected the opinion which generally prevailed, that slavery was not to be a long continued system in the United States. But their unexpected success on that occasion, led them to adopt measures, with a view to the perpetuation of the system, and of the power which it enabled them to exercise in the direction of the government. They were already in possession of Florida, which, owing to its general sterility, could scarcely maintain a population more than sufficient for one state. They also had Arkansas, which was recently admitted to the Union, with a constitution containing provisions for the perpetuation of slavery, similar to those of the Texan constitution. Florida then, is the only remaining region which the slave-holders can use to keep up the equality in number of the slave states with the free; for by the terms of the Missouri compromise, no slave

state was afterwards to be formed of territory, lying south of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees north latitude. Even if two slave states were to be formed out of Florida, which the slave-holders have now in contemplation, they will only be sets-off to the free territories of Iowa and Wisconsin, soon to be admitted as states. After the admission of Florida, the slave-holding balance in the senate would soon be destroyed by the admission of the many states, that will ere long grow up to the west of Missouri and Iowa, and north of $36\frac{1}{2}$ degrees, north latitude. This is the reason why so fierce an effort,—one that is by no means abandoned,—has been made by the slave-holders, to secure the annexation of the almost illimitable country of Texas to the territory of the Union. So much for the importance of Texas to the slave power of the United States. The course pursued by the slave-holders of the United States for the annexation of Texas has been quite systematic. Grants of land on a large scale were obtained from Mexico. The only stipulation, on the part of the grantees, except that of obeying the laws as others were expected to do, was, that a number of colonists proportioned to the extent of the grant, should be introduced. The Government of Mexico, totally unsuspecting of the ulterior object, encouraged foreign emigration, by favouring the colonists in every way called for by the circumstances in which they were placed. They were, almost without exception, from the United States; and, although of Protestant families, they were not, it is believed, very remarkable for their religious sentiments or practice. However, although the Roman Catholic was the established religion of Mexico, the most liberal indulgence was granted to the emigrants. There was, it is believed, no actual obstruction to the exercise of the Protestant religion. Taxes were so light as hardly to be felt. In fine, all that the Government could do to encourage still further to emigration, by rendering the condition of such as had already emigrated agreeable and advantageous, was done. Meantime, persons of the most desperate and reckless character were poured in from the United States. Such as had slaves, brought them along with them. To show how far, and with what little discrimination, Mexico was disposed to favour the new comers, she permitted such as had brought slaves to their new home, to take indentures from them for their services for ninety-nine years, although she had wholly, throughout her dominions, abolished slavery. The offspring too of these apprentices for ninety-nine years, were also to serve as apprentices to the masters of their parents for a considerable period, as compensation for the trouble and expense of rearing them. It was in this way, that slavery was in reality re-established, under the name of apprenticeship. Whilst this system of slave-holding colonization was going on, the Government of the United States was not idle in operating to the same end. The Minister to Mexico, (Mr. POINSETT, now Secretary at War) plied the Mexican Government incessantly for a transfer of Texas to the United States. Notwithstanding the constant refusal of Mexico to cede the country on any terms, he persisted in his importunities, until his conduct became so offensive to the Government, that it was deemed proper to recall him. The measure, however, was not for a long time abandoned by the United States' Government. As soon as it was discovered that the country could not be obtained by peaceful negotiation, the colonist, led on by men for the most part of desperate fortunes and ruined reputation, set on foot measures of an insurrectionary character, which ended, as is well known, in the overthrow and destruction of the Mexican army; in the capture of the PRESIDENT of the Republic, the dismemberment of Mexico, and the

independence of the revolted province. Such was the return made to Mexico for her hospitality and liberality to those slave-holding colonists. The battle of San Jacinto, took place, I think in April, 1836; the Government of the United States recognized the independence of the insurgents before the end of the year. The Texans soon held a Convention for the purpose of adopting a written form of government. The following is one of the sections of that instrument :—"Section 9.—All persons of colour who were slaves for life, previous to their emigration to Texas, and who are now held in bondage, shall remain in the like state of servitude, provided the said slave shall be the *bonâ fide* property of the person so holding said slave as aforesaid. Congress shall pass no laws to prohibit emigrants from the United States of America, from bringing their slaves into the Republic with them, and holding them by the same tenure by which such slaves were held in the United States : nor shall Congress have power to emancipate slaves ; nor shall any slaveholder be allowed to emancipate his or her slave or slaves, without the consent of Congress, unless he or she shall send his or her slave or slaves, without the limits of the Republic. No free person of African descent, either in whole or in part, shall be permitted to reside permanently in the Republic, without the consent of Congress ; and the importation or admission of Africans or Negroes into this Republic, excepting from the United States of America, is for ever prohibited and declared to be piracy." Are we not then fully authorized in saying, that the Texan insurrection, to whatever of good it may ultimately lead, has been one of no common atrocity? Favours have been returned with blood, benefits with rebellion, and hospitality by an open assumption of separate sovereignty, and the dismemberment of the empire. Instead of fighting for liberty and law, the insurgents have fought for the re-establishment of slavery, and the license to violate all law. Instead of conforming themselves and their institutions, to the growing sentiment of the civilized world, in favour of human liberty, and to the confirmation of the rights of humanity to the coloured part of our race, in whose persons these rights have been so long and so signally violated and disregarded, they have placed themselves in an attitude of implacable hostility, of eternal warfare, against that injured people. The language, then, of the resolutions is, in no respect, too strong for such a case. Ought such a confederation of lawless men, calling themselves by whatever name of dignity, to be received into the family of nations? Ought the states of the world, whose aim is the perfection of human happiness, to invite to co-operate with them, those who have declared eternal war against the repose of that portion of the human race, which is the most injured, the weakest, and therefore, the most fully entitled to reparation and protection? And will it not justly bring under suspicion, the sincerity of those Governments that have already declared themselves in favour of the ultimate extermination of slavery and the slave-trade, to find them eager in forming bonds with those, who have made the perpetuation of those atrocities, an element in the constitution of their government? Greatly is it to be lamented, that France has thrown herself into this equivocal position, that she has by her recognition of the independence of Texas, dimmed the lustre of that glory, which, it was hoped she was soon to reap in the entire abolition of slavery in her own dependencies, and in the employment of her mighty energies toward the extirpation of the slave-trade, the disgrace of the civilized world? Whilst we are bound, then, to deplore the precipitancy of France, for I would use the gentlest term possible,

in speaking of an act by which a great nation has beyond doubt, in some sort sullied its own fame, and retarded the consummation of one of its most honourable and favourite objects ; whilst I say we are bound to deplore the act of recognition by France, well may we rejoice in the magnanimous refusal of the British Government, even to listen to the proposition for recognition sought to be made by the representative of the Texan plunderers. And may not our rejoicing be increased at the assurance of the honourable gentleman, (Mr. O'CONNELL), that no administration in this country, whatever might be its personal feelings, dare to acknowledge the independence of Texas ? Whilst, I know Mr. CHAIRMAN, that the acknowledgment would be inconsistent with the professions and the practice of England, for the last few, and by far the most glorious years of her wonderful career, I will be among the last to withhold my admiration of a people and their government, who persevere in holding up, before the world, their professions of humanity, in the embodiment of acts of humanity.

Mr. R. FORSTER moved the adoption of the resolutions read by Mr. BIRNEY. The motion was seconded by PROFESSOR ADAM, and carried unanimously.

Rev. J. BURNET.—I rise to move :—

That a strong conviction being entertained by this Convention of the injustice of man claiming a right of property in man, and that the title of the slave-holder to the person of his slave, has its origin in robbery and the violation of all moral equity ; this Convention is of the opinion, that the slave-holder on ceasing from his wrong, has no moral claim to compensation, either from the slave himself, or the Government under which he lives, for any loss he may sustain by emancipation. And, inasmuch, as it is an established maxim in all enlightened legislation, that what is morally wrong, can never become politically right ; this Convention expressly affirms, that the circumstance of any legislative body having sanctioned slavery, does not, in the least degree, alter the principle upon which this Convention feels bound to enter its protest against compensation.

No objection can, in my opinion, be made to this resolution. It contains precisely the views I have always held with regard to compensation, and views which I have often regretted the anti-slavery body in this country did not press, until they carried emancipation without compensation ; not for the sake of saving the money, but in order to assert the justice of a great principle, viz., that those who have been engaged in a trade of robbery, are not to be paid when they are made to give up the stolen goods.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I have been requested to second the resolution, which I do with great pleasure. No doubt it will gratify those whom I address to know, that in the United States, the abolitionists almost unanimously maintain the sentiment expressed in this resolution. I believe that it would greatly have impaired our power, if it had ever been admitted, that compensation should be allowed, not only for the reason given by the Rev. Gentleman

who moved the resolution, but for another ; it diverts us from the main question of considering the essential guilt and sinfulness of slavery. It takes us to another point on which honest men may differ—that is the amount of compensation. If the inhabitants of the United States were once to agree to the principle of compensation, we might be harassed and perplexed in fixing the amount, and the cause would be retarded for years. We must resist compensation altogether.

Mr. BRADBURN.—The principle is important, but it strikes me it would be advisable to embody in that resolution another idea, which I have been told would be recognized by the British abolitionists. I believe that they have never been in favour of compensation ; and if that is so, I wish the fact to be known to the whole civilised world. In America, we are everywhere met with the inquiry, “ Why do you not follow the example of the British abolitionists, and propose compensation for this twelve millions of dollars’ worth of property.” The impression is, that the British anti-slavery men and women were in favour of compensating the slave-holders in their colonial possessions. Is that, Mr. CHAIRMAN, a right impression ?

The CHAIRMAN.—In answer to that question, I beg to state, that there is a document now in existence which was signed by 339 delegates, addressed to LORD GREY, and which distinctly disclaims compensation. There is also a document signed by 100 delegates, after the bill was passed, protesting against the principle of compensation.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I am glad to hear this stated. I again suggest the propriety of stating the fact in the resolution.

Rev. J. BURNET.—Compensation was LORD STANLEY’S compromise with the planters.

Mr. FULLER.—I regret that the resolution does not contain some allusion to the testimony borne by abolitionists at the time compensation was given.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I think that is very well understood in America.

Mr. FULLER.—I am prepared to say, that this subject is not understood. When travelling on behalf of the anti-slavery cause, I have been frequently assailed by pro-slavery men on this very ground. I believe that there are many American abolitionists who really do not understand the position in which our British friends stood, when the Act of Emancipation passed ; and anything done by this Convention should have a special reference to that point.

On the suggestion of the CHAIRMAN, two or three gentlemen left the room to amend the resolution, which they afterwards brought in, amended as follows :—

That the British abolitionists solemnly protested against the compensation granted to the planters, while the question was before Parliament : and, a strong conviction being entertained by this Convention of the injustice of man claiming a right of property in man, and that the title of the slave-holder to the person of his slave, has its origin in robbery and the violation of all moral equity ; this Convention is of the opinion, that the slave-holder on ceasing from his wrong, has no moral claim to compensation, either from the slave himself, or the

Government under which he lives, for any loss he may sustain by emancipation. And, inasmuch as it is an established maxim in all enlightened legislation, that what is morally wrong can never become politically right ; this Convention expressly affirms, that the circumstance of any legislative body having sanctioned slavery, does not, in the least degree, alter the principle upon which this Convention feels bound to enter its protest against compensation.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I think the statement with which the amended resolution commences, goes too far. There was one portion of the abolitionists who did not take that course. We are bound to state the simple honest truth, and to say that none of the delegates, as the representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society, did protest against the compensation.

Rev. J. BURNET.—We had 339 delegates up from all parts of the three kingdoms, who solemnly protested against the compensation, and delivered in a protest to EARL GREY's administration. I, therefore, think that the words are not at all too strong.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—But there was another body contemporaneously existing, which did not protest. I mean the Anti-Slavery Committee.

Rev. J. BURNET.—The protest was presented and read by one of that Committee.

Rev. W. ROBINSON.—Those who held slaves were induced to do so, because they were encouraged to do so by law. I think that those who enact such laws are equally guilty with the parties who avail themselves of them when made ; and that the people who make such laws, that is, some of the members of the state, are answerable for the loss sustained. They shared in the crime, and then sustained a part of the loss, in order to creep out of the dilemma. I think that is a true and honourable view to take of the subject.

Rev. J. BURNET.—There can be no right derived from injustice.

The resolution was then put and unanimously adopted.

Mr. W. FORSTER presented the following address, as a report from a Committee appointed on the subject of British functionaries holding slaves.

To the RIGHT HONORABLE LORD VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, &c. &c.

The memorial of the undersigned, the Chairman, on behalf of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, held in London, on the 20th June, 1840.

Respectfully sheweth, that this Convention has learned with feelings of surprise and regret, that British functionaries in the Brazils and Cuba, and other slave-holding countries, hold slaves—that they purchase them in the public slave-markets and elsewhere,—work them in

mines and on sugar plantations, employ them as domestic slaves, and sell them or dispose of them, as necessity or caprice may dictate.

This Convention, under a strong impression of the utter injustice of slavery in all its forms, and of the evil it inflicts upon its miserable victims, and of the necessity of employing every means, moral, religious, and pacific for its complete abolition, feels it to be no less than an imperative duty, to submit to the principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, that the British Parliament having declared it "just and expedient that all persons held in slavery in the colonies of Great Britain should be manumitted and set free," and that slavery should "be utterly abolished, and declared unlawful throughout the British possessions abroad;" that functionaries of the British Government, holding, hiring, buying, or selling slaves in foreign countries, is not only a violation of these just and equitable principles, but that it is an example which gives countenance to the perpetuation of slavery, and to the continuance of the clandestine importation of slaves, and that it does materially contribute to prevent the extinction of slavery in those countries, and throughout the world at large; an object most dear to the members of this Convention, and for the consummation of which they are especially assembled.

This Convention, therefore, earnestly solicits the early attention of **VISCOUNT PALMERSTON** to the subject, and that he will be pleased to issue a declaration, that the holding or hiring of slaves, directly or indirectly, is incompatible with the functions of any individual engaged in the service of the British Government.

MR. R. ALLEN moved, and the **Rev. J. CARLILE** seconded, the adoption of the report, which was unanimously agreed to.

MR. TURNBULL moved the following resolution:—

That this Convention deems it to be important to issue an address to heads of Governments, respecting the iniquity of slavery and the slave-trade, and earnestly setting forth the duty of promoting the abolition of both throughout the world; and that the following gentlemen be a Committee, to prepare the draft of such address, viz. The four **VICE CHAIRMEN**, **Rev. J. WOODWARK**, **WILLIAM FORSTER**, **WILLIAM BALL**, **GEORGE STACEY**, and **JOSIAH FORSTER**, Esqrs., with the mover and seconder.

GEORGE HEAD HEAD, Esq. (of Carlisle).—I beg to second the resolution; but I must express the doubt I feel as to any beneficial effect arising from it. I am willing to try it, but from the experience I have had, I have

not the slightest faith in Governments on this question. I had almost come to the resolve, that I would be no party to going to them again. But in the position in which we now stand, I think we ought to put on a bold front, and to show that we are not to be intimidated by governments of any description, however constituted. We know that governments are composed of men, and all men have their feelings. The man I would trust in his own house, I would not trust in power.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously, after which the Convention adjourned.

NINTH DAY'S SITTINGS, MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1840.

(MORNING).

Dr. GREVILLE in the Chair.

The minutes of Saturday were read and confirmed.

Mr. W. FORSTER brought up the following resolutions, as a report from the committee on Mr. TURNBULL'S plan for the suppression of the slave-trade.

That it is extremely desirable that provisions should be made by the laws of those nations, where slavery is tolerated, for giving full and effectual relief to persons illegally imported and held in slavery, in consequence of such illegal importation, and to their offspring.

That a communication be made by the Convention to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declaring their opinion, that the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade, have lamentably failed of success, that the sufferings of the slaves have been greatly augmented, that vast sums of money have been fruitlessly expended, and that new means conducted on principles, moral, religious, and pacific, are imperatively called for.

That it is the opinion of the committee, that the scheme of Mr. TURNBULL, as explained by him in his statement submitted to this Convention, on Wednesday the 17th instant, though it involves questions of detail, into which this Convention cannot enter, is, in its object and purpose, and several of its suggestions worthy of their consideration; but that the only security for the extinction of the slave-trade is the universal abolition of slavery.

That the cordial thanks of this Convention be given to Mr. TURNBULL, for the unwearied zeal, and able exertion with which he has prosecuted the object.

Mr. I. CREWDSON, moved the adoption of the above resolutions.

Captain WAUCHOPE.—I second the motion. I was well acquainted with the slave-trade, as carried on at the Brazils, in the year 1809. At that time, when no hindrances were opposed to it, the slaves were carried out in small schooners, as inconvenient and miserable as any of the slave ships of the present day. There will be no amelioration of the misery of the slave, so long as the trade is carried on in any way whatever. The captain of a slaver is a gambler, and he cares not for the comforts or the miseries of the cargo under his charge. He makes for the slave coast, and, unlike any other mariner, who only takes a certain quantity of cargo on board, if a number of slaves are brought down, and he can procure them cheap, he will squeeze them into the vessel, at the risk of losing three-fourths, before they arrive at their destination. If he has fair wind and cool weather, he trusts to his fast-sailing vessel, hoping that he shall land half his cargo alive. On that miserable coast of Africa, there is less regard for human life, than for the life of dogs in this country. I was informed upon testimony, which I cannot doubt, that of CAPTAIN PUGET, who went up the river Bonney, for the protection of the British palm-oil trade, in that part of the country subject to KING PEPEL, the head of the Bonney men, that slaves are brought down the Niger, put in barracoons, where they are manacled together, and after they have been supplied with food for a certain time, if the slave vessels do not come in, and the owners think their profits are decreasing, they fire at them with muskets for a couple of hours, and then drag down the dead and the dying to the river, and give them to the sharks. The first vessel I chased upon that coast, we came up with about ten o'clock at night. The boarding officer assured me when he returned, that neither himself, nor the boat's crew had the least doubt that the whole cargo had been thrown overboard and drowned. The utmost stillness reigned on deck, but the smell made too evident, what had taken place. I could relate many instances of the same kind. Were you to talk to a slave captain of its cruelty, he would only smile at your simplicity, in comparing the lives of those "black dogs," with the safety of his vessel. While the treaty between this country and Portugal was in force, the regulations, (though I believe they have been altered by the last Order in Council) were a premium upon throwing the slaves overboard. We could not capture a vessel unless there were negroes on board; and hence the reason why they threw them into the sea. I need not detain the Convention. It was mentioned here by Lieutenant FITZGERALD, that he measured between the decks of some of the vessels, and found they were only two feet six. I can testify to the truth of this statement. When the new treaty was entered into between Great Britain and Spain, and we were allowed to seize vessels fitted for the slave-trade, whether there were slaves on board or not; my officers measured between the decks, and assured me that from deck to deck was not more than two feet nine. I leave you to imagine, for I cannot describe, the awful enormities of slavery. I have heard it said in this country that we too highly colour the picture. I contend that that is utterly impracticable; imagination itself cannot pourtray the awful misery of slavery and the slave-trade.

Mr. STACEY.—I will premise an amendment by saying, that I fully concur in the general views expressed in the resolutions; especially that the extinction of slavery is the only effectual remedy for the slave-trade. At the

same time, I may acknowledge, that such is my estimate of our friend TURNBULL's suggestions, as a tributary means to the attainment of our great end, that I think the words, "worthy of consideration," are rather below what this Convention ought to use. As such, I would substitute for them, "of great practical importance, and demands the earliest attention of the Governments represented in the Mixed Commission Courts."

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I will second that amendment.

Rev. Dr. COX.—There is in my mind a great objection to a part of these resolutions, involving a general principle of no mean importance. The view I take of the case is this; it is proposed to make an appeal to Governments for a particular measure, and the request is, that they should act in aid of our purposes, upon grounds, in their estimate, "moral, religious, and pacific." I own that I feel extremely sensitive on the subject of such interference or support; and thus solicited, we are appealing to Governments on religious grounds, or to promote our object by religious measures. Government has its proper function, and is to be respected when acting within its legitimate sphere. I have no objection to appeal to Governments to promote any civil purpose or design; to promote the abolition of the slave-trade, so far as it is within the scope of worldly governments to undertake such a course. But I think it is inconsistent to appeal to Governments, for the employment of what are termed religious means; they not being, in their official capacity, a religious body. It is, therefore, due to ourselves to omit the word "religious." If Government are to promote religion, that is, to be called upon directly to use religious means, it can only be by the establishment of a particular form; for how do they, and how can they, as a Government, promote religion in this country? On the principles upon which Government is constructed, and Church and State maintained in strict, and as things now exist, inseparable alliance, it is impossible that they can promote these interests on any other ground, than the establishment of religion in a mode which they deem the most important, which they have chosen as the one form of religion out of many, which their authority can alone directly promote; inasmuch as every other form is only tolerated, and toleration is not sanction, but a virtual impeachment of the permitted modes as erroneous. The Government is not then the body to which we should appeal on religious grounds; it is to another class of persons that such an appeal should be made. I wish that point to be kept distinctly in view. I, therefore, object to the term "religious," in such a connexion; and move that it be omitted.

Rev. J. BIRT.—I perfectly agree in opinion with Dr. Cox. If the resolution had stopped before the concluding sentence, I think it would have been perfectly consistent with the principles and character of this Convention. I am afraid, however, that by pointing out to Governments any way in which they are to act, we shall be in danger of leaving that high ground which has hitherto been consistently maintained. We know very well that Government have their own mode of accomplishing their own objects, and that the way in which they would seek to effect even such a design as we have in view, is not exactly the plan to which we should think it our duty and our wisdom to confine ourselves. I think, therefore, that an appeal to Governments, to act at all, is rather a dangerous proceeding on our part, considering the principle on which we feel ourselves bound to act, namely, peacefully, morally, and religiously. At the same time, I conceive that there can be no

objection whatever, but rather that there will be a great advantage, in laying before the Government of the country the fruits of our experience. If they are so far deluded, as to suppose that there are any mitigations of the horrors of slavery, either in procuring slaves in the first instance, or in their passage afterwards to the place of their destination, they ought to be undeceived. We have evidence sufficient to satisfy them on these matters, and it is right that we should apprise them of it. This Convention can communicate to them in a more substantial form, than any other body, the proofs, that unless slavery be cut up root and branch, the slave-trade will necessarily continue. But I do think, that having laid before them this information, and thus furnished them with the means of dispelling the delusion under which they may labour, it will be safe to pause there; and let them devise means, different from those which they have hitherto employed, as an antidote to the evil. But if we should make ourselves in any way parties to their proceedings, we shall be in danger of being drawn into plans, utterly inconsistent with our own principles, and the principles on which this Convention is formed. I do, therefore, beg, with the deference which becomes me, to recommend, that the resolutions should be confined to a declaration of facts; for after all, Government will take their own means, and their own methods to accomplish the object in view. There is another expression to which I will allude—"where slavery is tolerated." I do not know that there are any countries which tolerate slavery. I apprehend there are Governments which still continue at slavery; but they do not endure it, as if it were something disadvantageous, something painful, an evil of which they would be glad to get rid. Therefore, I do conceive, that we are too highly complimenting the feelings, and principles, and good faith of those countries, by using the word "tolerate." I would substitute the word "countenance or authorise," which would imply, that whether avowedly or concealedly, they do regard with indulgence the practice of the slave-trade, and the continuance of slavery.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—I wish to obviate an objection suggested by Dr. Cox, and which I think I can do, by referring to the legitimate construction of the language employed. He seems to think, that if Governments act on religious principles they must form religious establishments. But all which I understand by the terms employed in the resolution is, what all religious sects of every country admit, namely, that the principles of true religion are justice, mercy, and the love of God; and that whatever legislative action is conducted on any other principle than these, cannot benefit the cause of the oppressed. If we recommend Governments to act on any principle in their own department, we should recommend them to act on principles, which will tend to secure the rights of men in accordance with the law of God. Therefore, I think, a proper understanding of the language of the resolution will dissipate all objections in a moment.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—Our friend from America is hardly aware of the position in which a great portion of our population is placed, in reference to this question; or the arguments which he has brought forward, would not, I am sure, have been adduced by him. If I were to give my consent to such an appeal to the Government as that, I know what would be the effect produced in Scotland. Those who are in favour of religious establishments would instantly avail themselves of it, as a concession of the whole question at issue.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—I rise to order. This Convention is composed of

members of various religious societies, met together for the god-like work of liberating the slave of every colour and of every clime ; I do protest against any gentleman in the Convention, taking up a line of argument calculated to give expression to his views, directly or indirectly, upon the question of civil establishments of religion. There is the common ground of Christianity for us to go upon.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—Allow me to say, in explanation, that it is to prevent the possibility of interfering with that question, that I wish to have the word expunged.

Mr. W. FORSTER.—I am willing to withdraw the word “religious ;” then it will read “moral and pacific.”

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I do not rise to object to the withdrawal of the word, but I do object to any construction being put upon it, contrary to the fair and legitimate sense in which it was introduced into the Convention. It had reference to the broad principles of Christianity, and not to any mode of carrying them out in their application.

Rev. J. BIRT.—The question is not what was meant by it, but how it will be understood by those to whom it is sent.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—I intended to make a few other remarks. I verily believe that every Government should act on the principles of religion and morality in the execution of all their plans ; but I do not think, that it is proper for this assembly to point out the mode of action to Government. I think it would be the wisest plan to sanction the principle involved in the resolution ; and then leave it to the British and Foreign Anti-slavery Society to hold that communication with the Government, which it can do with more propriety than this Convention, composed as it is, not merely of British subjects, but of individuals from different parts of the world.

Mr. TURNBULL.—On Saturday evening we agreed to address all Governments.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I wish to express my individual opinion upon it. I rather regret that some word of the same meaning has not been retained. I do not wish to provoke discussion ; but we should not here take it for granted, that the Government of a country which professes to be Christian, will be influenced by Christian principle.

Mr. BACKHOUSE.—It merely contains a reference to the highest ground of action, and Governments professing to be Christian, are bound to act on Christian principles.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I submit that there ought not to be several amendments before the Convention at the same time ; but that one should be disposed of before another is discussed.

The amendment moved by Mr. STACEY, was then submitted to the Convention, and adopted unanimously.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I submit as an amendment that the words, “new and efficient measures in order to secure justice,” be substituted for the words, “new means conducted on principles, moral, religious, and pacific.” When efficient measures are imperiously called for, simply asking Government to take such measures, leaves all the question of controversy between us untouched.

Rev. W. F. POILE.—I second that amendment.

Colonel MILLER.—I am not a deep theologian ; I have never read many

controversies on religion. The good old book, the Bible, has been my study ; and I am surprised, that in a Convention like this, composed of men of all religious parties, every thing which goes directly to the subject of Christianity, should be diverged from, as interfering with this creed or that. It appears to me that we are taking right ground. Who amongst us lives under a Government which does not acknowledge Jesus Christ as the head ? If they do not live up to their profession, it is their fault, not ours. Strike out the word "religious," and you make a man an infidel at once. I wish our Government was included in this, as well as Great Britain ; for we have in the face of heaven and the world declared, that the slave-trade is piracy. But though our Government is founded on the pure principles of the gospel, like all others, it is liable to go sadly astray. I wish to address them, and to bring them to this point ; for if there is anything which can overthrow the slave-trade, it is the mild religion of Jesus, as he taught it himself. When a house is on fire, a man does not stop to ask whether the water from this stream or from that, is the best ; he says, get all you can, get water. I will not take up the time of the Convention, but I must say, that the word "religious," does, in my opinion, make the appeal stronger. You will find it said, in the book to which I have alluded, "I will have mercy, before sacrifice."

Mr. W. BALL.—I should, in a general way, be willing to give up a word, in order to save discussion ; but I cannot give up this word, "religious." I wish to call the attention of the Convention to our constitution "by moral, religious, and pacific means." The omission of this word would create a very uneasy sensation in my mind, and in that of many others.

Mr. J. T. PRICE.—In my apprehension we may all acquiesce in the words of the resolution, "moral, religious, and pacific." Certainly it is competent to any individuals going forward, should that be thought best, with a memorial to Government, to show them wherein we desire their support. It has been made apparent, that our Government not only tolerate, but retain functionaries who are slave-holders. We have agreed to appeal to Government against such a course ; and to beg that as professing Christians, they will cease to be the scoff of the nations of the world by pursuing such conduct. That is a point on which they may co-operate with us on moral, religious, and pacific grounds. But we may appeal to all Governments on the same principle, that while they have laws which do not sanction the holding of slaves, yet they have individuals called functionaries, who are really and practically, though not legally, holders of slaves. It becomes us to call on such Governments religiously to carry out their own laws. The word "religiously," as here used, does not mean that they should introduce a system or form of religion, that is a very different thing ; but it is a religious thing that Governments should be consistent on those points to which I have referred. I therefore shall agree to the retention of all these words.

Rev. J. BIRT.—It is desirable that those gentlemen who advocate the word "religious," should have the goodness to tell us what religious means they expect the Government will use.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—I have prepared an amendment, which it is competent to the CHAIRMAN to take, and I think it will meet all our views. I see that the resolution as originally drawn up, does impinge on a principle which some of us hold sacred. I am not content that it should pass in its present shape, though I do think, it is essential to the furtherance of our great object, that we should bear in mind the necessity of adopting religious means : but lest the

resolution should be construed as a call on human Governments for aid in a religious enterprize, I propose, that instead of the words, "That new means conducted on principles moral, religious, and pacific, are imperatively called for,"—we insert the following, "That in the opinion of this Convention, no means can be effectual except such as are based on moral, religious, and pacific principles." There is this marked distinction, the one asks Government to adopt religious measures; the other says, that no measures can be effectual, but such as are religious. We do not ask them to adopt measures: we leave the subject before them.

Mr. FULLER.—I second that amendment.

Rev. J. KENNEDY.—I would not utter a word on this subject, but with the hope that it may tend to reconcile the opinions of the Convention. The question seems to me to be, simply what is meant by the term religious in this document? I conceive it refers, or ought to refer only to the eternal and immutable principles of right and wrong between man and man. Now, I beg to ask those who insist on the retention of the word, if these principles are not already included in the word "moral." I understand most distinctly that they are; and I therefore ask the friends around me, if there can be the least objection to omit the term "religious," when they see some of their Dissenting brethren so sensitive in regard to the use of it, on the ground that it might be construed as suggesting the employment of direct religious measures by Government. I feel as Mr. HARVEY does in reference to this matter. As a Dissenting minister, I might be regarded as having placed my brethren in an awkward position, by allowing the adoption of that term without proper explanation. We are not here as members of the Established Church, or of Dissenting communities, but as friends of the slave; and none of us has a right to ask another to make any concession or compromise of his peculiar sentiments. It is not with any such view, that I join in urging the omission of the word under consideration; but I think that our friends will on reflection be satisfied, that all the meaning it can have in its present connexion, is already included in the term "moral."

Mr. W. D. CREWDSON.—I strongly approve of Mr. MORGAN's amendment, and therefore I rise to support it. I think that we are limiting this address too much, by confining it to our own Government, as if they were the parties exclusively who tolerate the slave-trade. I think that the Convention, constituted as it is, may advantageously take broader ground, that this address should be made to bear upon all those nations which are concerned in the prosecution of the slave-trade, and of which our own Government forms but a small part. There has been greater interest excited on this subject in our own country, than in any other nation of Europe; and it is very likely that our own Government may take it up. I think we may safely retain the word "religious," in the way in which it is now brought before us.

Mr. R. R. R. MOORE.—I have merely risen to support the amendment brought forward by Mr. MORGAN. It retains the word "religious," and for its retention I am extremely anxious. If we feel that these measures are religious, I for one am not afraid to say what I feel. If moral and pacific are included, why not speak out and say, "religious" too? Why is this objection brought forward, only when we are speaking of our own Government? When America was spoken of, there was no hesitation in calling them religious measures; but when we came home, then the cry is raised, "No, no." What do we mean by the word "religious?" I understand by it, that we recom-

mend the Government to lay aside their slave-hunting cruisers, to cast down the weapons of their warfare, and to use only the pacific means, which we declare are moral and religious, and which are the only means by which we can hope to prosper, because they are the only ones which God is likely to bless. We do not ask Government to put down the slave-trade by spreading religion; I would be the first to oppose such a proposition. We ask them to effect it by christian, instead of anti-christian means, by means which the Prince of Peace will bless.

Rev. J. H. HINTON.—I should not rise to address the Convention, did I not feel myself called upon to speak. I must make those gentlemen aware, who press for the word religious in the connexion in which it now appears, that they cannot calculate upon anything like a unanimous adoption of the resolution. Sentiments have been expressed with some energy by Scotch Dissenters; and English Dissenters feel as warmly and intensely on this point as their brethren from Scotland. If our friends attach importance to a unanimous, or a nearly unanimous vote, something must be done to get rid of the term religious as it here stands. The word "Christian" might be better than religious. I am not sure that I might not vote in favour of Mr. MORGAN's amendment; but that has not received unanimous support. It appears to me, however, that there is no need at all, for a reference to Governments of any kind. The series of resolutions is expressive of the opinions of the Convention; and I do not see why the second resolution should not be limited in the same way. It might commence, "That it is the opinion of this Convention." I propose that those words be substituted for the words, "That a communication be made by this Convention to the Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, declaring their opinion." There could then be nothing obnoxious in the retention of the word "religious."

Mr. W. MORGAN.—Mr. HINTON's suggestion accords with my intention.

Rev. J. BIRT.—I second Mr. HINTON's amendment.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I shall vote myself against the retention of the word "religious," for this reason, if for no other, that there are individuals here who take a deep interest in this cause, who have some scruples of conscience regarding its retention. It conflicts with their views—well or ill founded—of the right of Governments to interfere in matters of religion. It is enough for me to know, that individuals thus understand it. But I would vote against it for another reason; it is utterly unnecessary; we do not need the word "religious" in this connexion. If you employ it in the sense alluded to, by at least one of the Gentlemen who have addressed us, then you employ it in a sense obnoxious to many of those who think with him; if you employ it in the sense which has been referred to, and in which I believe it was the intention of the framers of the resolution to use it, then it is purely tautological, and of course unnecessary. As to the substitution of the word, "Christian" for "religious," I should have an equally strong objection to it. The truth is, that there is not a human being on the face of the earth who has any moral sentiments in his nature—and the Jew and the Mohammedan may have moral sentiments,—who would not, if those sentiments were appealed to, and excited to activity, wish an end put to the iniquities of the slave-trade and of slavery. I believe that there is enough of morality in all these individuals, if it were rightly directed, to overthrow the whole system. I, for one, with all the veneration which I entertain for Christianity, am opposed to so narrowing the anti-slavery platform, that persons of all opinions in religion, and of all

parties in politics, cannot stand upon it. Every individual on the surface of the globe, who carries a heart in his bosom, which can sympathise with outraged humanity in the persons of our coloured brethren, is, in virtue of the possession of such a heart, and such sympathies, every way qualified to come on to the anti-slavery platform. Whether he recognises your form of religion, or my form, or no form of religion at all, he has that within him, which will lead to the overthrow of this atrocious system. Let us welcome to an equal place on our platform every advocate of this cause, without asking what are his views of church Government—without inquiring whether he is an Episcopalian, a Quaker, an Unitarian, or a Dissenter of any kind, or even a religionist of any kind.

The CHAIRMAN.—To which amendment do you speak ?

Mr. BRADBURN.—There is such a mixture of amendments that I cannot tell. I can only say, that I shall vote against the word “religious” being retained, and also against the amendment, which proposes to substitute for it the word “Christian.” Let us not narrow the resolution by employing either of these words, and least of all, in such a sense, that we Christians cannot agree to it ourselves.

Dr. PRICE.—I confess there is much in the statement made by the gentleman who has just sat down, with which I agree ; but there is also much from which I am compelled to dissent ; and I should be sorry for such a statement to go forth and meet the public mind, with the supposition that it was acquiesced in by us. With all my high veneration for those principles which pervade every department of God’s moral administration, I cannot hold that morality in the ordinary sense of the term, is competent to, or has ever achieved, that which we seek. We ought, in consistency with other general principles, to introduce into all benignant measures—such especially as are before us, on the present occasion—a particular reference to that holy faith which teaches us to do unto others, as we would that others should do unto us. I am decidedly in favour of the term “religious” being retained ; and I shall support either Mr. MORGAN’s or Mr. HINTON’s amendment, which ever was first before the meeting.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—I adopt Mr. HINTON’s as an addition to my own.

Dr. PRICE.—I have frequently been surprised to see how, in the progress of the discussion, our judgments upon one question are beclouded, and somewhat led astray by prejudices drawn from another. The terms Dissenter and Churchman have unhappily been here employed. I, thorough Dissenter as I am, have been greatly surprised that any possible objection could be entertained to the wording or the sentiments of this amendment, derived from the source whence they have been taken. The amendment is, “that in the opinion of this Convention, no means could be effectual, except such as should be conducted on moral, religious, and pacific principles.” I feel no hesitation in saying, that whatever the nature of the proceedings may be, in order to approve themselves to my mind, and to be entitled to my support, they must be based on principles such as these. If there had been anything in the phraseology, binding this Convention to an expression of opinion about ecclesiastical polity, in all or any of its varied forms, I should have been one of the first to express dissent from the language ; but principle only being here referred to, the epithet does seem to me most appropriate, and as such would be most cordially approved by me.

Rev. T. SCALES.—It is thought desirable that these resolutions should be

adopted as introductory to an address to all the crowned heads of Europe ; or all the different powers and religions involved in the support of slavery ; therefore, if we take away the ground of religion, we shall deprive ourselves of many of the strongest foundations of appeal.

The amendments were then all withdrawn, with the exception of Mr. MORGAN'S, incorporating Mr. HINTON'S, which was submitted to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I will suggest an amendment upon one point, on which I think discussion will be unnecessary. The state of Alabama, has passed a law rendering every coloured person who may now enter its territory, liable to perpetual slavery, if any of the coloured gentlemen now before me, or any other coloured person, a subject of this Government were to-day to enter the City of Mobile, any white person could immediately seize upon him and reduce him to slavery for life. In others of the slave-holding states, the following provision exists ; on the arrival of coloured mariners or servants, the authorities are directed to seize them, and detain them in jail, till the vessel is ready to sail, and then they are to be restored to the Captain of the vessel on his paying the costs. I propose then to add, "As also to such persons as have been, or may, in consequence of their entering the limits of countries in which slavery exists as aforesaid, be reduced to slavery."

Colonel MILLER.—I second the amendment.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—I wish to know whether you are prepared to state, on your own responsibility, as a positive fact, that in the state of Alabama, a British coloured freeman is liable to be made a slave ; and if so, whether there are any instances of British freemen having been made slaves in consequence of that law.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I am not prepared to say that such a case has occurred. But the law which was passed only about eighteen months ago, makes no distinction between nations, but refers solely to colour, and authorises the reduction to slavery of every coloured person arriving there under any circumstances.

Mr. O'CONNELL.—That is a violation of the law of nations. International law never permits a lawful subject of one nation to be reduced to slavery by another. I shall feel it my duty to ask LORD JOHN RUSSELL, whether he is aware that such a law exists.

Mr. BIRNEY.—That laws for the imprisonment of coloured strangers exist in several of the states, there is no doubt ; and that they have been acted upon in reference to citizens of other parts of the United States, I am prepared fully to affirm. The law passed in Alabama, I believe, is an unconstitutional one, in violation of the law of the United States. But the difficulty is this, there is no one in Alabama who could undertake to advocate the rights of a person reduced to slavery by it, without incurring great personal hazard. This is the reason why I wish to see this law brought to the knowledge of the civilized world, and branded as disgraceful to a civilized power. If this should pass, I shall propose an amendment to the second resolution, and to make it more general than it now is. It may be asked, why address this to Great Britain alone, when all the nations of the civilized world are equally pledged with her to put an end to the slave-trade. The amendment will be to this effect, "That these addresses be sent to each civilized state ;"—making

it applicable to their own citizens only, on whose behalf they would have a right to interfere.

Mr. FULLER.—I ask if the word “civilized,” cannot be spared? No matter whether a man comes from a civilized or an uncivilized country; he has human rights let him come from where he may.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—I merely wish to advert to a fact, for the purpose of conveying information to the meeting. The free subjects of her MAJESTY’s Government going from Jamaica, have been sold in America. The daughter of a nobleman, a young lady, who was a member of a Baptist church at Montego Bay, went in the capacity of Governess to one of the slave-holding states of America; she was there sold as a slave, and is a slave now.

Mr. O’CONNELL.—Will Mr. KNIBB give me that fact in writing, with the date?

Rev. W. KNIBB.—Certainly. As soon as the MARQUIS of SLIGO heard of it, he sent out a British man-of-war to demand the lady, but she could not be obtained, and is still there as a slave. There are others who have gone out in similar capacities, who have been sold in the same way. Unless some steps are taken, it is impossible to say where the system will end. Indeed, to such a pitch has it arrived, that we think it necessary in Jamaica to warn every coloured person, not to go on board an American ship. Some of the American Captains are in the habit of taking coloured men from New York, and when they arrive at Jamaica, they ship them as slaves to other ports. I had the happiness of rescuing one the other day. I was told by the American Consul, that it would create a war between Great Britain and America. I replied, let it come, I care not for that. We fought the battle at Falmouth, and we proved that an American citizen, or slave, the moment he touched Jamaica was a freeman.

Mr. O’CONNELL.—If the Government do not interfere for the protection of British subjects, but allow them thus to be deprived of their freedom, and converted into slaves; I have no hesitation in saying, that no one ought to pay a single penny in the shape of taxes.

Mr. STANTON.—There are 800,000 free blacks, British subjects, in the West Indies; and if you do not take care the Americans will, in a few years, get hold of them all.

The amendment was then passed unanimously.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I would frame the resolution so that it should apply to all nations which have entered into treaties for the suppression of the slave-trade. I see no impropriety in sending it to them if it should be found necessary. It has been suggested, that it would be well not to send another address; but we should not be involved, perhaps, in such an incongruity as if we were to allow it to pass in its present form, because the question would arise, Why address the British Government, when all other Governments are equally pledged to suppress the slave trade?

Mr. TURNBULL.—I will second it.

Rev. J. H. HINTON.—The amendment renders it impossible to pass the original resolution.

Mr. BIRNEY.—Then I will withdraw it.

Captain WAUCHOPE.—The resolutions state that the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade have lamentably failed. That is a sentiment with which I cannot fully accord. I hold in my hand a

letter from an officer of high rank on the Cape station, from which I beg to read the following extract :—" The cruisers have been very fortunate, having taken upwards of ninety slavers during the year 1839, mostly empty, indeed, or without outward cargoes ; but the loss to the slave-dealers must have been most severe. I hope the trade is completely knocked up, at many of the principal ports of export. At some, the slave agents have asked our cruisers to carry them away, as their business was at an end. This is very satisfactory, and the new Slave Act which has come into play, since the beginning of January, will make their trade still more difficult ; but they have not given it up yet on the Brazil coast, for by a letter from Rio, I find no less than forty vessels were fitting there last month for this vile traffic. The Columbine had taken six in a short time, and the Modeste has done the same." With such facts as these before us, it cannot be said, that the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade, have lamentably failed ; indeed, so long as slaves are brought from the coast of Africa, there must be men-of-war stationed there for the protection of the legitimate trade, as from the unprincipled characters of those men commanding slavers, when they fail in obtaining a cargo of human beings, they have no hesitation in attempting to better their fortunes by turning pirates.

The resolutions were then put, and carried by a large majority in the following form :—

That it is extremely desirable that provisions should be made by the laws of those nations, where slavery is tolerated, for giving full and effectual relief to persons illegally imported and held in slavery, in consequence of such illegal importation, and to their offspring ; as also to such persons as have been, or may, in consequence of their entering the limits of countries in which slavery exists as aforesaid, be reduced to slavery.

That in the opinion of this Convention, the present means in operation for the suppression of the slave-trade, have lamentably failed of success ; that the sufferings of the slaves have been greatly augmented ; that vast sums of money have been fruitlessly expended ; and that no means can be effectual, except such as are based on moral, religious, and pacific principles.

That it is the opinion of the Committee, that the scheme of Mr. TURNBULL as explained by him in his statement submitted to this Convention, on the 17th inst., though it involves questions of detail, into which this Convention cannot enter, is, in its object and purpose, and several of its suggestions, of great practical importance ; and demands the earliest attention of the Governments represented in the Mixed Commission Courts : but that the only security for the extinction of the slave-trade is the universal abolition of slavery.

That the most cordial thanks of this Convention be given to Mr. TURNBULL, for the unwearied zeal, and able exertion with which he has prosecuted the object.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—It is due to WILLIAM FORSTER to state to the Convention, that he is desirous of not being misunderstood. He was willing to withdraw the word “religious,” because some gentlemen were afraid that it might entrench on a religious question, not because we are unprepared to lay our principles fully before the world.

Mr. TURNBULL.—For the sake of placing the principles of my system on the records of this Convention, I beg to read the following series of resolutions, without intending to press them to a division.

That the *primum mobile* of the African slave-trade, is to be found in the high rate of profit which the dealer derives from it.

That if that rate of profit could be reduced to the ordinary rate of lawful commerce, there would be no temptation to its continuance.

That by the law of Spain and Brazil, and by subsisting treaties and conventions between these and other countries, the practice of the slave-trade is recognised as illegal in Spain and Brazil.

That if these laws, treaties, and conventions, had been fully and faithfully carried into effect, the slave-trade to Spain and Brazil, must have shared the fate of that trade to the other regions of the new world.

That it is therefore desirable that further efforts should be made to obtain the faithful execution of these laws, treaties, and conventions.

That the universal recognition of the principle of a presumption in favour of freedom, in the absence of direct evidence to the contrary, would greatly conduce to these desirable ends.

That this presumption would throw on the possessor of a slave the burden of proving his pretended right of property; even in those countries where the practice of slavery is still unhappily carried on.

That in virtue of subsisting treaties with Spain and Brazil, tribunals called Courts of Mixed Commission, have been established at the Havana and at Rio de Janeiro, for adjudicating on various questions connected with the African Slave-Trade.

That in these Courts, English Judges enjoy a concurrent jurisdiction with Spanish and Brazilian Judges.

That if the jurisdiction of these Courts of Mixed Commission were so extended as to give them the power of inquiring into the right of an African, the victim of the slave-trade, to his freedom, under the laws of the country in which they respectively sit, such victim would be better enabled to achieve the recovery of his freedom.

That such recovery of freedom would be farther facilitated by the appointment in each of these Courts of one or more English officers, concurrently with native officers, invested with the powers of a public prosecutor, and charged with the duty of asserting the right of imported Africans to their freedom.

That a Committee of this Convention be authorized to address itself by memorial, or petition, or deputation, or otherwise, to the British Government, for the purpose of inducing the negotiation of new treaties, for so extending the powers of these Mixed Courts, as to give practical effect to the presumption in favour of freedom.

That the Government of his MAJESTY THE KING of the FRENCH, be in like manner addressed, entreating the beneficent co-operation of that Government in the attainment of this object.

That a memorial be transmitted to the Government of his IMPERIAL MAJESTY, the EMPEROR of Brazil, on the part of this Convention, entreating that Government to accede to the demands of justice and humanity.

That a deputation from this Convention be sent to the Court of her CATHOLIC MAJESTY, beseeching the Government of the QUEEN to give practical effect to the promises and professions of that Government, that the slave-trade would be no longer tolerated within the dependencies of her MAJESTY's Crown.

MR. W. FORSTER.—I wish to offer a few words on the internal slave-trade of the North American Union. It was adverted to two or three days ago, and obtained considerable attention ; but that did not appear to be the time for bringing forward a resolution on the subject. I now hold one in my hand which I will lay before the Convention.

That this Convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow, of the extent to which the internal slave-trade is carried on, from the older to the more newly settled slave-states of the North American Union, to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually, of this unrighteous traffic.

That in expressing their detestation of this unrighteous traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence that this traffic should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave-trade, and declared it to be piracy ; this Convention is impressed with the conviction, that such a systematic trade in man, is attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involves in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart in the oppressor. It is at the same time its

deliberate judgment, that the only effectual remedy for this enormous evil, is, the utter abolition of slavery.

When the subject was before the Convention on a former occasion, I could have added my personal testimony to the truth of the statements then advanced, having travelled through the southern states in the winter of 1824. I know not, however, that I can adduce facts more striking, than those which were then brought forward. I, therefore, preferred hearing the recital of others, rather than addressing the Convention myself. But I have not forgotten, and it is impossible that I ever should forget, the impression made on my mind at that time, of the enormity and iniquity of the trade, which I there saw prosecuted between the older and the more newly settled states of the Union. If this resolution should be adopted, I shall then be desirous to advert to the circumstances in which we are placed, in reference to the Brazils and the Brazilian slave-trade. I trust, that it will not be considered an unsuitable digression. One reason for introducing it in this incidental way is, that the Committee are not yet in possession of sufficient data to bring it regularly before the Convention.

Colonel MILLER.—I rise to second the resolution already before the Convention. It will be recollected, that in the formation of the Constitution in 1787, full power was given by the States to Congress, to regulate the commerce between the Union and foreign powers. Under this clause, in 1808, Congress abolished the slave-trade; but in 1820, finding that they had done little or no good, Congress declared before the world, under the same power, the slave-trade to be piracy. But still they have never to this day punished as a pirate, one single individual engaged in it. To regulate the commerce between the States, is declared to be unconstitutional, but it only requires the same sanction which gave Congress power to settle the commerce with foreign states. Hence, though no abolition petitions are allowed to go to Congress, still we call upon them to show the moral difference between taking a man from Africa and selling him as a slave in Virginia, and breaking up all the relations of life, by carrying him from Virginia to the more southern states. I could detail horrors as great connected with the internal slave-trade, as were ever witnessed on the coast of Africa. It is a solemn fact, proved beyond all dispute, that in three years, 90,000 slaves were introduced into the Mississippi. They are put in coffes, and driven through the states with a cart-whip. Many of them carried the flag of the United States, with its stripes floating in the air, and were accompanied by the playing of a fiddle. To add to the disgrace of the scene, children that could not walk on account of their years, were stowed like pigs in a cart, and carried to the place where they were to be sold. Indeed, two-thirds of our sufferings in the United States at this time, arise from the sale of slaves on credit. It has been declared, I believe, that the sales in Mississippi, at the time of which I have spoken, are all void, under a particular clause in the constitution of that state; nevertheless, they keep the slaves.

Mr. STANTON.—I am sorry to be obliged to move an amendment to this resolution, but I believe that it is not correct in point of fact; and that it may somewhat hamper the abolitionists of the United States, if the last clause is retained. The words are, "That it is at the same time its deliberate judgment," that is, of this Convention, "that the only effectual remedy for this enormous evil is the utter abolition of slavery." Now, although I agree in the

general proposition laid down by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, that the only effectual remedy for the slave-trade is the utter abolition of slavery, yet the principle on which this assertion is based, does not, I apprehend, strictly apply to the internal slave-trade of the United States; and that for two or three reasons. First, while Congress has not the power of extinguishing slavery in the several states of the Union, it has the power, by a direct act, to destroy the internal slave-trade. That comes within its jurisdiction; therefore it is not true that the extinction of this trade necessarily depends on the entire abolition of slavery throughout the Union. Secondly, while we do not petition Congress for the entire abolition of slavery, because it has no such constitutional ability, yet, we have a right (and we exercise that right) to call upon it to abolish the internal slave-trade, which is clearly within its power. Thirdly, the entire abrogation of the internal slave-trade would, directly and indirectly, tend to destroy the whole system of slavery; because it is this trade which makes slavery profitable in both parts of the Union. Therefore, the latter clause of the resolution would operate against our movements in the United States.

MR. O'CONNELL.—I should regret if any such consequences followed from the passing of this resolution; but it must be evident to all, that there are two ways of abolishing the slave-trade; the one, nominally, by law; the other, effectually, that is, in reality. America has abolished the slave-trade nominally, but not in reality: for, so long as slavery exists in that country, the law will be evaded, and smuggling will take place. I think, therefore, that the resolution is full of good common sense; it only says, that the effectual way of destroying the slave-trade is by abolishing slavery. Everybody must admit that if the slave-trade was abolished, slavery would accompany it, and *vice versa*.

MR. BRADBURN.—I coincide in opinion with the honourable member for Dublin. If Congress were to pass a law, to terminate the internal slave-traffic, I do not believe that it would have any great practical effect on that traffic. It would require a standing army of 600,000 soldiers to enforce it; they would smuggle the slaves from one state to another, in spite of all that could be done. The chief object—and I submit to my colleagues from America, whether that would not be the case—in getting Congress to pass such a law, would be, to hold up before the nation, a great moral principle. They might enact the law, but unless slavery itself were abolished, the contraband traffic would be continued.

REV. E. GALUSHA.—Would it not harmonise us, if we recognised the distinction between the nominal and effectual abolition of the slave-trade?

REV. J. CARLILE.—If you say “the most effectual,” instead of “the only effectual,” it will remove the difficulty.

MR. FULLER.—I am glad that WILLIAM FORSTER has drawn our attention to this subject. I go heart and hand with him in that resolution; and I hope, that with the insertion of one word, the Convention will adopt it. It says the “old states of the Union” it is not applicable to them all; and therefore it would be better to say, “some of the old states.” I wish to give the meeting some idea of what the internal slave-trade of America is; and I shall do so, by simply stating, that in a year or two, the slaves in the Mississippi, increased from 60,000 to 160,000. With the permission of the meeting, I will read a clause or two, from a Bill passed by the Legislature of the State of Maryland. Section the first, imposes a penalty of 20 dollars on any

free negro or mulatto coming into Maryland from any other state, whether to settle there or not; and for coming in a second time, having been once arrested under this law, or for remaining in the state five days after paying the 20 dollars, a penalty of 500 dollars, one-half to the informer, and the other half to the Maryland Colonization Society. Any free negro or mulatto refusing or neglecting to pay the penalty in either case, is to be sold as a slave, the proceeds to go in case of the smaller penalty to the Sheriff; and in case of the larger, one-half after deducting charges, and ten per cent. for the Sheriff, to the Colonization Society. Section the sixth, requires the Court to bind out till of age, all minor children of the persons sold under sections three and four, and provides that the interest in them, that is, in the poor man's child, shall be transferable as personal property to any person in the state, but that they shall not be removed out of it. Section seventh, provides that the Act shall not be construed to interfere with the provisions of the Acts in favour of free people of colour, visiting Liberia and the British Colonies. This is a specimen of the internal slave-trade.

Colonel MILLER.—I do not understand the nature of the objection to the resolution.

Mr. STANTON.—My objection is this. In our discussion in the United States, we frequently allude to the abolition of the foreign slave-trade by the Congress. Now Congress, under that same clause of the constitution, by which it had the power to abolish the foreign slave-trade, has the power to abolish the internal slave-trade. We allude to the former, as one of the grounds, why it ought not to tolerate the latter; and to show the inconsistency of the same nation suppressing the one and tolerating the other. I think we ought to proceed on the ground, that if Congress does abolish the internal trade, it will do it in good faith, and with a determination to pledge the whole power of the general Government to its prevention. With regard to its being an effectual remedy, it might not be effectual to all intents and purposes; neither is the abolition of slavery by law totally effectual for the abolition of oppression. This is shown in the West Indies. But you have taken the first step; a very important and very long stride towards the entire overthrow of not only slavery, but the possibility of it, in future, in those islands. The abolitionists of the United States stand on comparatively narrow ground. They have no Imperial Parliament to which they can appeal, and demand that it say to slavery, "Thus far thou shalt come, and no further, and here thy proud waves shall be stayed." We have no such power; the ground is narrow enough now, and we ask you not to narrow it still more. It is chiefly moral influence which we can exert upon the question in the United States; such as you would have been called to exercise upon the West Indies, had there been no Imperial Parliament. Permit me to ask, what would have been your condition, if your only hope had been an appeal to the generosity and humanity of the Colonial Legislatures? Why, the era of abolition would have been stretched out to the crack of doom. It was only because power was lodged in the British Parliament, that you achieved your victory. We have but two or three points on which we can petition the general Government. One is, the abolition of slavery in the district of Columbia; another, the prohibition of the internal slave-trade. Pass this resolution; bring the whole moral influence of this Convention to assent the proposition, that the only effectual mode of abolishing this accursed traffic is by the entire abrogation of slavery throughout the Union; and in Congress we shall thus be met,

"Your own Convention has declared that the only effectual remedy for the internal slave-trade is the abolition of slavery. Then, why come here with petitions in regard to this trade? Why not appeal with your moral power to the southern states, to adopt the only method which can be effectual?" If Congress will but pass a law, prohibiting this wicked traffic, and pledge the General Government to carry it out, they can as effectually put an end to the slave-trade, as you could to slavery in your West India colonies. Suppose it be true, that before you can effectually abolish slavery, you must destroy the spirit of oppression in the mind of man; nevertheless, legislation is necessary to deliver the slave out of his grasp.

Mr. W. FORSTER.—As I trust the Convention will allow me to propose another resolution, which is more likely to meet with their entire concurrence, I consent to the withdrawal of the present motion.

The Convention assented to the proposal.

Mr. W. FORSTER.—I had hoped to have had it in my power to lay before the Convention, some circumstances connected with slavery in the Brazils, and the slave-trade carried on from the coast of Africa to that country. I regret to say, that the papers which are annually laid before Parliament are not yet published; and, therefore, I am not in possession of the documents which I anticipated. I must, therefore, content myself with the data furnished by the papers of last session. During the year 1838, eighty-four vessels, under the Portuguese flag, entered the port of Rio de Janeiro, and by them 36,974 slaves were imported. But, although the number of vessels, and of slaves imported was less than in the preceding year, the trade cannot be considered as having diminished; for the reduced number of slaves imported in 1838, is to be accounted for, by several of the traders having ordered their vessels to discharge at other ports of Brazil, and fit out from thence. Therefore, this return only refers to the particular province of Rio de Janeiro. In reference to these imports, allow me to state, that in the month of "January, 1838," there were eight vessels containing 4242 slaves. There was one vessel from the eastern coast of Africa, which landed no less than 800 slaves at Sepetiba. In the month of "February," in the same year, the number of vessels was five, with a total of 3652 slaves. One of the imports was a vessel from Angola, which landed 829 slaves at the beach, behind Fort Santa Cruz. Another was a vessel from the eastern coast, with no less than 1050 slaves. Let gentlemen think for a moment of the degree to which these human beings must be cramped up and packed together, to be carried across the Atlantic, so as to land this large amount on the coast of Brazil, to say nothing of the extent of mortality which must have occurred upon the middle passage. There is nothing, perhaps, upon which we find ourselves more at a loss than to bring home numbers to our minds. If it were possible for us to see every one of these individuals pass in review before us; on their egress from the slave vessel, it might make some impression upon us, indeed, I am sure it would. There are, however, scores of such instances; but I will not trouble the Convention with many quotations. The ship, Cintra, from Mozambique:—"This vessel sailed some months ago for Mozambique from this port, she there took in a cargo of 970 slaves, 214 of these died on the passage from small-pox; the remaining 756 were landed in a very sickly state at San Sebastian. She then proceeded to the Cape de Verd islands, and has now returned with a cargo of salt, to fit out for another voyage." "The brig-

schooner *Esperanca*, from Cabinda, landed 400 slaves, in a very sickly state, at Ilha Grande. There were a great many deaths among the slaves during the voyage, in consequence of being too much crowded." "In August, the barque *Commodore*, from Quillimane, embarked 685 slaves; of these 300 died, during the voyage, of ophthalmia and small-pox; and the remaining 385 were landed at Taipu, close to the entrance of Rio de Janeiro, and taken to the depository of JOAO MACHADO CARDOSO, at the Bay of Jurujuba. Of the number of slaves reported to have died, eighty were thrown overboard while yet alive." "The brig-schooner, *Arcania*, from Cabinda, landed 500 slaves at Ilha Grande. In the landing, two canoes with fifty slaves upset from the heavy swell, and all on board perished, including the Portuguese, named Malta, who had charge of the landing." There are various other instances of cargoes to a very large amount. There are a few notes, extracted from this Parliamentary document, stating the circumstances under which the slave-trade is carried on in Rio de Janeiro. "There are four large depositories for slaves in the vicinity of this city. The most considerable is that at the bay of Jurujuba, which is supported by JORGE JOSE DE SOUZA, JOSE BERNARDINO DE SA, JOSE PIMENTA, JUN., and JOAO MACHADO CARDOSO, who have occasionally had there as many as 6000 slaves on sale.—The second in magnitude is that at the Ponta de Caju, where there are warehouses close to the beach, for the reception of slaves; and at all times there are many of these miserable beings on sale.—The other two depositories of Botafogo and St. Clemente, are not so extensive as those first mentioned, but occasionally they are well supplied with slaves.—In many houses in the public streets of this city, and in the suburbs, there are from sixty to one hundred slaves continually on sale. At the town of Itagoahy, near to Ilha Grande, slaves are as openly sold, as they were at the slave-market of this city, before the prohibition of the trade, by the treaty with Brazil."—"The slave cargoes are regularly insured by the Assurance Companies, and individual underwriters of this city. And there exists a company for lending money on respondentia for slave cargoes."—There is a short extract from a letter, written by "VISCOUNT PALMERSTON to LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN, I send to your LORDSHIP a copy of a resolution, which was voted unanimously by the House of Commons on Thursday, the 10th May instant, to the effect, that an humble address should be presented to her MAJESTY, representing to her MAJESTY, that the slave-trade still continues with great intensity, and that it has even been aggravated in all its horrors." The next is from "MR. JERNINGHAM to VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, Lisbon, September 20, 1838:—I must do VISCOUNT DE SA the justice to say, that in the course of our conversation, he warmly expressed his anxiety to see the slave-trade abolished, not only on account of its cruelty, since the negro differed from ourselves only in colour; but also because the African colonies of Portugal could never flourish while it lasted, though possessing vast capabilities of prosperity. He observed, moreover, that the importation of slaves into Brazil was immense, and that they are cheaper than when the traffic was legal, there being now no duty upon them."—Then there is an extract from the draft of a note to be presented by LORD HOWARD DE WALDEN, to the Portuguese Government, transmitted by VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, under date of April 20th, 1839. "The African seas and the Atlantic, swarm with vessels bearing the flag of Portugal, and loaded deep with human victims. In 1837, forty-eight vessels bearing the Portuguese flag, entered the port of Havana

after having landed slaves in the neighbourhood ; and in 1838, forty-four Portuguese vessels followed in the same course ; and reckoning, upon an average, 443 slaves for each vessel, the number of slaves landed in Cuba by these Portuguese vessels, must have been at least 40,700. But the number of Portuguese slave-vessels which carry on the trade with Brazil, is still greater. At Rio de Janeiro, above ninety-three slave-vessels, under the Portuguese flag, are reported as having entered the port in the year 1837 ; and as having landed in the province to which that capital belongs, the enormous number of 41,600 slaves. In the year 1838, eighty-four Portuguese vessels, landed in the same province, 36,700 slaves. It will be observed, that this calculation does not include the number of Portuguese slave-vessels, which resort to other places in Cuba, besides the Havana, nor to any other provinces in Brazil, but that of Rio de Janeiro. To these must again be added, the number which founder at sea, and the number of those which are captured and condemned, which, at Sierra Leone, amounted to thirty-six, in the two years, 1837 and 1838." There is only one more quotation which I will make. It is from VISCOUNT PALMERSTON to the BARON DE MONCORVO, and is dated April 30th, 1836. "The cruelty with which the trade is carried on, has not been lessened in these latter days. It has been stated during the very last year, that in these slave-ships, hundreds of negroes are, during long voyages, crammed into spaces far too small to contain them without the greatest degree of bodily suffering ; that the slave-traders, when chased, are in the habit of throwing overboard into the sea, those negroes whose health has broken down under the torture of their confinement ; and that in order to lighten their ship, and facilitate their escape, they actually drown such of their cargo as are not likely to be profitable for sale in the market to which they are going." I should have been very glad if some of these facts could have come before the Convention, previous to the appointment of the Committee that is to prepare some document relative to British subjects, holding shares in mines situated in Brazil, because I think it would have enabled us to express ourselves a little more strongly on that subject. In connexion with that opinion, I will read three or four lines from her MAJESTY'S COMMISSIONERS to VISCOUNT PALMERSTON, dated Rio de Janeiro, 14th July, 1838. "It will not, we hope, be regarded as irrelevant to this subject, if we again advert to the indirect, if it should not rather be called the direct, interest which British merchants and British capital in Brazil, derive from the slave-trade." I hope the Convention will mark the following words, "With what but British goods is the African market, the freight which is to be bartered for the slave, supplied ? With what but slave-labour are the works, originating in British capital and enterprise, carried on in this country ? How are the various mines, which, but for similar support, would soon become inoperative, worked ? NOT BY FREE BUT BY SLAVE-LABOUR."

Mr. STACEY.—I hope this Convention will adopt some proceedings founded on the information now communicated to it. I believe the subject will form one of the most important features in the operations of the Convention. It involves as great an amount of misery and of iniquity, as any which has hitherto been brought before us. At the same time, I am aware that we are not in possession of such direct, personal information, as to invest it with that extent of interest which some others have created. We must rest satisfied with dry statistical facts ; they are not, however, on that account the less important.

Rev. JOHN GRAHAM, (of York), moved,

That a committee be appointed to consider the subject of the slave-trade in Brazil, consisting of Captain WAUCHOPE, WILLIAM BALL, WILLIAM FORSTER, and GEORGE STACEY, Esqrs., and that they report to the Convention at the next sitting.

MR. J. FORSTER seconded the resolution, which was put and carried unanimously.

Rev. T. SWAN.—I rise to submit to the Convention, a resolution in relation to our noble Missionaries in Jamaica, and I desire that it should be adopted, not so much for their honour, or to do them justice, for they stand higher than that, but for the honour of this Convention, and that it may do justice to itself. It is to the following effect :—

That this Convention, having heard with the deepest interest and the greatest satisfaction, the proofs adduced by the Rev. WILLIAM KNIBB and the Rev. JOHN CLARK, of the moral advancement, the orderly behaviour, and the Christian progress of the emancipated labourers of Jamaica, expresses its warmest sympathies with those devoted and calumniated men, Mr. KNIBB and his coadjutors; who, under circumstances of much excitement and great difficulty, have, by their prudence, firmness, and Christian courage, protected their coloured brethren in the enjoyment of those equal rights, and that entire independence which were intended by the great act of emancipation, and which the liberality of the British people gives them a right to demand.

It is pretty well known to most of the members of this Convention, that Mr. KNIBB has been called everything but a gentleman. A respected ministerial brother, on one occasion, at Birmingham, furnished us with a catalogue of the names by which he has been designated. He has been called a devil; but he generally goes by the name of the DANIEL O'CONNELL, of Jamaica. Certainly that is *multum in parvo*. The American abolitionists stand high; we admire them, the women as well as the men. But a higher honour still awaits the abolitionists of America and Jamaica, that of being subjected to the frowns of the wicked in high places; that of being maligned and persecuted for righteousness' sake. This is not surprising; but their characters, I am bold to say, will stand the test; they will come forth from this furnace as gold, seven times purified. God is with them, the shadow of his protection is extended over them, and he will keep them as the apple of his eye. But I will not trespass on the valuable time of this Convention, in whose proceedings I have been so deeply interested. As to men in power, I have no faith in them: they may be clever men, but they are not great men. I do not mention names, but in reference to some of them, I am bound to say, that they are the degenerate plants, not of strange, but, which renders it worse, of noble vines. We must take this business into our own hands. If I may be allowed, I will express my thanks to the distinguished individual near me,

MR. O'CONNELL, to whom I feel grateful, not only for speaking, but for acting eloquently.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—I rise with the very greatest pleasure to second the motion which has now been made. I do think that the cause of abolition in our West India islands, owes much, not only to the labours, but to the courage and Christian prudence with which the Missionaries have transacted, not only the important business on which they went, that of preaching the gospel, but the firmness with which they resisted the attempts made to silence them in proclaiming it. I believe that, had it not been for the insane efforts—for I can designate them by no other name—of the planters, to silence the Missionaries, and the noble resistance which they made to them, our cause would not have advanced with such rapidity as it has done. It was the attempt to banish Missionaries from the islands, the way in which many were treated, particularly the martyred SMITH, combined with the noble stand made by LORD BROUGHAM in Parliament, in vindicating the liberties of those devoted men of God, that carried the torch of liberty through the land, gave a more vigorous tone to public opinion, and roused many to action, who never acted in the cause of the slave before. And now that emancipation has been carried in our West India islands, I believe that the presence of the Missionaries there, and the manner in which they have come forward, although some have thought proper to vituperate them for it, to promote the best interests of those committed to their care, in all the relations of life—has tended much to secure the peacefulness of the negroes, and has had a powerful effect in preventing the evil consequences which might have resulted from the treatment they have received. I am certain that their firmness and prudence will be required to secure for the emancipated negroes of Jamaica, all the blessings which we hope they will derive from the emancipation accorded to them.

MR. O'CONNELL.—I cannot be silent upon this motion of thanks to my friend MR. KNIBB. I really would prefer—though I confess I cannot express my sentiments in adequate terms of admiration of the conduct he has pursued, and of gratitude for his services—yet I would infinitely prefer that my tongue should do discredit to my intellect, in attempting to speak his merits justly, than that my heart should be restricted from the expression of my affectionate gratitude to a man who has done so much, and suffered so much, in the cause of the negro, as my friend KNIBB. Gentlemen who live here in security, little know what perils he has gone through; they little know that he has this merit, that of having excited the animosity and the hatred of every enemy of morality, religion, and liberty in Jamaica. In proportion as any man favoured the vicious system of slavery there, he would hate the advocate of freedom; and of course, when all bad passions and sinister interests were combined in one impulse in favour of slavery, the potency of those who favoured slavery must have been immense; and among the white population, so potent were the enemies of MR. KNIBB, they did not confine themselves to nick-names and abuse, they not only called him the very DANIEL O'CONNELL of Jamaica, and if they could, in their opinion, have called him worse, they would have done it; but they have traced him in every possible way. His path has been beset with vilification and calumny. His person has been seized, and for daring to thank God, that he had escaped from the necessity of recourse to arms to protect him; for no greater crime than that, he was manacled, fettered, and cast into prison, and

many regret that they did not turn him into a martyr, by putting him to death. But did this intimidate the intrepid KNIBB? No; it gave him true agitation courage; and he determined to act with three-fold greater zeal against the enemies of Christianity and freedom, than he had ever displayed before. It is not only the purity of his intentions, his exertions, and the success which has accompanied them, which deserve our approbation; but it is the talent, the tact, and the perseverance with which he has followed up his exertions in favour of his coloured brethren. He has now the glorious spectacle around him of those who were prevented from thinking of blood and of retribution, coming forward to embrace every good work, to declare their belief in the Redeemer; anxious for the education of their children; cultivating their own lands, and from slaves becoming freemen, ye, and freeholders too; looking for protection by law, by means of their representatives in the assembly; looking no longer even to England, but able to assert their own claims, able to protect themselves by the strength of their right arm, if necessary; but still more satisfactorily by their power in the legislative body of those isles. To Mr. KNIBB, and those who participated with him, much of these results are due. We can now cast an eye of complacency on the perils they have gone through, the difficulties they have overcome, and the salutary example they have given to other countries, of the facility of working out negro emancipation. What a lesson does it not teach to America and to the Brazils; what a living picture does it not present of the facility of working out emancipation, and the perfect safety of doing justice. Oh! it would be a libel on, and a blasphemy against, the God of justice, to declare that it were safer to be iniquitous and tyrannical, to inflict stripes and punishment, to rob men of their time and labour, than to do them justice, and to set them free. It may touch the consciences of those who were tyrannical oppressors; but it would be blasphemy to suppose, that an act of justice can be a dangerous act, injurious to those who perform it, and useless to those by whom it is received. But till the experiment was made, this self-evident truth was not believed. Glory then to all those who participated in the effort! Let their names be sounded by the trumpet of fame, to stimulate others to imitate their noble example. Many a young KNIBB is now there with his heart throbbing to distinguish himself as the elder KNIBB has done; and who will learn in the prize which Mr. KNIBB receives, the rich reward which good men bestow on virtuous and patriotic efforts in the cause of universal freedom. Mr. KNIBB and myself differ widely in our religious belief; that is an affair between ourselves and God, with which man has nothing to do; but we agree in the highest, the purest, the greatest principle of Christianity, that of universal benevolence and charity towards all. He may receive from my lips, and I cannot be suspected of being tainted with undue influence, the meed of praise he did not expect, but which he well deserves. He has been a confessor in the great cause of human liberty, he was almost a martyr; and here we have him ready to be a confessor and a martyr again, in working out this glorious principle.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I mentioned to DANIEL O'CONNELL before he rose, a fact which he has misunderstood. I stated that WILLIAM KNIBB, was so truly a friend to peace under all circumstances, that he expressed great thankfulness that he was placed in a jail at the time at which he might have been compelled by the local Government to take up arms, not that he was placed there for refusing to take them up.

Rev. J. BIRT.—I cannot refrain from joining in the grateful applause which has already been uttered, and is now about to be recorded, as the sentiment of this meeting. If there be the appearance of indelicacy in one situated as I am, the denominational and personal friend of Mr. KNIBB, taking a prominent part on this occasion ; it must also be remembered, that if such persons are altogether silent, it might seem that they did not cordially and fully agree in the sentiments expressed by others. Mr. O'CONNELL, with his usual point and eloquence, has alluded to some of the great and apparently insuperable difficulties, which the ardour, and zeal, and perseverance of Mr. KNIBB have overcome ; and has shown how they operated in stimulating him to greater exertions, instead of driving him into silence and inactivity. But those who have known Mr. KNIBB for several years, and the course he has pursued, know, that to a mind like his, kind and tender, as well as ardent and zealous, the timidity of the friends of liberty, and the over-prudence of many of those who offered him their counsel, and beset him with solicitations, presented difficulties far more painful than the hatred of the enemies of morality, of religion, and of liberty ever presented. I well recollect the time, as do others, when many of those who were heartily attached to the cause of abolition, were yet afraid, that Mr. KNIBB was not sufficiently delicate, and restrained in his expressions ; that he told his tale too plainly and broadly ; that sometimes he went so far as to shock the delicacy of sensitive minds, and might do harm to his cause, by calling things by their right names. Having attentively watched his progress, I feel that I am presenting a true picture. Some were ready to say, Mr. KNIBB is so warm and zealous, that he wants prudence, he requires self-government, he will damage the cause he has at heart, by not being sufficiently guarded in his expressions against the conduct and spirit of those, who holding their fellow-men in bondage, treat them with so much cruelty. He had more with which to struggle from this source, than even from the calumnies heaped upon him, and the direct hostility with which he met. But whatever he may have suffered when his friends were thus ready to restrain him and keep him back ; whatever he may have felt at the hostility of those who threatened him with death, and attempted to destroy him ; he has been carried safely and successfully through it all ; and we have now to congratulate him upon the success of those exertions, in which he has taken such a prominent part, and to which success, his unshaken steadiness has so much contributed. And we cannot but believe, that even more will be accomplished by perseverance in the same course, that perseverance being animated and sustained by the events of the last few years ; until the advocates of liberty shall, by and by, have not merely to congratulate one individual and his coadjutors, in the accomplishment of a great work in the island in which he lives and labours, but shall, assemble together, and probably many present may live to see the day, to celebrate the universal jubilee of mankind, when every captive shall be free, and the whole world shall rejoice in the diffusion of those principles of morality, of religion, and of peace, which it is the object of this Convention to promote ; and when the general exclamation shall be, with respect to slavery, and all its incidental, antecedent, and concomitant evils, "the people which sat in darkness saw great light ; and to them which sat in the region and shadow of death, light is sprung up."

Rev. T. SCALES.—If we are to do justice to every active and deserving individual in this cause, we shall have to mention every Baptist Missionary in Jamaica. Mr. OUGTON, is at this moment suffering for the service he has

rendered to the cause of humanity and morality in Jamaica. Mr. BIRT spoke of the delicacy which, as a member of the Baptist denomination, he felt in addressing you on this subject. But allow me, as a minister of another denomination, to unite with him in admiration of the fervid zeal, the undaunted courage of Mr. KNIBB and his beloved brethren, and of the invaluable services which they have rendered to the interests of religion and liberty. I am persuaded, that I am not behind any individual of their own denomination, in my attachment to that good man and his coadjutors; and in my admiration of the important services, which, under God, they have been permitted and honoured to render in this sacred enterprise.

Dr. G. K. PRINCE, (of Chesterfield).—The gentlemen who have preceded me, have spoken from reports, and very authorised reports from the island of Jamaica: for they have not been eye witnesses. I beg to present myself to this meeting, as one personally and intimately acquainted, for a series of years, with the operations of Baptist Missionaries, and with those of other congregations in that island. I think my testimony is valid and good, because in 1823, when I sailed from this country for Jamaica, I went with the notion that the philanthropic and religious individuals in England, were intermeddling with the security of property, and were likely to destroy the well-being and harmony of affairs in the colonies. I remember, that in my first communication from the island, I expressed this sentiment, that we should do very well, if Mr. Buxton and others, would but let us alone. But it was not long before I saw proper to recant that opinion, and I can state without reservation, that I attribute to the excellent and pious instructions, and the judicious conduct, in very many respects of our Missionaries, especially the Baptists, the great preparations made in the negro mind, for that benefit which was afterwards conferred on them. I could not but condemn the folly of apprenticeship as a means of preparing the people for freedom, when I saw the moral and religious improvement of the people among whom I was living, under the superintendence and instruction of our Missionaries. I could see no reason for withholding the boon of absolute freedom, from a people, who demonstrated by their conduct such a spirit of honesty and morality, that my property and person, could even in any of the secluded parts of the island, be without bolt or bar exposed to them, in a way in which I would not have done in this country. Such is the force of truth, and such has been the strong conviction as to the improvement of the negroes, under the religious instruction of the Missionaries, that now their very enemies, the destroyers of their chapels, have not been backward in offering their money and resources for again rearing those buildings. I went through the toil and struggle of the rebellion with our brethren there; I had the honour of enduring some loss with them: and I had the high privilege of opening my doors to them, and to those belonging to them, while many others were shut. I entertained not only our Baptist brethren, but men of other denominations, and I desire to make my acknowledgments for the benefits I received from them in return. Not having before addressed the Convention, I thought it right to make this declaration of my approval of the resolution, and to give it my cordial support.

The resolution was then put and carried by acclamation.

NINTH DAY'S SITTINGS, MONDAY, JUNE 22, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

W. T. BLAIR, Esq. (in the absence of Dr. GREVILLE), in the Chair.

ROBERT JOWITT, Esq. (of Leeds).—In presenting the report from a committee formerly appointed, which I hold in my hand, I conceive it will not be necessary to occupy the time of the Convention, in adducing arguments to secure its adoption. I shall, therefore, simply read it, and leave it in the hands of the Convention. There are, however, a few words to which I will venture to give expression, referring to a subject of no slight importance. I have been delighted, and greatly instructed, in attending these proceedings ; but we must remember, that this is the ninth day of our session. It is, therefore, very important that those who still have to address the meeting, should do it in as few words as possible. The report is as follows :—

This committee viewing with the deepest interest and the most earnest solicitude, the state, condition, and welfare of the coloured population of Upper Canada ; and finding that attempts have been made by slave-holders in the United States, to recapture and bring into captivity such fugitive slaves as have taken refuge in that province, by accusations of felony ; and as it has come to the knowledge of this committee, that in the attempted surrender of persons so charged, human life has been sacrificed, they do earnestly recommend to this Convention, to address her MAJESTY'S Secretary of State for the Colonies, inquiring, as far as he deems consistent with the public service, whether instructions have been sent to her MAJESTY'S representative in Canada, so to act in the event of any renewed application, as will prevent a coloured fugitive from such surrender.

And whereas, public provision has been made in the different districts of Upper Canada for the purposes of education ; and schools have been opened to which the coloured people have been invited by the LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR of the province ; and whereas, the odious and unchristian prejudice against colour, has operated most detrimentally in frustrating the desires of the Government, by virtually excluding coloured persons from these schools ; this Committee strongly recommend the Convention to address the Colonial Minister, requesting that he would issue such instructions, as may ensure to the coloured population of Upper Canada, the benefit and blessings of education, in common with the white inhabitants of the province.

This committee also beg respectfully to submit to this Convention, that it is very desirable that the paper received from the Rev. HERBERT BEAVER, read by one of the Secretaries, showing that slavery is a recognised principle of the Hudson's Bay Company, and that native Indians are held as slaves, both by the Company and its servants, should be brought as early as possible under the notice of Government, in order that immediate and effectual measures be taken for its entire suppression.

Rev. J. CARLILE moved, That the report be adopted, and the whole matter referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. W. JAMES seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

Dr. GREVILLE having arrived, took the Chair.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I have been requested, in the absence of my brother, to move that the following resolution founded on proceedings of the morning be adopted.

That this Convention has heard with horror and detestation, a few details of the appalling extent of the illegal trade in slaves from Africa to Brazil, and feels called upon to recommend the whole subject to the close and unremitting attention of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Mr. PUMPHREY seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I have also to present the following resolutions.

That this Convention has heard with deep regret and sorrow the extent to which the internal slave-trade is carried on from the older to the more newly settled slave-states of the American Union, to the extent of upwards of 80,000 victims annually, of this unrighteous traffic.

That in expressing their detestation of this traffic, and in acknowledging that it excites their deep surprise and abhorrence, that it should be protected and cherished by a nation which has abolished the African slave-trade, and declared it to be piracy; this Convention is impressed with the conviction, that such a systematic trade in man, must be attended with excessive cruelty and wrong to the objects of it, and involves in its prosecution a fearful extent of barbarity and hardness of heart on the part of the man-trader; and that effectual means ought to be forthwith taken in the United States of America, to remove this stain from the character of that nation.

Mr. J. FERGUSON moved, and Mr. ALDERMAN BULLEY (of Liverpool), seconded the above resolutions.

The resolutions were then put and agreed to.

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

Dr. HODGKIN.—I have obtained permission of the Chairman, to allude, in the briefest manner I can, to a subject which I was desirous of bringing forward on a former occasion. As the colonization of the coloured people in Africa has been alluded to with dissatisfaction, I am anxious to say, that having from the first commencement of the colony of Liberia been a watchful observer of it, I wish, before the Convention separates, earnestly to solicit its members individually, and at their leisure, to give it due consideration. A great deal of perseverance and ingenuity has been exerted to find flaws in it, but if it be carefully looked at, I believe it will be seen, that there is no better step which can possibly be taken by the friends of the coloured man, whether abolitionists or not, certainly abolitionists, than a hearty union in this cause. The idea of colonizing coloured persons on the coast of Africa, is by no means a new one. It was originated by GRANVILLE SHARP, sanctioned by THOMAS CLARKSON, and promoted by PAUL CUFFE, himself a man of colour, and by a number of the Society of Friends, who had no object in view, but the good of their fellow-creatures, in carrying on the work. I would, therefore, desire our friends not to set down as hard-hearted individuals, those who advocate this cause. Colonization is only one of the many ways in which the coloured man is to be saved. I know that it has been advocated on grounds which I should be far from sanctioning; but on the other hand, many of its promoters, as I have said, have no object in view but to benefit their fellow-men. It will appear, upon a moment's reflection that the liberation of every slave sets an example to other Americans; that, those hands which have wrought in chains, are conveyed to a fruitful soil, where they produce the commodities which we want. It will be seen, that it is not only taking out of the scale of slavery, but, in the same proportion, putting into the scale of freedom. All the points might bear a great deal of examination, and I challenge the most rigid scrutiny. It would take up too much of the time of the Convention were I to enter into this examination now; I can only pledge my word, so far as that is of any value, that the subject will bear it, and that those who are engaged in promoting the scheme, are not such as they have been represented. This Convention could not confer a more effectual benefit on Africa, than by terminating the animosity which has separated the best friends of the coloured people. If they could settle this war which has been waged amongst the friends of Africa, it would be of the most lasting advantage. I have received information of the colony from its commencement; and if the subject were discussed, I could say a great deal in favour of the colony, which CAPTAIN FITZGERALD, if he were present, would confirm. I have received letters from, and held conversations with, other Captains who have visited the colony, and considering the difficulties with which it has had to contend, it is in as promising a state as it well can be.

Mr JOSEPH STURGE.—I have been anxious to prevent this discussion amongst the members of the Society. Dr. HODGKIN was here as a member of the Convention; and when the subject was discussed the other day, he wished then to be heard in reply, but he forebore, with the understanding that

he should be allowed to come forward and make a brief statement. If the Convention will consent to it, I think it is desirable that nothing more should be said.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—We were informed that the question of the American Colonization Society was to be brought forward as a part of the business. I do not want to be led into a lengthened discussion, but I think that the subject has not been, at any period of the Convention, fully stated by any of the friends. I, therefore, move that J. G. BIRNEY may be heard upon it, and that we then proceed to the regular business. I believe he had the impression, that a resolution was to come forward on this subject to-day.

Dr. HODGKIN.—If the subject be discussed, I must bring forward my proofs.*

The resolution having been duly seconded, and submitted to the vote, it was determined that the discussion should be forthwith proceeded with.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I will endeavour to confine myself strictly to those facts with which I am well acquainted. The Colonization Society of America was organized in the beginning of the year 1817, almost exclusively by slave-holders, who, at that time, had, as I apprehend, the complete direction of the whole matter. The reason they assigned for joining the Society, and for encouraging it, was, that it would remove the free-coloured people from the country, and thereby aid or confirm the slave-holders in the possession of their slave property. The coloured people, at the same time, were spoken of in the most disrespectful terms. I remember one expression used by the late JOHN RANDOLPH, whose name may be known by many here: for he frequently visited this country, and was our Ambassador to the Court of Russia. In speaking of the free-coloured people, he designated them as depositaries for stolen goods, and assigned this as the reason why he wished to remove them from contact with the slaves. The free-coloured people in nearly all parts of the country, when informed of the institution of the Society, not only dissented from it, but expressed their repugnance to the whole scheme. They held a large meeting on the subject, and after due deliberation, came to the decision that they would not remove from the country. And here let me state to their honour, that they gave as one prominent reason for their determination, that their brethren were in bonds, and they would remain where they could best assist them. These meetings commenced in the state of Virginia. The coloured people of Richmond, within a few days after the formation of the Society, expressed their dissatisfaction with it; other meetings were held in the large slave states, and continued to be held as long as they were permitted; similar meetings were also held in the free states, and all of them came to precisely the same conclusion. Let me mention one meeting in particular, held, after full notice given, on the 17th August, 1817, in Philadelphia. A distinguished countryman of mine, whose efforts

* Dr. HODGKIN did not anticipate the succeeding discussion, but was, nevertheless, willing to enter upon it. It is only justice to him to state, that before the conclusion of Mr. BIRNEY's speech, he was under the necessity of leaving the meeting, and no other opportunity occurred of making a reply.

have been rewarded by an ample fortune, and who is respected by all classes, black and white, JAMES FORTEN, presided at the meeting, which was supposed to be the largest ever collected of coloured people in our country. It was considered that 3000 were present. The subject was discussed in all its bearings, and with the deepest interest, and in that immense assembly there was not a single voice raised in favour of the scheme. From the very first inception of the plan, up to the present moment, repugnance to it has been growing in the minds of the coloured people. At first, some were deluded in the Northern States; and by the brig *Vine*, forty or fifty persons were taken to Liberia. But in a few months every one perished, there was not a person left to tell the story of their misfortunes, disappointments and death. The result of this enterprise of the *Vine*, and a further examination of the subject, so satisfied the coloured people of the free states, of the impolicy and the odiousness of the design, and that envy on the part of the slave-holders, lay at the bottom of it, that they entirely gave it up; and within the last ten or twelve years, scarcely any one north of MASON's and DIXON's line, has gone to Liberia. It may be asked then, where are the emigrants gone from? From the slave states, where the free-coloured people were so persecuted, that they were obliged to emigrate. Others have been furnished by the slave-owners. It has been said, that the Society was instituted for the purpose of removing the free coloured people with their consent; and it has also been said, that a great many slaves have been emancipated and sent to the colony. I apprehend that this has hardly been the case in a single instance. Instead of the slaves being emancipated, and then put on their election, as to whether they would go to Liberia or remain in America, their masters have sent them to Liberia, just as they might have sent them to the Western Coast of the Mississippi, to open a new plantation; and if they were to return to the United States, or were brought back, I know of no laws to prevent the master claiming them as slaves, and reducing them to their former bondage. The Society, I apprehend, depends for its existence, upon the prevalence of the opinion, that the white and the coloured races cannot live together in peace and union; that the latter must be kept in entire subjection to the former. If this opinion could be entirely removed, the Colonization scheme would die, as a matter of course. It has frequently been said, and no doubt with strict truth, that if all the coloured people in the United States could be made white by a miraculous operation, the Society would expire, and no persons would wish to be removed. The only ground for their removal, therefore, is their colour. In order to carry on the scheme, they have been obliged to spread abroad the notion to which I have referred, that the two races cannot live in harmony together, and that Liberia presents the very best outlet for removing the free coloured people. Finding, however, that they are averse to removal, and that it can be effected by coercion only, the legislatures of the slave states—and I wish I could exempt the free states—but the former, especially, have been increasing the severity of their enactments ever since the adoption of this plan, and the organization of this scheme. A remark made by a distinguished man, in one of the large meetings in the city of New York, was to this effect. "Shall we educate this people amongst us? Will any one insist on their being educated and improved? No; all the laws which now exist against the education of this people, and their improvement in this respect, must be persevered in with the utmost rigour." I think that I almost quote his language. This was the President of a College, a man of distinguished talent and great influence in

our country. I believe, that some who are ranked among the colonizationists have deluded themselves into the belief, that the scheme is for the benefit of the coloured people ; but they have not given the subject the examination it requires. If they were in the United States, and had the opportunities which we possess of seeing who they are who are in favour of colonization, I think they would at once decide, that all the remarks I have made, as to the scheme originating in hostility against the coloured people, are fully confirmed. They would find that the iniquitous laws which prevail in many states, are the means by which the colonization scheme is carried on. The influence of the Society, so far as we can discover it, upon the free people of colour in America, has been most unhappy. A meeting was held but a very short time since in New York, where this opinion, as to the impracticability of the two races living together, was freely and openly promulged. The effect upon the coloured people has been this ; it has given them a feeling of the instability of their residence in the country, and has prevented them from instituting any means for the improvement of their condition, and adding to the comforts of their own families. A colonizationist, whose offers of friendship are repudiated by the coloured people, has but little opportunity of knowing their feelings. But it is different with the abolitionist, who interests himself in the welfare of the whole race. When the free people of colour find themselves thus attacked by influential men, without the possibility of getting up and defending themselves, or making known their condition and feelings through the public press, it does amount to the most disheartening and discouraging circumstance with which I am acquainted, connected with this people. Such is the view entertained by that class of people in the country, for whose good it is said, this Society has been instituted, that during twenty years of actual colonization, sustained by the general government, which has appropriated considerable sums in aid of the Society, it has transported only about 5000 persons, bond and free. Permit me to say, although I cannot adduce the proof, for it is almost impossible to do it, though of the fact I have no doubt whatever, that while the Society has been transporting these 5000 persons, every year has witnessed the introduction of more than that number of Africans, clandestinely into America ; so that unless the scheme works better than it has hitherto done, we shall find that more are introduced illegally every year than this Society can ever send out of the country. The legislatures have been cruel, persecuting, and relentless to the free coloured population ; and are so to the present hour. Take the state of Ohio as an example. That state has, I believe, passed a great many of her most sanguinary laws against the free coloured people, since the institution of this Society. One I will mention, though it has, perhaps, been referred to before. The legislature has passed a law, which prevents the free coloured people in that state from giving testimony, civil, criminal, or mixed, in any case which may come before a court of justice. The most vicious, therefore, of the population may inflict the grossest atrocities on the free coloured people, without the possibility of their obtaining redress. The most initiatory step cannot be taken against the transgressor, because the sufferer cannot be a witness. The law, however, has had no operation upon the virtuous part of the community. Another sample from the state of Ohio. A coloured man cannot give testimony as to a book account. A white man may, to a certain amount, be admitted a witness in his own cause ; but if a coloured man has an account against a white man, he is not only excluded from giving testi-

mony himself, but he cannot even adduce the evidence of a white man in his favour. The virtuous and refined part of the community would not refuse payment of an account, because it could not be proved against them; but the law has the effect of turning loose upon this people, the most vicious and profligate in the country. Cases of the most aggravated kind, beyond the power of numbering, have occurred; before the institution of the Colonization Society, I am of opinion, that the condition of the free coloured people was in many parts of the country improving; and where primary, or common schools were established, they were permitted to send their children to them. But after the Society was organized, these children were excluded. We have, however, reason to be thankful, that since the abolitionists have been carrying on their better warfare, matters, with regard to the coloured people are changing again; and in some states, the coloured children are now educated with the white in the primary schools. But in the state of Ohio, containing a population of two millions and a half, although the constitution provides, that to the primary schools,—schools founded upon gratuities from the general government, in the way of donations of land,—the children of the coloured people shall have access always and all times, just as those of other persons, yet such has been the blighting influence of the Colonization Society upon that state, that in defiance of that enactment, the children are excluded from the schools, except in those few cases where the white people are favourably disposed to their coloured neighbours. It must also be borne in mind, that the coloured people are taxed for the support of these schools. If you bring forward that fact, and urge it as a ground for the admission of the coloured children, you are in many parts of the country met with this reply; a part of the tax is set apart for the coloured people, and they can have private schools if they please. If you did not know the operation of the scheme, you might be embarrassed by the answer. But the fact is, in some parts there is but a small number of coloured people, they are much dispersed, and from the small amount of the tax raised in any given neighbourhood, it is impossible to establish a school, so that it amounts to an actual inhibition of education. When the Society was first formed, it was alleged, and it is still affirmed, where there is any probability of its producing an impression on the public mind, that this is the only plan, by which slavery can be terminated in the country. This is not advanced so frequently as it was formerly, but still it is not given up. Another argument adduced in favour of the colonization scheme is, that it will assist in putting an end to the slave-trade on the coast of Africa, and tend to civilise and Christianize the people of Africa. Now, I venture to say, that if I had any of the Society's publications here, I would lay my hands on them at hazard, and I would find a description of the grossest vices, and dishonesty of every kind, practised by this people, who are yet held forth as men, who are to organise laws for Africa, and exhibit to her population the excellencies of religion. Mr. CLAY, not an insignificant, but a most distinguished man, whose standing is known to many of those whom I have now the honour to address, is not behind any one in the strength of the expressions which he used in reference to the colonists. He calls them, of all portions of the population the most vicious and the most degraded; not only most vicious themselves, but contaminating all those with whom they have any intercourse. But what is worse than all, he says, in a speech delivered about the same time in Kentucky, that the whites could furnish thousands of examples of persons carrying the crimes of civilization into Africa. Mr.

CLAY is not particularly known to us as the bugle note of all the abolitionists. I wish to make a single remark upon the probability, or rather the improbability, of ever succeeding, by means of colonization, in Christianizing the heathen of Africa. I wish to treat this subject on a comprehensive principle. I believe that the history of the civilized world, will not show a single instance, in which Christian colonization, as it is called, has been successful on this point. The people who emigrated from a religious community to New England, have well nigh exterminated the Indians, yet without producing any sensible amelioration of their character. I may mention WILLIAM PENN, as the noblest specimen of a Christian statesman, and had all those who settled under such auspices, been men having the good of their fellow-creatures in view, I doubt not, but that the inhabitants of Pennsylvania, would have been a Christianized and a civilized people. But this kind of civilization cannot be carried on. The world has produced but one WILLIAM PENN. The same consequences resulted from Spanish Colonization. Those who went out under COLUMBUS, were called a Christian people. The Spaniards were a people among whom the religious principle prevailed to a high degree, and at the time of COLUMBUS, they were not exceeded in their religious character by any other people. In Hispaniola, they found a million of inhabitants; in fifteen years, they reduced them to 14,000. What is the reason that such efforts have not been attended with success? I think I can state it in a few words. A Christian colony in a heathen land, adopts the usages and the social organization to which they have been accustomed in the Christian country from which they have emigrated. I use the word Christian, not as implying that they are really and practically Christians, but in contradistinction to the heathen and pagans. In that social organization, they find no place for the heathen; they would be elements incompatible with the organization. Enough are sent out to make a class or caste in society; they assume that superiority which it is impossible for them not to assume over the uninformed and unenlightened heathen. This fact begets in the mind of the heathen, a feeling of their inferiority and degradation. This Society, in trading, overreaches the natives; the natives are incapable, from their weakness, of retribution; they then begin to hate and despise the colonists, and at length, disaffection prevails between them. In the progress of a Christian society, it extends its bounds, it interferes with the hunting grounds of the heathen, their trade is diminished, their substance is curtailed, they are unable to affect the organization of a Christian society; and thus it is easy to perceive that they must be brought into a state of degradation, verging fast to a state of destruction. It seems to me, that herein consists the true philosophy of the case; and believing, as fully as I do in the correctness of all the principles here laid down, I believe that not only the colonization scheme of America, but other schemes for establishing Christian colonies in heathen countries, will prove a failure. The Protestant and the Catholic Missionaries, have gone on the right ground. They do not send out enough religionists, to make up a class. They send out a few to show the excellency of religion; not to degrade the heathen, and to offend them by assuming superiority. It must be remembered, that the heathen must not be insulted, their social organization must not be trodden upon; but they must be persuaded, by the example of those who do not observe caste, to give up what is vicious and improper in their usages. Thus, I believe, we may dismiss this part of the subject; as to the other part, the cessation of the African slave-trade, I know that the testimonies we have received in America, are very contradictory. But

permit me just to make this statement. For some time the slaves have been the chief emigrants to Liberia. Now, I want to know, if any person here believes, that those who have been brought up in slavery, in all its rigour and suffering, when they became free, make the best masters? It is almost proverbial, in all slave countries, particularly in America, that the drivers selected from the slaves, are the most cruel to them, although they are their own colour, and their own class of society. What is the career of a head man? The chiefs are all engaged in the slave-trade; it is the great business of the country, as much as rearing cotton is the business of the Southern states. What should you think of a capitalist who would go to Carolina or Louisiana, without raising cotton or sugar, but who would devote himself to some minor business? Would you believe it possible for such a case to occur? Now, these slaves are sent to Liberia, from states where they see that all honour is bestowed on the masters; where they have seen all influence in the church and out of the church exercised by the masters; where they see ministers of the gospel driving their slaves about like other people; where they behold in every department of society, that the slave-master is the man of influence, on whom all honour is bestowed. Now going in that temper where all the higher powers are engaged in the slave-trade, I ask, if to the uninstructed mind, the temptation to engage in it must not be altogether too powerful to resist? How can it be expected that they will act better than the people of the United States? Do we not engage in the slave-trade? Are not persons brought up in the most respectable society caught engaging in the slave-trade? And yet how much we expect of poor, ignorant, unenlightened man. It seems unnecessary to deduce inferences after the principle has been so clearly seen. I have had a communication this morning with CAPTAIN RICHARDSON, and he tells me that the slave-trade is carried on without let or hindrance at Liberia. He does not believe that the GOVERNOR of that colony, GOVERNOR BUCHANAN, wishes for anything, but the extinction of the slave-trade. I do not believe that there has been a single GOVERNOR there, who did not wish that the slave-trade should be abolished. I believe that they have all been honest. I will not say that the Society at home intends to do anything but honestly to put down the slave-trade in Africa. But let me ask, whether they may not wish to put it down for the good of themselves? Recollect, that the greater part of those among the slave-holders, who are so anxious to promote emigration to Liberia live in the slave breeding regions; and putting down the African slave-trade might enhance the price of their own slaves. Permit me to remark further, that a good deal has been said about the opposition of the United States to the African slave-trade. How ready we have been as a people to claim precedency in this opposition! How often do you find it come, not from the abolitionist, but from the colonist, that we have been the first in setting an example to all Europe of putting down the odious and revolting traffic in human flesh. To the letter, I believe, they are strictly correct. But if you refer to the minutes of our Congressional proceedings, you will find that nearly all the members of Congress from the slave-breeding estates supported that very law. And why not? I believe, that in one sense, it would have been a most humane thing to have permitted slaves to have been brought from Africa. They would have undersold the Kentucky and Virginia breeders, and have driven them out of the market. But they have now monopolised the slave-trade, and you see the result. While Bozal negroes are selling for 300 or 350 dollars, those from the American states

brought to Alabama, sell for 1200 or 1500 dollars. Is there not a good reason for these slave-breeding states desiring that the African slave-trade should be put down? But I believe it has not been put down, and it is not in the power of the Governors of the colony to effect it, because they cannot control a population of such a character as that which has been sent there. They are disposed to enter that trade which is most profitable, and in which all the head men engage.

Rev. C. E. BIRT.—I beg to ask the Honourable Gentleman concerning the truth of a statement which I lately heard, tending to exhibit what are the feelings of the free people of colour in America, with regard to the Colonization Society. The anecdote is, that ELLIOTT CRESSON, who is known as the agent of the Colonization Society, in New York, was engaged in forming a cemetery, or burying place for the coloured population distinct from the whites; that he waited on a coloured gentleman, and requested a contribution. The coloured gentleman declined, assigning as his reason, "Sir, you have provided for the coloured population a large grave yard in Liberia; therefore it is unnecessary that you should provide one here." The words may not be correctly given; but I wish to know whether there is such a feeling existing with respect to the Colonization Society.

Mr. BIRNEY.—I never heard the anecdote, but I have no doubt that it well expresses the feeling of the coloured people, with regard to the insalubrity of the climate of Liberia, and the mortality to which they are liable, if they go there. As to the prosperity of the colony itself, the accounts which I deem the most veritable, represent the great mass of the people as being in great want, and enduring great sufferings. Multitudes of them would be inclined to return to the United States, if they had the opportunity of so doing. Within the last ten days of my residence in New York, I had an opportunity of seeing Dr. BACON, who has spent several years on the coast of Africa. He went out connected with the colony of Liberia. He remarked, in reference to it, "You must not only send out a common vessel, but two of your largest frigates, if you would bring back those who desire to return; for they will fill them both. They are too poor to return at their own expense." As to the mortality of the country, I will mention a fact, from which you may judge of it. I was a colonizationist once myself, believing that to be the best plan that could be adopted. I despatched, in one expedition, as they are called, from New Orleans, in 1833, 150 free persons, as emigrants to Liberia. An intelligent coloured man, named JONES, who went out to explore the country, and to make a favourable return, told me that in six months from the time that vessel sailed, eighty-five had died out of the 150. Frequent attempts have been made to persuade the Board of Managers to exhibit statistical reports of the population of that colony. I will not say what is the cause which has prevented them from doing it, but it has not been done. I have a pamphlet in my possession, part of which I read before the Convention the other day, which shows, that the slave-trade is growing up under the observation of Liberia, so far from that colony putting an end to it. The agent of a slave-trader, DON PEDRO BLANCO, the largest on the coast, resided at Gallinas. CAPTAIN RICHARDSON mentioned the name of another this morning, who was notoriously understood to be the agent of a slave-trader on that part of the coast. He promised to furnish me with succinct items of information, which will be very important. I will conclude with a general remark; I believe that the colonization scheme is the greatest

opponent with which the free principle have to contend in America. Although it is ineffective in carrying out the object which its promoters have in view; it is not ineffective in enabling them to embody themselves against the Anti-Slavery Society. Although their action is very insignificant throughout the country generally, yet when the time arrives, either in the city of New York, or in other states, for getting up a public meeting, they find no difficulty in getting an overflowing house, because it is the rallying point for all those who are opposed to the anti-slavery cause. I will therefore submit the following resolution.

That this Convention regards the scheme of African Colonization, proposed and urged by the American Colonization Society, as not only totally inadequate to the overthrow of slavery in the United States, but as tending powerfully to strengthen that unrighteous system, as deeply injurious to the best interests of the negro race, whether bond or free, both in America and Africa, and therefore as wholly unworthy of the countenance and aid of the philanthropist and the Christian.

JOHN CROPPER, Esq., (of Liverpool).—I rise to second the resolution. I believe that at the present moment, exertions are making in America, and probably will be made in England, to revive the American Colonization Society. I was asked to subscribe to it only a few days ago.

Mr. FULLER.—I am disposed to occupy the floor, because I have seen something of colonization. There was a man in the South, who left a number of munificent bequests to literary institutions in the state of Georgia, provided the Legislature of that state would permit his slaves, whom he manumitted, to remain in it; but if they would not do it, they were not to have the legacies. The Legislature declined it. There was another clause in the will, providing, that in case of refusal, the slaves were to be removed to a free Government. The Secretary of the Colonization Society thought, I suppose, that this was a good opportunity of getting these forty-four persons into their hands. He went to the widow, but failed in his mission. She afterwards sent them to free states, at her own expense. I had a great desire to see what effect was produced upon the minds of the coloured people by the prospect of their removal to Liberia; and hearing that a shipment was about to take place, I rode some distance to the wharf. They were in a large boat, and the first thing that attracted my attention was their downcast appearance. They were addressed by an Episcopal clergyman. I could not conceive what should produce such a downcast appearance. I meditated on the scene, and it occurred to me, that if the men had the opportunity, they would run away. I became convinced that such was the fact: for the clergyman threw out hints to that effect. I ascertained that these coloured people had been left by their master 10,000 dollars, to be divided amongst them, on any soil on which they might be set free. They varied in age from little children to grey-headed men. This clergyman told them, what I was sorry to hear, viz., that it was impossible for them to be happy in the United States; he was aware that they were leaving with sorrow their native land, but he could assure them, that the climate to which they were going was healthy; that they would soon acquire wealth; that they would return in a vessel richly freighted from Liberia, and not only so, but he commanders of the vessel in which they sailed. There was not, however, a

single smile raised by his address. I passed the Old Bailey, some nine years ago, and saw two men suspended from the gallows, an immense number of people had been witnessing their execution; but I observed no countenances in that crowd so solemn as those of these coloured people. That is a specimen of colonization, as viewed by the coloured people of America; and how a Christian man can support such colonization, I cannot conceive. I should have been glad if CAPTAIN FITZGERALD had been here, because I was at a meeting where this subject was taken up, and he thought that I overcharged the matter. It is an anti-christian Society; and it is carried on, upon anti-christian principles. I have read the reports of the Society for some years, and have pulled them a little to pieces. It was stated by the managers in Washington, that it was of no use to send out persons upon a false philanthropic principle. The first thing was to erect fortifications and supply them with ammunition and artillery. ASHMUN, one of the early Governors of Liberia, tells us, that there were a certain number of natives congregated together so thickly, that you could have walked upon their heads, and he brought up a piece of artillery to bear on them. The balls were buried in human flesh. It is on these grounds, that I say no Christian people can support such a Society. We have had accounts lately from GOVERNOR BUCHANAN, who, I should say, was a very worthy man; but he tells us, that very few are sent from America, except liberated slaves, and they are liberated in order to go to Liberia; whereas, the constitution of the Society says, that they shall be free people of colour, going with their own consent. JUDGE JAY says, that some of the people are flogged into a free consent. I contend, therefore, that it is an anti-christian Society; at the same time, I admit, that there are a great many people in the Northern States, who think they are doing right, and that they are promoting the interests of their fellow-creatures, by supporting the Colonization Society. So far, however, from its tending to destroy slavery in the South, its direct influence is to perpetuate it.

SAXE BANNISTER, Esq.—I cannot but express a hope, that the Convention will adopt means, to let all who are in England, and in Europe know, what has been doing in Liberia for the last seventeen years. After this country has expended, I know not how many millions on the western coast of Africa, we scarcely know one title of what has been transpiring in that part of the world.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—In answer to the gentleman's inquiry, "What has the Colonization Society been doing?" I beg leave to read a short extract from a letter, just received from a friend, who attended the late anniversary of the Colonization Society in New York. "Mr. PINNEY, former Governor of the colony at Liberia, confessed, that the colonists, at one time, in the extremity of their distress, were employed by the slave-traders of the vicinity, and actually received wages from them. How long will it take for such a colony to put an end to the slave-trade?"

Mr. Justice JEREMIE.—Before we go to the vote, I wish it to be well understood, that the proposed resolution only affects the question of American colonization. I do so, because Mr. BIRNEY, in his able address, has entered upon two points which I consider essentially distinct; one has reference to the proceedings of the American Colonization Society, with regard to which, I go all lengths with him; the other, to that colonization which may be carried on by the emancipated sons of Africa returning to their own country for the purpose of civilizing it, which I consider, ought to be encouraged.

The resolution was then put and carried unanimously.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—One word on behalf of Dr. HODGKIN, who has expressed a sentiment, wholly at variance with those of the great body of this Convention ; he is esteemed in London as a disinterested and Christian philanthropist.

The CHAIRMAN.—I may echo that from the Chair. I do not believe that there is a more disinterested advocate of the negro.

Lieutenant-Colonel CAMPBELL, (late GOVERNOR of Sierra Leone).—Deeply do I regret that I have not eloquence to express my feelings on behalf of my poor Africans ; for having been so closely identified with them, by the strongest ties of mutual affection, I may be excused for calling them mine. Most ungrateful should I be, after the strong proofs of friendship and support I received from them, were I not deeply to sympathise in their welfare. I will, as briefly as possible, lay before the Convention an outline of facts which came under my notice. Were I to enter fully into the subject, it would occupy too much of your time. The only object I have in view, is, to get a thorough inquiry into the state of the British settlements on the western coast of Africa, that the abuses which have been known to exist there for a series of years, may be fully developed to the British public. I will state how I found the people, and what was the result of my exertions. I was sent out in 1834, by Mr. SPRING RICE. He told me, that the object in appointing me, was to obtain correct information regarding the settlement of Sierra Leone, which had been a curse to the Colonial Office, and had occasioned it more trouble than any other Colony under the Crown. He stated, that it would very much depend on my reports, whether or not the Government deemed it advisable to continue the settlement. It was in opposition to the wishes of my friends, that I accepted the appointment ; and it is only justice to state, that Mr. SPRING RICE sent me away three times, before he would allow me to assume the Government, knowing from the nature of the climate, and the class of persons with whom I should have to contend, that it was probably sending me to my grave. However, being a soldier, I felt that I was bound to undertake the duty proposed to me, regardless of the dangers attendant upon its discharge. But Divine Providence conducted me safely through scenes, through which no other European has ever passed ; and enabled me to withstand, not only the pestilential climate, but the dangers arising from the wars prevailing on my first expedition to the interior. The moment the ship cast anchor, in which I arrived at Sierra Leone, I had to encounter the opposition and disrespect of the military to civil authority. The officer in command refused to fire a salute, or to pay the compliments usual on the landing of a Governor. He had never seen me, and, therefore, it could not be personal ; but the colonists felt, that in insulting the Governor, he was insulting them. It is necessary to mark this point ; for from that time, to the period when I left, there was a determination on the part of the military to oppose every thing done by the civil Governor, and, if possible, to place the colony entirely under military law. The liberated Africans were, with few exceptions, in a state of nudity ; men, women, and children, were going about the streets without any clothing. I was altogether two years and a half in the colony, during the last twelve or eighteen months of which, a naked person was not to be seen in Freetown. I had no occasion to make or pass a single coercive law ; it was only necessary to point out to the people, or to the leading men, what I thought

essential for their good, and they cheerfully put their shoulders to the wheel, and carried it out. It was alleged, that the kroomen in particular, had a decided prejudice against clothing, and would not wear it. Many of the European merchants insisted that a krooman was not so offensive naked as clothed, and, therefore, instead of aiding my efforts, did all they could to thwart them. But on the 1st of August, 1836, I had the satisfaction of seeing the kroomen, about 900 in number, come up to the Government House in a body, with their headman and say, "Daddy, we come to show you we can hear your word." But I am sorry to say, that from accounts received as late as the 7th May last, it appears, that the colony is nearly in the same state as to clothing, in which I first found it. In visiting the villages, which I did immediately after assuming the Government, I mixed as much as possible with the coloured population; my object being, to make myself acquainted with the habits and conduct of the people entrusted to my charge. The races are numerous, and require very different modes of treatment: their tempers, habits, and dispositions, are altogether dissimilar. There was, however, one point in which they all agreed; it was only necessary to gain their confidence by truth and even handed justice, to show that you intended to act honestly by them, and you might do with them what you pleased. On my arrival, I applied to the Colonial Chaplain, as the person who ought to be able to furnish the most correct information, regarding the state of religion, and also of the schools in the colony; but I regret to say, that he could not supply it. He warned me against the Missionaries, but I found them the reverse of his representations. For whatever good has been done in Africa, we are solely indebted to the Missionaries. I do not confine that remark to the agents of the Church Missionary Society; but I speak of the Missionaries generally. They are all equally devoted and zealous. For the schools we were also entirely indebted to them. On my arrival, there was no Government school for the newly imported African children liberated from slave-vessels, but I immediately established several. I am happy to see present an honourable and gallant Officer, who is deeply interested in the cause, and who visited Sierra Leone, both before and subsequently to my becoming GOVERNOR, and as he made himself acquainted with the schools, I will leave him to speak on that point. I may, however, state, that there was a marked line drawn between colonial born children, and the unfortunate liberated Africans imported. It was thought derogatory to the former to mix with children taken out of the slave-vessels. I found *that*, a very dangerous distinction; the one regarded the other as slaves; the colonial born child was educated, the other was neglected. But I overcame the difficulty. I called the heads of the people together, and explained to them my views; and they at once complied with my suggestions, and rendered me their assistance and support. I soon found that there was not the least bad feeling, and the children freely intermingled in the schools. I established a girls' school at Freetown, but was obliged to remove it to the Bananas. Why? Because I had no other means of protecting them from my own countrymen. When I left, there were upwards of 900 children in these schools. The liberated Africans have a just right to look to this country for support; it is of little use to capture slave-vessels, to bring these poor creatures to Sierra Leone, and then cast them destitute on the world. What is the use of telling them that they are freemen, unless you give them the advantages of freedom, by educating them, and furnishing them by honest industry with the means of support? I will relate a circumstance of which I

have been the eye-witness. The horrid picture of a slave-vessel brought into Sierra Leone, makes so deep an impression, that whoever witnesses it, will never forget it as long as he lives. I am not particularly nervous, but I have often shuddered at the sight. The moment the vessel arrives, she is reported to the Mixed Commission Court, and the case is adjudicated upon about a week afterwards. In the meantime, the poor creatures are landed, and without the slightest regard to decency, marched through the town into the African yard. The sick were carried by land to Kiskey Hospital, a distance of three miles, when they might have been taken by water within a quarter of a mile. On the old plan many died on their transport. After they were emancipated, the men were put into gangs, and sent to labour on the public works, with the convicts, for three months. There was an allowance of 2½*d.* a day for the men and the children, but incredible as it may appear, there was no allowance whatever for the women. During the two years and a half that I was in the colony, there was not a lock on a door or a cupboard in my house, except a common wooden one, which might have been opened with any key; and during the whole of that time, I never lost a single article, although I employed, with only one exception, none but liberated Africans. I frequently visited the various districts of the colony, and when I arrived at a village in the evening with my baggage, the man who had the best hut, would give it up for the night, and I never had an article taken. In the island of Banana, which had formerly been a penal settlement, I tested the honesty of the inhabitants. I went out with a friend, and threw a dollar in the streets, pledging myself that it would be brought back. The event justified my confidence; it was returned in the morning by the schoolmaster, who was a liberated African. The head man at the Bananas was an African. To the schoolmaster I paid £18 a year; and a more innocent, trust-worthy creature, or one more devoted to the interests of the poor children, was not to be found. But I am touching upon a topic of painful interest, for it has been to me a source of the greatest grief, that the schools which I established should have been scattered to the winds; the schoolmasters, it is said, are all bad, and are not to be entrusted with them.

The CHAIRMAN.—Will you state your views regarding the apprenticeship system.

Lieut.-Colonel CAMPBELL.—There were printed indentures which, to a certain extent, appeared very well, but you must take into consideration the class of persons who obtained the apprentices. Formerly, the offices of Governor and Superintendent of liberated Africans were distinct, but during my administration were consolidated. There was a fee of 10*s.* on binding an apprentice, and it went into the pocket of the GOVERNOR; and the consequence was, without wishing to reflect on those who preceded me, a great inducement to grant apprenticeship indentures. The country people are very kind to each other, and where a poor man had not a sixpence, they would subscribe and give him 10*s.* to get an apprentice, in fact, a slave; the child was taken away, was lost sight of, and made to cultivate the ground in a state of nudity, and was obliged to live on what he could pick out of that ground. The distinction I before mentioned as existing in the schools, increased the evil. I altered this system. I would not give an apprentice to any person, who I did not conscientiously feel was capable of bringing him up properly. I refused to give them to people who had no clothing; for how could I expect them to clothe their apprentices,

when they were destitute of clothes themselves. The children also, before they were apprenticed, received a certain amount of education, and were able to sew; a thing never taught to any of the females before I went to Sierra Leone. The girls were bound till they were eighteen or twenty, the boys twenty-one or twenty-two, for it is difficult to tell their ages. As soon as a lad had grown to a man, he thought he was entitled to leave his master, and become free. I refused to give an apprentice to any person who could not produce a character from the minister of the chapel to which he belonged; and I held him responsible to see the apprentice every Sunday, that he attended the chapel, the Sunday school, and was properly clothed; for when I gave an apprentice, he had two snits of clothing, and I depended on the minister to look to the details, which it was impossible I could do. The women, instead of being given to any one who chose to take them, I gave to married people of good character, who were bound to teach them to work, to sew, and to be good housewives. At the end of five or six months, if they saw any person whom they wished to marry, there was no objection to it, but they were not forced to marry as had previously been the case. A man would come and say, "I want that woman." "Have you got half-a-crown?" for that was the marriage fee. If so she was given, without her consent being asked, taken to the church, and went through the ceremony, without understanding a word that was said, a mere mockery of the service; and it frequently happened, that the husband came forward afterwards, to whom she had been married before she left her native country, and claimed his wife. It was disgraceful to take people to the church under such circumstances. I would not allow any person to marry, without producing a certificate from the minister of his chapel. The liberated Africans when located, were placed in a village with an allowance of a penny a day for three months, after which they had to provide for themselves; and the consequence was, that if the rainy season, which commences in June and ends in October, had set in, he could do nothing on his farm during that period, but must wait for the ensuing dry season to cut and burn the bush, and must then wait until the next wet season to crop his land; consequently, he was fifteen months upon his allotment before he could obtain a maintenance, his allowance having ceased at the end of three months. What was the result? When I visited the interior of the country, I found hundreds who had voluntarily left their allotments, and returned to slavery. On asking them whether they would come back, they replied in the affirmative, but added, not to sit down where they were before. On inquiring the reason, they replied, because there was no food, no wife, they had now got both, and what more could they want. The fact is, the poor liberated Africans were cast adrift to shift for themselves. There were five principal villages without a church or a chapel; there was, perhaps, a wooden or a mud shed erected by the liberated Africans, where divine service was performed, but there was neither church nor chapel founded by the government; in some villages there were erections half finished, and the remains of others in a state of ruin. We have a large church in Freetown, which is said to have cost nearly £100,000,—at least that was the sum charged against it,—but I do not believe that a tithe of that amount was actually expended upon it. I have a document which will show how the poor Africans have been defrauded by the Government officers. A man was employed at the village of Regent, to repair the manager's residence, the cost of which was about £30. This was paid; it was then discovered that there was no grant for it. This man had

also been employed to lay the foundation of a school, the charge for which amounted to nearly the same sum. On his application for payment, I was told that he had already received it, and on his receipt being produced, I found an interlineation in the hand-writing of the making it appear that both works were included in the one amount. This poor man would have been defrauded of the fruits of his honest labour, had I not thoroughly investigated the matter, and surveyed the works myself. The person referred to has been acting as Governor more than once. During the greater part of my administration, there was but one Colonial Surgeon, Dr. AITKIN, for a population of 40,000, with an Hospital at Kiskey, containing from 700 to 900 poor creatures, taken from slave-vessels. An assistant was sent out, who on his arrival was, from his habits of intemperance, incapable of performing an operation, and soon afterwards died of delirium tremens. It is not possible for one man, or even five, properly to discharge the duty in such a climate, and hundreds consequently die for want of medical aid and vaccine lymph, in procuring which I had the greatest difficulty. Of a few hundred coloured people dying, nothing is thought; but to be living there, and not able to remedy it, was a peculiarly painful situation in which to be placed. With regard to the question of slavery, I went to Mabelly in the interior, and visited the Timanee and Mandingo countries. I was successful in getting the native Kings and Chiefs, twenty-three in number, to assemble, and afterwards they declared me sole arbiter of all their differences. At this time, the wars had extended to our very boundary, and we could not in safety put a foot beyond our own territory. I remained there three months, and they were so perfectly satisfied with my decisions, that when I visited them the following year, they were ready to hear anything that I had to say, or to do anything I wished. I had on the previous occasion, pointed out the impropriety of carrying on the slave-trade, and also showed them, that by agriculture and legitimate trade, they would realize larger profits than by this traffic. A powerful Chief, whom I left to represent me on my return to the colony, and whom I had instructed to cultivate the land, on this visit told me, that the average price which he formerly obtained for slaves, was £4 each; but by their labour he had cleared £7. 10s. each. He added, that consequently he would never sell another slave, and others declared their willingness to follow his example, provided they were instructed in agricultural pursuits. Just at the time that I was completing my arrangements, and they were prepared to enter into a treaty renouncing the slave-trade for ever, I was recalled. It is by moral influence alone that we shall effect our objects in Africa. The Africans require agriculture, a legitimate trade, honest merchants, and zealous missionaries. Honest merchants have been driven out of Sierra Leone, they have had no chance, the system being to seek in every possible way the avoidance of duties. Let the African have but fair play, give him instruction, adopt the means I have pointed out, and you will at once find the slave-trade disappear. You cannot, however, expect to do in Africa what you have accomplished in the West Indies; internal slavery cannot be destroyed in a single year. First stop the export trade, and then as civilization and missionary labour advance, so you will find internal slavery driven from the face of the country. I will only add, that for the last eighteen months of my administration of the Government of Sierra Leone, I put an entire stop to the slave-trade in the immense territories over which my influence and authority extended.

Captain WAUCHOPE.—The resolution placed in my hands is to the following effect :—

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, be requested to take such steps, as may appear best calculated to obtain a thorough investigation into the state of our present settlements on the West Coast of Africa ; with the view of exposing the abuses which have so long existed, and prevented the advancement in civilization and suppression of the slave-trade, so ardently desired by the real friends of Africa, and to obtain which, so much has been expended.

I do not intend to enter into the political state of Sierra Leone, with which I am altogether unacquainted. I shall more particularly direct your attention to the condition of the liberated Africans, of which I was an eye-witness. I was personally acquainted with COLONEL CAMPBELL, and I can bear testimony to his kindness to the Missionaries, and to his earnest desire for the education of the people. Here are some sheets which I took from the copy books of the children, which are extremely well written. [The gallant officer distributed them through the Convention, and they elicited the warmest approbation]. I think the discrepancies in the statements regarding African character, not only at Sierra Leone, but elsewhere, may be reconciled, by recollecting, that there are three classes of negroes imported as slaves. First, there is the freeman taken in war ; secondly, the man who has been born in slavery and lived in it ; and, thirdly, the criminal who has been sold into slavery by the state in which he lived. When they arrive at Sierra Leone, or elsewhere, the man who has been born in slavery, has his highest wish gratified, if he has just sufficient to eat, and may live in indolence. He has been looking forward to the period when he should be able to extricate himself from labour ; and, therefore, it is easy to account for his feelings. The criminal is found at the outskirts of the villages, living very much in his former state. The man who has always lived in a state of freedom, but has been captured in war, sold as a slave, and then brought to Sierra Leone, is the man who rises in the world. They have been seen to tie a bag round their neck and gather up bits of old iron, or anything they can pick up, or bring in fire-wood for sale, and thus procure, by degrees, a comfortable subsistence. The great ambition of a liberated African at Sierra Leone, is to obtain a stone house ; and you see them in different states of progress. In some cases, a piece of ground is just purchased, in others a hole is dug to receive the foundation, and in others the foundation is laid. From what I heard and saw at Sierra Leone, I believe that the civilization of Western Africa, so far as it has been effected, is entirely attributable to the Missionaries. I believe that there is no dissentient voice there upon that subject. One day when I dined with the CHIEF JUSTICE, there were present a number of merchants, and the heads of departments. The conversation turned on the character of the liberated Africans ; and the CHIEF JUSTICE appealed to his guests, as to whether they would not as soon trust their characters, their property, and their lives, to a liberated African jury, as to any jury in Great Britain, and they universally assented to it. One word regarding Fernando Po, which will show, that the African is not incapable of receiving instruction, or civilization, or discharging the duties of life in any situation to which he may be raised. I had

a bill to cash there for the ship, amounting to £230. It was cashed by a man, named SCOTT, who was charged with all the money departments under Mr. BECROFT. I dined with him at Mr. BECROFT's table, and a more intelligent man I never met with. Speaking to my friend regarding him afterwards, he said, "You will be surprised to hear, that ten years ago, that man was in the hold of a slaver." If this is not a mark of negro intellect, I know not what is. But I fear I am intruding. I visited a Missionary station. For this purpose I borrowed a horse of the GOVERNOR, and obtained a letter of introduction from him to the Rev. Mr. WIX. I set off at five o'clock in the morning, and on going through the different villages, I was welcomed by the inhabitants. When I saw their black faces shining in the sun, they appeared so happy, so beaming with delight, that my heart responded, "I could join in that happiness," for they were *free*: but when I have seen a little negro child smiling and happy, though born in slavery, I could only compare this to a child innocently playing with the trappings, and mournful decorations of its mother's coffin, unconscious of the loss it had sustained. But I rejoiced to observe the happiness of the children brought up within the sound of the church-going bell, within reach of the school, and the Christian instruction of such a man as WIX. I arrived at the village of Bathurst about eight o'clock, and the liberated Africans were assembled in the school-house, according to custom for family worship, which was conducted by a coloured man. So intent were they on what was going on, that I was unobserved, I do not think that there was a single eye turned towards me. He was reading a chapter from the Bible, after which he engaged in prayer; and I never met with any set of men where there was greater devotion. I was the only white man amongst them. The assembly having been dismissed, he came up to me, and conducted me to his residence, where I was most kindly received. After breakfast I visited the several schools; I was highly gratified at the amount of religious instruction which the children had received, and the excellent answers they gave to the questions I propounded to them. I afterwards went to the church, where there were upwards of 700 people assembled. Mr. WIX, his wife, and myself, being the only white people among them. A more attentive audience never was congregated. There were ranged in front of me three or four rows of black children, with their hymn books, singing so sweetly, that I felt overpowered by it. The sacrament was administered, and I most gladly knelt around the table of our common Lord, with forty-seven of my black brethren. I may just mention, that our fashions had found their way there, and the females were attired in muslin gowns with wide sleeves. I need not allude to the honesty of the liberated Africans, COLONEL CAMPBELL having borne testimony to it. I took an inventory of the articles in one room of a house which I visited. There was one chest of mahogany drawers, a gilt looking-glass, tumblers, wine glasses, a beaufet, a mahogany table with a red cotton cover, a smaller mahogany table uncovered, six chairs, and an old map of Palestine.

Dr. PRICE.—In rising to second the resolution, I would merely take occasion to remark, that I hope the reference made to this Committee will be a substantial *bond fide* reference; that there will be a thorough investigation of the statements made, so thrilling to all our feelings, and of the truth of which, from information gathered from various sources, my own mind is fully convinced. It is most important, that the facts should be brought dis-

tinets out, whomsoever they may touch, or upon whatever department of our Government they may impugn, that we may know the true condition of those dependencies, on which so much British money, and British life, have been sacrificed.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—I cannot, from personal observation, state my conviction of the truth of our respected friend's statement, but I have been assured by a Wesleyan missionary, that there were greater abominations in Sierra Leone than he could possibly describe, so that I doubt not, COLONEL CAMPBELL, has rather under than over-stated the matter. I do think that touch whom it may, it is high time the truth was spoken out. I know that Governors who have returned from Jamaica, have had their mouths shut. As this subject is so interesting, connected with the present movements in Africa, I hope that we shall have the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. If it touches the Colonial Office, so much the better. It is high time, that the British public were fully acquainted with all that transpires there. But we do not wish to impugn the character of any man more than is necessary to obtain justice for maligned Africa. I rejoice that a GOVERNOR has been found, who has confirmed the statements previously made by a Missionary, respecting the probity and good character of our fellow-subjects in Africa. I must state my conviction, that the best means of carrying out this resolution will be by some of us going to Sierra Leone. If you will appoint me, I will go for one. Had it not been so late in the evening, I should have requested COLONEL CAMPBELL to state, whether if a white man went in the spirit of kindness, peace, and love, there was danger of his meeting with anything which could harm or destroy him, but I forbear. Referring to what I said this morning, respecting British subjects being stolen, and sold as slaves in America, the female to whom I alluded is MARGARET SCARLETT, and it is generally believed, that she is a half-sister to the present LORD ABINGER. She has children in Jamaica, and she has been sold as a slave in New Orleans. Every thing which has been done to recover her has been totally unsuccessful.

The resolution was then put, and carried unanimously.

Mr. Justice JEREMIE.—Mr. MURRAY, a gentleman who has rendered great service to the anti-slavery cause, having been secretary to the Anti-slavery Society of Glasgow for fifteen years, has drawn up a paper, which he considers important, which I make no doubt is the case. It treats of the mode in which Africa and its sons, the liberated Africans, might be effectually protected. I understand that he proposes to place them under the protection of the principal powers of Europe, and he explains, on grounds of international law, his reasons for supposing that his plan will be successful. I have not read the paper, and therefore all I have to do now is to move :—

That the same be referred to a committee, consisting of Dr. BOWRING, JOHN MURRAY, and GEORGE THOMPSON, Esqrs., with the mover and seconder, with instructions to report thereon to-morrow.

Whilst noticing the liberated Africans, I cannot but say a few words on what occurred a short time since ; happening to serve under that department, which has been so freely alluded to by COLONEL CAMPBELL, I confess that it would be with great unwillingness that I remained entirely silent, whilst it is with almost as much reluctance that I enter on so delicate a subject. But

on the whole, I am resolved to display the same independence here, that I trust I have done on all occasions, and to state distinctly, that I very much fear, that we, a Convention from all parts of the world, are entering too much into detail on the acts of our own Government. We are each at liberty to entertain our own opinions, I express mine, and if they are in opposition to the sentiments of the meeting, I bow to their decision, though my views remain unchanged. That the position of the liberated Africans ought to be known, that if any abuses exist in that department they ought to be remedied, and that this is a point into which you are entitled to inquire, I do not dispute. But at the same time I must say, that parties have been here mentioned very freely, though not present to defend themselves. There are public assemblies in this country where if not present, they might be represented; but here they are neither directly nor indirectly represented.

The CHAIRMAN.—I have great doubts as to the propriety of papers relative to the state of society in Africa being brought here, but the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will exercise their discretion, and do as they please as to making use of them.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I beg to second the resolution proposed by JUDGE JEREMIE.

The motion was then put, and carried unanimously.

Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR, (of Worcester, Mass.)—Allow me to say, and it is with deep regret that I state the fact, that I was unable to be with you until Thursday morning. I was delayed by head winds. I regret that I have lost so much, nevertheless, I rejoice, that I have received so much light as I have since I took my seat in this Convention. I have not before had an opportunity of uttering a word, therefore, will you favour me with a few minutes. I do not intend to make a speech, but to move a resolution in reference to the *Amistad*. The *Amistad* was a slave vessel bearing a cargo of purchased slaves from Cuba, through the Gulf of Mexico. These slaves rose up against those who held them in durance, and, having killed the Captain, took possession of the vessel; but, being unacquainted with navigation, they were unable to steer it. They directed the helmsman, whom they had preserved, to sail to the east, threatening to take his life if he disobeyed. They were able to watch him during the day-time, but during the night, he understanding the compass, which they did not, was able to deceive them, by steering the vessel to the west; and, at length, he brought them on the coast of the United States, where they were discovered. The authorities boarded the vessel and took possession of her. These persons were taken into the state of Connecticut, and there imprisoned. They have been tried twice; no crime has been proved against them, but they are still detained in prison, and are to be tried a third time. I have in my pocket a document, touching the subject, which involves the chief magistrate of the United States in a course of conduct which we, of the United States, do not regard in the highest degree honourable to himself. It is a document, which shows, that he presumed to interfere on his own responsibility, and that he ordered an armed vessel to be ready, during the trial of these poor captured Africans who had been struggling for freedom, and had well nigh obtained it, that, in case there should be a decision in their favour, and no appeal to a higher court, he might commit them to the authorities of the Spanish Government in Cuba, to be thrown into slavery. I may now read the resolution.

That this Convention, deeply sympathising with the survivors of the *Amistad*, who, though fully proved to be rightfully and legally free, are yet as slaves incarcerated in the United States, under the authority of the Government of that country, do express their regret and astonishment at the course pursued towards those victims of cupidity and cruelty, in the vexatious delays to which they have been subjected in their trial in American courts, and especially in the interference of the National Executive, in aid of the oppressors of these prisoners, for the purpose of delivering them up to their unjust claimants, and thus reducing them to absolute and perpetual slavery.

It might be sufficient merely to move this, and to leave it in the hands of a committee, who will probably draw up a memorial on the subject. Let me remark, however, that that class of citizens of the United States, who have begun to sympathise with the poor down-trodden sons of Ham, have entered with thrilling interest into this case. It has awakened the attention of thousands in New England, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and other northern states, who before had been slumbering on the subject of slavery. I mention this fact to show, that it is regarded as an important matter in America. If you can induce the British Government to remonstrate with that of the United States on this subject you will accomplish, I apprehend, a noble work. The representatives, here assembled from different nations have a voice which they can employ, and which will be heard across the Atlantic. It will be heard also, where as yet, I fear, little has been felt, viz., by the Government of Spain. We all feel in Massachusetts, that the decision, with regard to this vessel and its unhappy inmates, is one which vitally affects the great question of slavery.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I wish to put this question to the friend from America—whether this subject does come within the scope of the principles on which the Convention is met? The principle is comprehended in three words, “moral, religious, and pacific.” These poor negroes having been brought into the circumstances into which they are thrown, by the commission of an act of murder, does the subject come properly, legitimately, and suitably within the scope of the principles we have laid down?

Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR.—The question is a very proper one. I think it does. I think the influence which the Government of this country may exert, will be a moral and pacific influence, an influence worthy of your noble QUEEN, worthy of your Parliament. We do not ask that they should interfere with the sword: that is a weapon with which I hope we have done. Great Britain and America will no more meet in contest with other arms than those of truth and love.

Rev. W. BROCK.—We have been doing all through the Convention, in other matters, just what we propose to do in this. We are called upon to memorialise the Secretary of State, imploring him to exert the utmost influence of the British Crown with the Governments of Spain and America, for the deliverance of certain persons, ACCORDING TO LAW. I believe, from my acquaintance with the facts, that a searching examination into this case of the *Amistad*, would bring before us, in a tangible form, the difficulties which our anti-slavery friends have to contend with, and the chicanery and com-

plexity of the course which the pro-slavery party pursue, to stop and counteract our efforts. I should most heartily go into the case for this purpose ; but waiving this, I think that the objection of Mr. FORSTER would equally lie against all the protests we have been adopting. Our principle throughout has been the same with our principle now. I, therefore, beg to second the motion.

Dr. MADDEN.—I happened to be a witness in the case of the *Amistad*. When the intelligence first reached us at Cuba that these fifty-three men had been cast on the shore of America, we soon found that the American Consul, the friend of Mr. STEVENSON, had received an application to procure evidence, to prove that these men had been long held in slavery in Cuba, and were a class of negroes called *ladinoes*, negroes legally held in slavery. It was well known to me that they were *bozal* negroes. I thought it important to defeat the American Consul, I visited the different barracoons, and at length I found the identical one at which they had been sold. I took with me two witnesses, and questioned the owner of the barracoon, who admitted that he had sold them ; that they had been recently introduced, and belonged to a notorious slave-owner. I called upon a gentleman, and apprized him, that I had procured this information, and that I thought it of the utmost importance to make an affidavit, to be duly forwarded to America, to be produced on the trial. It appeared advisable, however, that I should go myself. I, therefore, two days afterwards quitted my station, and took the responsibility of going to America. I was told, that I should be thought over zealous ; for I was leaving the island, which I was not empowered to do by my instructions. I was detained in America two months ; I appeared at the trial, and gave the evidence to which I have now referred. Previous to attending the trial, I was recommended by some anti-slavery gentlemen in New York to go and communicate with VAN BUREN. I accordingly went to him, and told him the nature of the evidence which I had to give. VAN BUREN used all the arguments he could, to prevent my appearing at the trial. It was stated by CAPTAIN FITZGERALD the other day, that to him VAN BUREN expressed the strongest desire to put down the slave-trade. All my impressions would lead me to a very different conclusion. I happened to meet the Secretary of the Navy, and he requested me to give him some information, as to the slave-trade carried on under the American flag. He acknowledged that their own Consul must have been cognisant of the iniquities carried on under that flag in Cuba. He asked me, what number of vessels would be required in order to put it down, to which I replied, six or eight. He then said, that only two vessels had been sent out ; on which I observed, that it was a mockery, that they could do no good. He shook his head, giving me to understand, that that was his own opinion. A few days after this, I saw it stated in the message of the PRESIDENT, that a competent force to put down the slave-trade had been sent out. However, I trust my evidence proving those men to be *bozal* negroes, went some way in procuring the verdict that was recorded.

Mr. STANTON.—I beg to ask Dr. MADDEN a question. It was believed in America, that these Africans were taken there, in contravention of the law of nations ; and that Mr. Fox, the British Minister, at the Court of the United States ought to have called upon the Secretary of State to know why those negroes were detained, to have entered into a correspondence on that subject, and then to have reported that correspondence to his Government here. I will not take it upon me to say, whether he represents British feeling ;

but, I believe, he saw fit to do nothing in the matter. Does Dr. MADDEN know anything on this subject?

Dr. MADDEN.—It would not become me to state what I know officially; but he should have made a representation to the American Government.

Mr. STANTON.—While we wish that our Minister was not here, we are very anxious that England should send us a good Minister. There is a great deal connected with the liberties of the African race, which the British resident in America can do. I wish the day would come, when in return for our STEVENSON, your Court would send us DANIEL O'CONNELL.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—I move as an amendment, that the resolution be prefaced by some such words as these, "Without expressing an opinion upon their previous conduct."

Mr. SAMS.—The amendment is more satisfactory to my mind than the previous resolution; I therefore second it.

Rev. H. GREW.—Although we may disapprove of one, we may not disapprove of all their previous acts.

The amendment was then put and lost, after which the original resolution was carried.

Mr. W. MORGAN.—I beg to move:—

The Secretaries having laid on the table communications from CAPTAIN MOORSOM, on the right of appeal possessed by this Convention, and from JONATHAN BACKHOUSE, Esq., on an Address to the American people; that the same be referred to the committee appointed to prepare Addresses to the Heads of Government.

Rev. W. BEVAN, seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I lay on the table a letter from W. BELDAM, Esq., with two pamphlets; and I beg to move,

That the same be referred to the committee on the results of Emancipation.

Mr. W. MORGAN seconded the resolution, which was put and agreed to.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I shall also lay on the table the following papers: Resolutions of Northumberland and Durham Association of Independent Churches; Letter from SAMUEL FESSENDEN, containing resolutions of New England Anti-slavery Convention, held at Boston, May, 1840.

The Convention then adjourned.

TENTH DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 22, 1840.

(MORNING).

Dr. GREVILLE in the Chair.

The minutes of yesterday were read and confirmed.

Rev. T. SCALES.—We are in the condition in which some other public bodies are frequently placed. After a great deal of discussion, when the close of the session arrives, the business is then to be done. There are matters of great importance to come before us, and if gentlemen address themselves strictly to these measures, perhaps we shall be able to close this evening. I think our motto should be, *facta non verba*—not words but deeds.

The CHAIRMAN.—The public interest which attaches to our meetings, will almost necessarily close this evening; and, therefore, it is desirable that everything of importance should be brought forward, and disposed of to-day. We ought to consider ourselves as a working committee.

THANKS TO MISSIONARIES GENERALLY.

Captain STUART.—I rise to propose a resolution expressing the thanks of this Convention to Christian Missionaries abroad. I have felt it my duty to offer this resolution to your acceptance, and I will offer a few words in explanation of it. With one or two exceptions, which I need not mention, I believe that before emancipation, the Baptist Missionaries in Jamaica were almost the only parties to whom we could render this meed of praise; but since that auspicious event, I am fully persuaded that the Missionaries generally deserve our warmest thanks.

Mr. STANDFIELD.—I beg to second that motion.

A lengthened conversation followed, after which, on the motion of the Rev. J. CARLILE, it was resolved,

That the resolution be referred to a sub-committee, consisting of CAPTAIN STUART, the Rev. THOMAS MORGAN, JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., and the Rev. J. CARLILE.

On being afterwards brought in amended, its adoption was moved by the Rev. J. CARLILE, seconded by Mr. ISAAC CREWDSON, and unanimously passed in the following form:—

That this Convention gladly embraces the opportunity of recording their high admiration of the conduct of those Missionaries and Ministers of all religious denominations in the West India Colonies, who, with energy, zeal, and perseverance, have, amid many difficulties, endeavoured to secure the rights and promote the welfare of the negro race; and the Convention would express their deepest sympathy with those of the above Missionaries and Ministers who may have suffered, or may

now suffer, in their personal property, or personal liberty, on account of an honest and faithful adherence to the principles of justice, liberty, and truth.

Dr. BOWRING.—I beg to lay before you the document which the committee have requested me to bring up, to be addressed to the French nation.

Mr. PRICE.—I have no doubt that that document has been deliberately considered by the committee, and, therefore I have no objection to move its adoption.

Mr. SAMS seconded the motion.

Mr. FULLER.—The address speaks of noble sacrifices, I suppose the French will take that to allude to compensation; I hope that we shall do nothing to suggest compensation, not only because I believe it is wrong in principle, but the views entertained by the French are ten thousand times worse than the plan pursued by the British Government. We must take care that not one penny comes from the negro.

Mr. BLAIR.—I submit the introduction of the words "immediately and unconditionally." I think that will remove the difficulty, which also occurred to my own mind.

The Address was then adopted, with the understanding that the committee, by whom it was drawn up, would make the necessary alteration. The following is a copy of the Address as amended:—

TO THE FRENCH NATION.

A Convention, composed of deputies from various parts of the civilized world is now assembled in London. Their object is by peaceful, moral, and religious means to effect the overthrow of the slave-trade and slavery. Seeking the co-operation of all the friends of justice and humanity, they address themselves to the French nation.

That nation is honoured by early protests against the right of man to kidnap, to enslave, to create a property in his fellow-man. The States-general were among the first to extend to the blacks those principles of freedom on which they grounded their own patriotic exertions. Though in abeyance for years, they were again recognised by NAPOLEON in 1815, and yet more emphatically, after the revolution of 1830, when the slave-trade was abolished in all the colonies of France.

The KINGS of France, the Governments of France, the tribunals of France have recognised for centuries, that the slave is free from the moment in which he touches the French soil; and the Convention rejoices to recognise the important truth, that it is not by law, but by sufferance, not by the sanction of the representation, but by the inaction of public opinion, that slavery has been associated with French

colonial interests, and allowed to tarnish the splendour of the glory of the French name.

The Convention would not forget whatever may have been attempted to ameliorate the condition of the slave in the colonies of France. They hail every act of the legislature by which the heavy burden of slavery may have been lightened, and they especially rejoice that the attention of a great and generous nation is beginning to awake to a sense of the grievous wrongs, the cruel injustice, the intolerable oppression under which the slaves in the French colonies are still doomed to labour.

For those wrongs, for that injustice, for those oppressions there is but one, one only, remedy. The emancipation of the negro, the final overthrow of slavery; the good work which France has begun by the abolition of the slave-trade, we call upon her to accomplish in the annihilation of slavery itself. Time was, when the fears of the timid might have prognosticated evil from immediate and entire emancipation, but now the experiment has been made, and the friends of the slave point joyously to its beneficial, to its immense results. Nobly have the exertions of the friends of the negro been rewarded in the British Colonies, by a vast accession to human happiness, and by the spread of virtue and religion, the only basis of true and lasting prosperity. The Convention trusts, that the French people, faithful to the doctrines they have so often proclaimed, will establish the right to liberty, and demand its application to every negro who is held in bondage. Not by the coercion of violence, but by the mightier power of truth, peace, and religion, would the Convention trust that the demon of slavery will be banished from the world.

What other appeal is wanting but this—that a quarter of a million of human beings are held in ignominious bondage by a free and civilized nation! Chattels—not men, and women, and children! Property—not friends and brethren! And by what right? Who has permitted the white man to tyrannise? Who has condemned the black to be trampled on? The French nation—No! it will repudiate the opprobrium—it will redeem itself from the stigma. It will nobly respond to the urgent, to the irresistible appeal, and on no terms consent to continue a system of bondage under the name of slavery, or of apprenticeship; both involve similar injustice and similar cruelty; both are equally repudiated by the tried friends of the negro. We call upon you by every consideration of liberty, of humanity, of religion,

to emancipate, immediately and unconditionally, to emancipate your slaves.

EMPLOYMENT OF BRITISH CAPITAL IN THE SLAVE-TRADE.

Mr. R. ALLEN brought up the following report on this subject:—

The committee appointed to inquire,—1. *Whether manacles for slaves are manufactured in this country?*—2. *Whether large quantities of inferior fire-arms are manufactured in Great Britain, to be sold to the Africans for their slave-wars?*—3. *Whether cotton goods of a particular fabric, and to a great amount, are manufactured in this country, with the sole intention of being used in barter for African slaves?*—4. *Whether persons in England hold shares in Brazilian or other mines which are worked by slaves?*—5. *Whether any British Joint Stock Banks have branch establishments in countries in which the slave-trade prevails?*—6. *What are the quantities of gunpowder exported from any port or ports in Great Britain to Africa and other parts of the world respectively?* report as follows:—

1.—The committee are credibly informed that, previously to the year 1838, negro collars and manacles were manufactured in Birmingham so openly, that the dealers in those articles publicly announced them in their shop bills and invoices of sale; and that the same articles are still manufactured there with but a small measure of concealment. They have it also upon indisputable evidence, that the casks of shackles which are continually seen passing through the Custom-house at Havana, in the island of Cuba, are universally held and reputed in that island to be of British manufacture.

2.—With respect to the manufacture in Great Britain of fire-arms for the African slave-wars; although the fact seems to be notorious, the committee have not been able to obtain any specific information. Fire-arms of British manufacture are positively stated to be among the articles constantly on sale in Cuba, for the purpose of the slave-trade.

3.—Of equal notoriety is the asserted fact, that there are cotton fabrics of a peculiar kind, adapted exclusively to be used in the purchase of slaves and that these fabrics are manufactured extensively at Manchester and Glasgow. The value of the exports in this department, from British warehouses, is asserted to be not less than half a million sterling annually.

4.—The Mining Companies in action in Brazil, are six, and in Cuba, three. In whole or in part, the mines are all wrought by slave-labour, and the committee have been able to ascertain that the entire number of slaves employed in them, is no less than 3325. Of these, 415 are employed by the Brazilian Imperial Company, and 441 by the Cata Branca; and this number, however large, cannot exceed the average employed by the Companies respectively. There can be no doubt, but these Companies are to a great extent actual holders of slaves. A recent balance sheet of one of them presents the fearful item of £45,000, as cost incurred for “live stock.” This would be sufficiently painful if it were to be supposed only, that in this item, men, women, and children, were indiscriminately mixed with the beasts of burden; but it has been ascertained that, in the practice of this Company, all brute help is hired, so that the whole of this sum of £45,000 has been laid out in the purchase of slaves. It is perfectly notorious that the great majority of share-holders in these Mining Associations, are British subjects.

5.—Among the British Joint Stock Banks, there is one which has extended its business where the slave-trade prevails. The Colonial Bank has for some time had a branch at Porto Rico, and has been making strenuous efforts to establish another at Havana.

6.—To ascertain the quantity of gunpowder exported from the various ports of Great Britain to Africa, and to other parts of the world respectively, although not difficult, requires more time than it has been competent to the committee to employ. They have been put into possession, however, of a document extracted from official sources at Liverpool, by which it appears, that in the year 1839, there were shipped from that port, 19,369 barrels of gunpowder; of which 17,581 barrels were shipped to Africa, and 681 barrels to Brazil, Pernambuco, Bahia, and Maranham; while to all other parts, there were sent only 1106 barrels. In this respect, Liverpool may probably be taken, with safety, as a sample of the British ports in general.

The committee thus arrive at the revolting and melancholy fact, that notwithstanding the costly endeavours of the British Government, and the unwearied efforts of British philanthropy, to extinguish the slave-trade, British hands and British capital are yet employed in forging the instruments and nourishing the sinews of it. The value of British goods, including cotton fabrics, muskets, gunpowder, shackles, &c.,

annually sold to be employed in the slave-trade in Cuba alone, is stated to amount to £200,000 sterling.

Although beyond the immediate limits of their inquiries, the committee beg permission further to state, that British subjects resident abroad are not unfrequently compelled, as complainants on bankrupts' estates, to receive and hold shares in slave-ships, and that they are found, too often voluntarily, to enter more or less deeply into slave-trading speculations. It is even affirmed by Mr. Turnbull in his recent work, "that there are men of large capital at this hour resident in London, and in the full enjoyment of the rights and franchises of Englishmen, who do not scruple to enrich themselves under cover of a foreign partnership, by supplying the actual slave-dealer with the means of carrying on his ruthless war of extermination against the African race." He speaks of it also as a fact, within his knowledge, that other persons "to all intents and purposes, British subjects, and resident in this metropolis, not content with risking their money to secure a high rate of interest, have actually stipulated on becoming sleeping partners in one of the most notorious slaving-houses at the Havana."

The committee cannot better express their sentiments after this affecting recital, than in the words of the writer they have just quoted:—

"These, it must be admitted, are grievous blots on the national escutcheon. As long as a single vestige of them remains, to justify either the taunts of our enemies or the honest regrets of our friends, we can never afford to sit down with tranquillity or composure under the disgraceful imputation. Every man of us is bound to exert himself in the cause, as if his personal reputation were at stake. From all this pollution there is but one way of escape. It is by the suppression of the trade, finally, absolutely, irretrievably."

Mr. R. ALLEN.—This examination has been to me I can honestly say, a most humiliating one. Turn which way we would, we found British capital directly engaged in the slave-trade, upholding it both at home and abroad. I do sincerely and earnestly recommend this subject, to the friends of the negro everywhere, I hope that those who live in manufacturing towns, will make it their business to bring to light what details they can, bearing on this subject; not that I have any hope that very much will be done, because such is human nature, that so long as there is a demand for an article, I fear there will be persons found to supply it. But I believe on the other hand, that there is a large number of conscientious persons, who have been unfortunately led to the holding of shares in Companies, in which slave-labour is directly involved.

Mr. BOULTBEE.—I have particular pleasure in moving the adoption of this report, because it is strongly impressed on my mind, that the abettors of slavery in any way, are all participators of its guilt.

Rev. C. STOVEL.—I rise to second the resolution. As we have resolved not to hold communion with persons holding slaves, or implicated directly in the slave-trade, I wish to submit to my brethren, whether it is not important for us to use the utmost scrutiny in cleansing our churches from all those in this country, who are thus indirectly implicated in the same crime.

Rev. H. GREW.—In the report there are charges against British subjects of preparing these articles for the slave-trade. I wish to know, whether the committee have evidence to prove, should we be called on to do so, that there are particular persons engaged in manufacturing these articles, or whether it is a mere general report?

The CHAIRMAN.—There is a distinction drawn. On some points they have indisputable evidence; in other cases they say they cannot distinctly trace it out, although the fact is universally believed to exist.

The report was then unanimously adopted.

A series of resolutions, founded on the above report, was then read by Mr. ALLEN, but on the suggestion of several gentlemen, they were re-committed, and at a subsequent period brought up again. On the motion of Mr. ALEXANDER, seconded by the Rev. D. WHITE, of Cirencester, they were unanimously adopted in the following form:—

That this Convention learns with profound regret, that there are British subjects who render immediate support to the slave-trade or slavery,—some by supplying the articles necessary for conducting it—some by furnishing, as bankers, the capital employed in it—some by holding shares in Mining Associations, the purchasers of the victims of the traffic—and some even by actual manufacture and exportation of the arms and manacles employed in the abduction of these victims.

That the employment of British subjects, and British capital, directly or indirectly, in support of slavery or the slave-trade, is not only deeply to be deplored, but strongly to be reprobated, inasmuch as it involves a grave moral responsibility, a flagrant dishonour to the British name, and an outrageous inconsistency with the avowed desire, the strenuous endeavours, and the costly sacrifices of Great Britain, for the suppression thereof.

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested to consider the propriety of remonstrating in a spirit of kindness and firmness, with the directors and shareholders of any British Companies having establishments in countries where slavery or the slave-trade is carried on, with reference to the tendency and effect of their operations in those places, and of the employment of British capital, in either directly, or indirectly sustaining the slave-trade.

SLAVE GROWN SUGAR.

Mr. STACEY.—I beg to move :—

That, impressed with the importance of avoiding all means of strengthening slavery and the foreign slave-trade, this Convention is of the judgment, that the British Government ought on no account to allow of the introduction of slave-grown sugar into the British market ; and that the friends of the abolition of slavery, ought, in their individual character, to uphold this view.

Mr. J. FORSTER seconded the motion.

Mr. PRICE.—Before that resolution is put to the meeting, I submit that a slight alteration should be made. A distinction should be drawn between articles introduced into the British market for home consumption, and those which are sold here for exportation, and sent to other parts of the world. Many of us are aware, that a large trade of the latter description is carried on. It is notorious, that goods, on their arrival, are placed in bond, that they become 'objects of commercial enterprise, and are ultimately transported to places where the laws do not check or restrict their consumption. Copper-ore is introduced from various places where slavery exists, but it is subject to so high a duty, as distinctly to prohibit its consumption in this country ; it is, however, allowed to be brought to our shores and smelted, and is then exported to supply the market of the world.

SAMUEL FOX, Esq., (Delegate from Nottingham).—A deputation from the wholesale grocers of London have waited on the Colonial Office, requesting that the duty on foreign grown sugars may be reduced. Ministers have, however, determined to make no alteration, but to leave the present price to work its own remedy. In consequence of this, a considerable rise has taken place in British grown sugar, and if a further rise of ten per cent. were to take place, it would be impossible to prevent the introduction of slave-grown sugar, the holders could then afford to pay the present protecting duty.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—A gentleman well acquainted with the present state of the British sugar market, thought it desirable that the anti-slavery public should contribute to strengthen the hands of the Government in the disposition which they feel at the present moment.

Mr. S. FOX.—I believe they have come to a conclusion.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—The low price at which foreign sugar is worked, and the present high price of British sugar will tend to increase the number of sugar plantations, and thus to increase the importation of slaves, and the cruel exaction of labour.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—We should not do our duty, if we did not pass this resolution, especially as petitions are lying at the grocers praying for permission to introduce foreign sugars, and falsely stating that these foreign sugars are for the most part produced, which we know they are not, by free-labour.

Captain STUART.—Whatever resolutions a man may form, their fulfilment depends much on subsequent influences. I, therefore, hope, that the resolution will pass. It will not deter the Government from maintaining their present right position ; but it may strengthen them in it.

Mr. SAMS.—I unite in that sentiment; I think the resolution is well worthy the attention of the Convention, and I, therefore, hope it will be passed.

The motion was then unanimously adopted.

ADDRESS TO HEADS OF GOVERNMENTS.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—It will be in the recollection of the members of the Convention, who were present at the close of the sittings last week, that a Sub-committee was appointed to prepare an Address to Foreign Powers. They have not felt it to be a light undertaking, but they have now to present the form of an Address for the adoption of the meeting. While it is addressed to one KING, it is so written, that with slight verbal alterations, it may be addressed to any SOVEREIGN. It is as follows:—

From a Convention of the friends of the slave, assembled from various parts of the world, for the purpose of promoting the immediate, entire, and universal abolition of slavery and the slave-trade, by those means which are of a moral, religious, and pacific character, held in London on the 12th, and by adjournments to the 23rd of June, 1840.

To _____

May it please _____

“Righteousness exalteth a nation; but sin is a reproach to any people.” Righteousness is comprehended and enforced in this precept of the Lord Jesus Christ, “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.”

God has created of one blood all nations of men that dwell upon the face of the earth. We are all, of whatever nation or clime, by nature the children of Adam. With the great Creator of all things there is no respect of persons; all men are brethren; and in this relation of brotherhood, they are all entitled to the equal enjoyment of personal and civil liberty.

Slavery and the slave trade are a violation of this great principle. The assumption by man of a right of property in man, is in open opposition to the pure and righteous law of God; and, hence, the perpetration of these crimes has ever been found to obstruct the happiness of man. Oppression and cruelty are their certain attendants; they have their origin in pride and avarice, and they foment and strengthen all the evil passions of the human heart.

In later years, the attention of the world has been increasingly directed to these enormous sins, and the Congress of the representatives of the Sovereigns assembled at Verona, in November, 1822, declared that they considered the slave-trade "as a scourge which has too long desolated Africa, degraded Europe, and afflicted humanity." The slave-trade continues to exist in an aggravated form.

It is estimated that upwards of 300,000 human beings are annually sacrificed on the continent of Africa, in the prosecution of this wicked traffic. In addition, upwards of 70,000 are annually transferred from the older to the more newly settled slave states in the United States of North America. Millions of the human race are also still retained in unrighteous and cruel bondage.

This Convention, therefore, being solemnly impressed with a sense of the national sin of slavery and the slave-trade, and under a settled conviction, that the only effectual means to put an end to the slave-trade, is to abolish slavery, does most earnestly and respectfully appeal to ——— to employ all that influence and power with which Divine Providence has entrusted ——— to secure immediate and unconditional liberty to the slave.

It is high time that the civilized world, and more especially those nations which bear the Christian name, should purge themselves from these foul abominations. We open our mouth for the dumb, and plead for brethren who cannot plead for themselves. The Lord Jesus Christ died upon the cross for them, equally as for us.

Great Britain has at length manumitted the slaves in the West India and in other colonies. It has been declared by the law of the British Government, that slavery shall for ever cease in those colonies: the happiest results have ensued.

Most gratifying reports have been now presented, showing that the negroes have peaceably exchanged a state of slavery for one of freedom. Industry prevails, prosperity increases, and Christianity is honoured and practised. We desire reverently to commit this cause to God. We implore his blessing on this appeal. We pray that through the power of the Holy Spirit, rulers and subjects may in all countries be brought to receive and to act upon the gospel of our Holy Redeemer; and that the day may be hastened when violence shall no more be heard throughout the habitable earth, wasting or destruction within her borders.

C. HILL, Esq., (Delegate from Wellingborough).—It certainly was not my intention to have taken an active part in the proceedings of this Convention, but having been requested to move the adoption of the Address which has just been read, I could not refuse my humble aid and assistance in endeavouring to promote a cause, which I have for many years had most sincerely at heart. I had the honour of attending at the opening of the Convention, and I found that there were so many gentlemen present, from whose efforts, whose eloquence, and whose talents this Convention was likely to receive so much more information than I could impart, that I decided from that moment to take no active part in your deliberations, but to leave it to other and abler hands. I assure you, it was not from any want of sincerity, or deep feeling in this interesting and important cause, that I was led to form that resolution: for I have from the time that I can recollect having formed an opinion, held those sentiments which you have heard detailed in the Address which has now been read. I have supported the cause at meetings for the abolition of slavery, and also on the hustings. It is not my intention to take up your time, I shall, therefore, conclude the observations I have made, by proposing,

That the address to Heads of Governments now brought up by the committee be adopted, and that it be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to transmit it accordingly.

Sir CULLING EARDLEY SMITH, Bart.—If a few minutes ago, when this resolution was put into my hand, I felt that I was unworthy to second it, I feel it still more deeply after the sentiments which have just been expressed. Every word which justified the last speaker in moving the resolution, appears to have justified me in my unwillingness to second it. I have not done justice to my own feelings hitherto; I have not been acquainted, as I ought to have been, with the history and progress of the great question which is now engaging your attention. I have much, for which to blame myself, in not attending earlier at this Convention. But having been induced to come forward and second the resolution, I hope I shall be forgiven for so doing. I feel that in this, as in any other question, those persons should take a part in the proceedings, who are well acquainted with the details. I feel deeply interested in the principle for which you contend; but with the details, I am not conversant. It is a great Christian question with which you are engaged. I look upon the human race, and I see one great principle recognised by every denomination of Christians: viz., that man is a responsible being. What does slavery do? It takes away his responsibility; it puts him under the lash, and the power of the master; and that responsibility which is the great lever by which the world is to be raised, is by slavery annihilated. I also cordially sympathise with the means you put into operation for the abolition of slavery. I do not like to go to work with sledge hammers; I do not believe that great principles are to be carried out by force. I believe that truth, *as truth* will prevail; and it has been practically proved through all generations of the world, that every truth, which in faith, and confidence, and kindness, has been placed before the public mind has ultimately succeeded; and I am sure that this will always be the result. I, therefore, sympathise in the mode in which you wish to accomplish your object. One word on the pacific suggestion before the meeting. The evil of slavery has been very much fostered, if not by the acts, yet by the connivances of Governments. The knot has

been tied by Governments, and I wish to see them come forward and untie it. I am desirous that they should take the lead in directing public opinion on this question. I should rejoice if these Addresses to be sent to the several SOVEREIGNS, were instrumental in leading only one crowned head to view this as a moral and religious question, and to set an example to the rest of Europe. We are not calling upon Foreign Monarchs to do what we are not doing ourselves. The experiment has been made, and we have found it successful; and we now ask them to take a leaf out of our book, and not only to imitate our self-denial, but also our success. I feel that by amicable interchange of sentiments between nations, as between individuals, much is to be gained. I am sure that England ought to be glad to receive similar suggestions from foreign philanthropists.

The Address was adopted unanimously.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION.

Mr. PRESCOD.—I believe it will be admitted, that the object of this Convention, is not so much to convince ourselves of the beneficial results of emancipation, as to send out evidence to the world, which shall produce that conviction in the minds of others. That evidence cannot be too full, the more abundant it is, the better will it conduce to the object we have in view. Having been prevented by indisposition from addressing you on a former occasion, I have prepared a paper, the facts of which generally have come under my own observation, respecting the working of the system of emancipation in the Windward and Leeward Islands, in which I have principally resided, and in which indeed I was born. That paper is of such length, that I will not at this late hour, press for it to be read; but will make a few general observations on the subject, and then place it in the hands of the committee for their disposal. When I before addressed the Convention, I briefly adverted to the clamours of ruin which preceded the act of emancipation; and those who know the slave-holder as intimately as I have known him, will not be surprised to find him still clamouring his dread apprehensions through every stage of the measure, and foreboding evil, whilst every one else is rejoicing at the prospect of good. But, notwithstanding his interested misrepresentation of the actual condition and future prospects of the colonies; notwithstanding the certain failure, which he now predicts, of that measure of Christian justice, unless Government shall seasonably consent to his wild projects for reviving the African and the Coolie slave-trade, and arm him and his myrmidons with stringent laws, to coerce labour and maintain their unjust domination over the people; notwithstanding these, I am bold to assert, from my own personal experience, and on the most unexceptionable authorities, that the most sanguine expectations and confident predictions of abolitionists have already been realized, or are in course of undoubted realization, throughout the colonies with which I am acquainted. The clamour of ruin finds little countenance and no belief in the colonies. It is intended exclusively for the ears of the British Government; and from the earliest period in the colonial history, it has been the usual accompaniment of the improper demands of the planters, and of their opposition to all proper reforms. It has not been my fortune to meet a single resident colonist of any reputation, and but tolerably observant of passing occurrences, who seriously apprehends general ruin, or even general embarrassment, as a consequence of emancipation; and

my experience leads me very much to doubt, that such a one could be found. There is, on the contrary, in Barbadoes, which by the way, SIR EDWARD CUST, in his amusing pamphlet, gives as a lucid exception amidst the gloom of colonial despair, and in all the islands which I have visited, and to which my inquiries, through confidential and trust-worthy correspondents, have extended, a general admission, that they have never been so prosperous and so likely to prosper, as at present. That to this general prosperity, there are exceptions, more or less important in all these islands, I am not at all disposed to deny; nor should I doubt, that here and there, under peculiar circumstances, an individual proprietor may sustain loss, or even be ruined, by means of emancipation. I will here read one or two instances, by way of illustration. Shortly before the abolition of slavery, in 1833, plantation Skelton in Berbice, was taken over by Messrs. Ross, merchants, I believe, of Edinburgh, for a debt of £40,000 sterling, but with little prospect, at that time, of its ever realizing anything like that amount; in fact, they would have been glad to get rid of the bargain for half the debt in cash. The crop of 1835, and the compensation money received in that year for the slaves upon the property, cleared off £36,000 of the debt, and left the estate almost clear profit. Since the abrogation of apprenticeship, in 1838, the produce has greatly fallen off, from the difficulty of obtaining the necessary amount of continuous labour, even at a higher rate of wages than is commonly paid in the colony. These facts I had from a brother of the proprietors, who came over a fellow-passenger with me from Barbadoes. This gentleman's knowledge of the colony was admitted to have been almost limited to that particular estate, and from the falling off in its produce, he was disposed to think unfavourably of the general working of emancipation. But I found, on inquiry, that the estate is situated at the extremity of the colony, twenty miles beyond the nearest estate; and at such a distance from town, as to render communication extremely difficult. Now this, in my judgment, accounted at once, and satisfactorily, for the deficiency of labour, and the falling off in the produce of the estate, without any blame to emancipation. The free labourer wants a market, easy of access, for the sale of his little produce, and the purchase of such commodities as he daily requires: and where emancipation found him located at an inconvenient distance from such market, he is a better calculator than to sell his right to remove to it, for a few pence extra wages. The other case I shall give, is, from the island of St. Lucia. In that island, early in February last, I visited the Marquess estate, the largest in the island, in company with the acting attorney, MR. GERARD. Here I found the produce had greatly fallen off since emancipation, owing, as MR. GERARD at once candidly admitted, to the great distance from town, and the difficulty, from the badness of the roads, which the labourers experienced in reaching the market. This was so great an objection to the settlement of industrious families on the estate—for it is the most industrious, who, in these cases, feel the want of a market most—that even an attempt he had made to introduce the free rent system, which I had found working most prosperously on an estate nearer town, in the same island, had, in consequence, failed to a great extent. These two instances serve to show, that much of the individual losses, of which the planters complain as resulting from emancipation, may, if true, in fact, be satisfactorily accounted for to the credit of the free-labourer, and go to establish a position directly contrary to that they assume. Except in such cases I do not know, nor does my experience lead me to apprehend.

that even individuals will be sufferers from this measure, further than themselves, or their accredited agents, are to blame: and if some do suffer, even to the extent of ruin, they will have richly deserved it; and their suffering will be so marked an instance of retributive justice, as to furnish an additional evidence that the moral government of the world is not left to chance. I will now lay before the meeting the following resolutions from the committee, on the results of emancipation in our colonies.

That the beneficial results of emancipation in the British Colonies as exhibited in the religious, moral, and social improvement of the labouring population, have far exceeded the most sanguine anticipations of the friends of freedom and humanity. That the increased value of property in these colonies, satisfactorily proves the measure to be one of great advantage to the planters and proprietors; and that, in order to the salutary and efficient working out of this great experiment—the progress of colonial legislation must be zealously watched—the withdrawal of a stipendiary magistracy strenuously resisted; and an entire reformation in the administration of justice perseveringly sought.

That this Convention is painfully impressed by the fact, that the enemies of human rights are actively promoting oppressive measures, both in this country and in the colonies—the object of which is to silence those philanthropists who advocate the cause of the poor, and to consign the emancipated to a new and bitter bondage.

That this Convention would particularly refer to the laws recently passed in Jamaica and Barbadoes, and to the persecution of Missionaries and others in the former colony; and this Convention therefore earnestly implores the friends of the anti-slavery enterprise, and especially the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, carefully to observe and take measures for frustrating all insidious attempts, either to abridge the liberties of the emancipated, or to silence and crush their protectors.

I hope I shall be allowed, in connexion with these resolutions, to address a few words to the Convention on the state of Barbadoes. The laws which have been enacted there since the period of freedom, are far more oppressive than those passed in Jamaica. I have already alluded to the contract law, and the ejectionment of the labourers from their huts without notice. Throughout the length and breadth of the island, there is scarcely a cottage which the labourer can rent. Under the old slave system, every proprietor had a sufficient number for the slaves on his estate, and that plan is still continued. I have known the ejected labourers, with their wives, their children, and their aged and infirm parents, compelled to lie in the roads for days together. Such has been the humanity of their friendly employers. These sudden ejectionments were illegal. By the common law of England, these people had a right to some months' notice, before they could be ejected. But unfor-

unately, in Barbadoes, the labourers have not the pecuniary means to enable them to prosecute that right ; and if they had, there is no Court in which to prosecute it. But last year,—and this, with other abuses of the planters, has thrown the country into great agitation—a law was brought into operation, by which these ejectments are legalized. By this law, the magistrates are invested with power to eject after twenty-four hours' notice. Twenty-four hours' notice in a country, from one end of which to the other, I have said, a cottage can scarcely be found to let. Permit me to read a petition from a poor man to the GOVERNOR, which will exhibit one of the fruits of the liberty you think you have purchased, and show to what abuses of power the free labourer is subject.

The humble petition of POWER HILL, labourer at Staple Grove plantation, parish of Christchurch, sheweth,

That petitioner's wife, PATIENCE, resides with him at Staple Grove, where he occupies a house, for which both his wife and himself, pay rent at the rate of five bits per week each, and one quarter of land, for which he pays two bits per week.

That when well and working on the estate, this rent is deducted from his and his wife's wages, they getting but two bits per day for five days in the week, while labour is at three bits, and two bits of this being further stopped back from his wages for the land rent. But when sick and unable to work, or from any cause, either he or his wife is absent from work, and the five bits paid by each for house rent cannot be so sunk in wages, then for every absent day a bit is paid by each or either, as the case may be, and is either deducted from money due them by the estate for labour, or is stopped back from future wages, in addition to the regular stoppage aforesaid.

That petitioner's wife had been sick some four weeks, and unable to work, but was convalescent about ten days ago, although still unable to do heavy field work ; and there being no such light work on the estate as she could do in her then state of health, she last week, rather than be idle, went over to Adam Castle, and undertook a little weeding to assist petitioner in the maintenance of the family, consisting of themselves and three children.

That petitioner meanwhile continued at his work on the estate, and was working in the field on Tuesday, the 19th instant, when his house was entered by order of the manager, Mr. EDWARD CLARKE, and dismantled, all the windows and doors, including his and his wife's chamber door, wrenched from their hinges, and taken away to the great house-yard. Petitioner needs not state with what feelings he viewed this outrage when he came from his work. His expostulation in the

mildest and most respectful terms has only obtained for him insult and abuse, in addition to the wrong.

Petitioner must not omit to state, that at the time his wife was taken sick and left off work on the estate, she had then a balance due to her of four bits for wages, which has been kept back in part payment of house rent during her sickness. The remainder is yet unpaid ; petitioner, with a large family to support, having no other means of paying it but by her work, when she shall be able to work on the estate, or be suffered to do such light work out as she can now do ; and petitioner is apprehensive from the threats held out, that she will be taken before the magistrate, and imprisoned for the debt, as three women belonging to the estate were yesterday afternoon, he believes, for a similar debt.

This petition is dated November 21st, 1839. I hold in my hand several other cases of more recent date, but preferred reading that in the language of the poor man's complaint. The people have been driven by this oppressive conduct of the planters to emigrate, and the planters, after exhausting all their means of annoyance to check this emigration, have lately passed an act, to punish, with fine and imprisonment, any one who shall contract with, entice, persuade, or attempt so to do, any labourer, or artificer, to go out of that island, to any other colony or place. The obstruction to emigration had been previously very great. The people had been called to prove this, that, and the other thing, to the satisfaction of the planters. Baptismal certificates had been called for, and the people being generally unable of themselves to overcome these difficulties, and support themselves in the meantime, it was necessary that they should have some one to assist them. The penalty for any such advice or assistance—or in the words of the act, for contracting with, enticing, persuading, or attempting so to do, is, for the first offence, a fine of not less than £10, nor more than £50, or in default of payment, three months imprisonment ; and for the second offence, six months imprisonment with or without hard labour. I will not occupy any further portion of your time, but earnestly request you, in the name of justice, liberty, and humanity, to interpose the influence of this Convention's deliberate judgment between the oppressed and their oppressors.

JAMES FINLAY, Esq., (of Newcastle-upon-Tyne).—I have great pleasure in moving the adoption of these resolutions. Anything which I could add would only weaken the impression produced by the facts themselves.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—I most cordially second the motion.

Rev. JAMES MIRAMS, (Delegate from Berbice).—I beg to say a few words in support of these resolutions, having for some time waited an opportunity to state what I have seen and known in relation to the progress of the great experiment of emancipation. I could enter at great length of detail into the character and conduct of the coloured people in British Guiana, but time does not permit it. I will only say, that a people more grateful to any who show them kindness, more patient under oppression, less revengeful against those who have injured them, more anxious for im-

provement, more devotedly attached to all that is great, good, and holy, in religion, or more zealous in maintaining and promoting the diffusion of the gospel, exists not on the face of the earth. It was not my happiness personally to witness much of the results of the great experiment, I saw it only upon a small scale. Just before I went to British Guiana, upon the accession of WILLIAM THE FOURTH, the Crown negroes were liberated. I resided for sixteen months in a village of these freed negroes, and though there were 300 near me, I never was disturbed one single night by any riot or misconduct. The only instance, during that period, in which any of these people were cited before a magistrate, arose from a quarrel between two of them, one of whom was intoxicated. Yet if you would take the declaration of the colonists, there was not a crime committed, there was nothing lost, nothing stolen, nothing wrong, but what was charged upon these people, and they were alleged to be the guilty parties. But we could leave our houses without bolt, or bar, by day or by night, and never fear the loss of a single article. If we were sick, when their day's work was over, they would spread their blanket by the bed side, and watch us, that the other members of the family might obtain a night's rest. Yet we are told, that these are a most ungrateful race of people. In reference to what they are doing for the diffusion of the gospel, I may state, that seven years ago, there were but three places of worship in Berbice, now there are at least thirty, and of these, one-half have been raised by the voluntary contributions of the people: for though they had assistance from England in the first instance, that has in most cases been repaid. I will just say, to show their love of freedom, that they have begun to do something to assist you, and £50 has been remitted from the congregation at Orange Chapel, Berbice, under the pastoral care of my friend and brother, Mr. HEYWOOD. That station was taken up only six years ago, and the people have raised nearly £1000 within the last year, for the support and spread of the gospel among, and around them. I have no doubt, that remittances will come to promote the objects of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, from every church in that colony, in connexion with the London Missionary Society. One fact, I must advert to, in justice to a brother who sat in the Convention four or five days, but could not remain longer, I mean Mr. KETLEY. It is his high honour to be the pastor of the first church, in connexion with the London Missionary Society, who have said to those who sent to them the gospel, "We are now able to go alone." They have long supported themselves, they can now govern themselves, and a resolution was passed at the last Anniversary of the Society, conveying the property to the church and congregation. All our churches say in effect, We want no more of your money; we want you to send men; we want you to watch narrowly the progress of legislation, to procure for us a reformation of the laws; to secure to us the enjoyment of the freedom for which you have paid, and for which we so heartily thank you, and then we will help you to set the world free.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I will take this opportunity of making a remark, which I think of importance in connexion with the subject before us. Complaint has been made of the falling off of the quantity of sugar in British Guiana, and that has been made a ground for urging the introduction of the Hill Coolies. I believe that the decrease may be satisfactorily accounted for. Notwithstanding the frightful diminution of the slave population in the colony of Surinam, the amount of sugar made had gone on increasing from year

to year, until in 1835, the exports were thirty-seven millions of pounds ; but in 1837, they were only twenty-five millions. If such a circumstance could take place under the existence of slavery, it is unfair, when it occurs under freedom, to attribute it to a cause from which it does not arise. The same causes which affect the supply from Surinam, we may reasonably conclude, are likely to influence that of British Guiana and our other colonies.

Rev. H. S. SEABORN, (Delegate from Berbice).—I do not rise for the purpose of making a speech, because the facts of the case have already been brought before the Convention ; but having recently returned from Berbice, I feel it right to refer to the necessity which exists for the anti-slavery public keeping a strict eye on the proceedings, both of the Government and the planters. I was there at the time emancipation was conceded, and it was worth crossing the Atlantic to witness what took place on that auspicious day. But attention has been principally fixed on Jamaica, that being a large colony, while the smaller islands have been so overlooked, that the planters think they can carry out their plans as they please ; I could not sit as a member of this Convention, and the representative of a large number of churches and congregations, without rising to make these observations. At the same time, I beg leave on behalf of the emancipated population of Berbice, to thank the Anti-Slavery Society for sending out to the West Indies, those tried friends of freedom, CAPTAIN STUART and Mr. SCOBLE, and also to tender to those gentlemen the grateful acknowledgments of the negroes, for their valuable efforts on their behalf, efforts well bestowed ; for no persons in the world can more deeply sympathise with the spirit of liberty, or more highly appreciate the boon of freedom, than the coloured population of British Guiana.

Mr. SCOBLE.—It is not my intention to occupy much of your time. But I feel called upon to make one or two remarks, in reference to the gentlemen who have this morning addressed the Convention ; it is desirable you should know who they are. Mr. PRESCOD has stood almost alone in the island of Barbadoes, in support of the negroes' rights. He has exposed his reputation, and on more than one occasion, even life itself, in support of those great principles which we are now called to affirm. It is impossible for me to convey to this Convention, an adequate idea of the debt of gratitude we owe him for his strenuous labours in resisting oppression, and his honest endeavours to carry out the act of abolition in all its integrity, in the island of Barbadoes. As to Mr. MIRAMS, when I visited British Guiana, he was under the frown of the Executive. And why ? Because he had borne a noble testimony to those great principles, for which we have struggled so many years. But that gentleman's reputation came out of the trial, pure and honourable to himself, and to the Society which had sent him to the colony. He struggled for the freedom of the negroes ; he was brought under the disapprobation of the Plantocracy, but was enabled to triumph over all the machinations of even his worst enemies. I should have rejoiced had circumstances permitted him still to maintain his position. It is just the place where such a man should be. I deeply regret that the state of Mr. SEABORN's health has compelled him to resign his charge in that colony, and to take his place among the churches of this country. However, I trust that the London Missionary Society, will find men of the same spirit and temper of mind, men of the same firmness, combined with Christian principle, who will carry out the great objects we have in view. The

liberality of the churches in British Guiana has been adverted to, but it would occupy much of your time to give you full details of all that this people have done for the progress of religion among themselves, and its extension to the regions beyond. Go where you will in the different parts of that colony, you will find structures raised for the worship of God ; and when you inquire, by what means they have been erected, the answer is, " By the voluntary contributions of the negroes chiefly, if not entirely." One of the most commodious, and I might say, splendid structures in the colony was commenced about three years ago, and cost about £3000 ; it was raised almost exclusively by the liberated negroes. It is most delightful to me to bear my testimony to the excellency of Missionaries of different denominations, to be found in that and other colonies which I have visited. They are reaping the reward of their anxious labours amongst a grateful, and I may now add, to a great extent, a pious people. The Sabbath is kept in the colonies with more than ordinary propriety ; those who are chiefly found in the violation of that sacred day, are the planters themselves. The negroes are becoming examples of whatsoever is lovely, and excellent, and of good report ; and I venture to assert, in the face of this Convention, and in the face of all who have given to the world an opposite opinion, that whether it respects the industry of the negroes, their generosity, or their obedience to the law, a people will not be found who surpass them in any, or all of these points. Schools are everywhere rising in the colony, chiefly through the liberality of the negroes themselves. But their liberality is not confined to themselves and their offspring, as may be known by an inquiry of the various Missionary Societies ; for a large amount has been remitted to their funds since emancipation took place. From the churches in connexion with the London Missionary Society in the West Indies, situated chiefly in Jamaica and British Guiana, from £13,000 to £15,000 were remitted last year, for the purpose of sending the gospel to all parts of the world. With respect to the industry of the negroes, permit me to say a word. British Guiana, we have been told, shows above all other colonies, the evil effects of immediate emancipation. The reverse, were I to permit myself to go into the details, would be proved to be true. But I will merely make a general statement. It will be found, that the defalcation in the quantity of sugar last year, is principally to be attributed to a very long and severe drought, which prevailed in the colony ; and individuals who are at all aware of its situation, and the necessity which exists for having an abundant supply of water, in order to carry on the cultivation of the estates, and bring the canes to the mills, will know that when the canals are empty, it is impossible that the canes can be brought home to be manufactured into sugar. For nearly ninety days last year, one of the severest droughts which ever visited South America, prevailed in British Guiana. During that period, the planters were not able to cut their canes, and bring them home. It stands upon record, on the authority of the Governor himself, (no friend to the liberation of the negroes), that one-third of the crop was lost by the drought. But were the negroes idle ? No ; canals, trenches, and drains, which had been for years neglected, were thoroughly cleansed, and the whole colony presented an appearance which gladdened the hearts of the planters ; for they acknowledged, that never were their estates in better order for carrying on cultivation, than when I left the colony. I am rejoiced that I have been able to bear this general testimony. I should have been glad to have gone into details, inasmuch as I think we could make out a triumphant case for

the negroes of British Guiana, and compel the conviction in every honest mind, that the negroes are worthy of the liberty which has been accorded them, and that Great Britain in bestowing upon them their freedom, has exalted herself. Much has been said in reference to the sudden termination of the apprenticeship system, as having occasioned many of the evils of which the planters complain. They complain that the amount of sugar sent home last year, was not so great as during the year preceding; that is, when the apprenticeship system was in operation. On looking at the real state of the question, it will be found, that the diminution in the amount of sugar was exactly one-sixth, and no more, just to the extent which would result from the deduction of one day from the six, which the negroes now retain to themselves, in order to cultivate their own grounds. This may be clearly shown from the official returns. As to the apprenticeship system, I need not dwell upon its character, it was slavery in the strict sense of the word. It was said by the martyr SMITH, that it was impossible to mitigate slavery, you must abolish it; and I echo the sentiment. The whole of my experience leads me to the conviction, that it is impossible to make anything of man, except in a state of freedom. Give him his liberty, and he will show that he is worthy of it; but retain him in slavery, take the Bible in one hand and the whip in the other, and you will make little progress with the former, while the latter is in possession of the master. You must give full unrestricted liberty, that he may reap the advantage of the blessing conferred, and that those who confer it may derive advantage from his labours. I trust that our friends from other countries will feel the importance of maintaining the great principle of immediate emancipation, and that there will be no compromise on the subject; that our friends from France, as well as from other parts of the world, will carry away the conviction, that it is the duty of the State to grant entire abolition; without restriction, without money, and without price. In bearing my testimony to the gentlemen who have spoken, I would not forget one who is necessarily absent, a most dear and valued friend, who has laboured for many years, in the colony of British Guiana, and with great success, I mean Mr. KETLEY, than whom a nobler spirit does not exist, than whom no man enjoys more of the affections of the negro, and no man more deserves it. There is one other point, to which I will for a moment advert. I feel it my duty this morning to render thanks; first, to Him in whose hands are all events; and secondly, to our honourable friend on the platform, [Dr. LUSHINGTON], who last night was able to carry the conviction of the House of Commons in favour of liberty. I rejoice; I greatly rejoice, that the Hill Coolie Bill is disposed of, and that form of the slave-trade, I trust, terminated for ever.

Mr. BRADBURN.—It did my heart good to listen to the statements with which we were favoured, touching the working of emancipation in the British colonial possessions; and I feel that I can sympathise entirely with the gentleman who has so eloquently addressed us, in rendering thanks to Almighty God, that he has put it into the hearts of men here, to go to those islands, and to labour so faithfully and so efficiently as they have done, for the promotion of the great cause in which we are all engaged. I am glad to find my own impressions confirmed, in respect of the working of freedom there. I had no doubt myself, that it was working well. Indeed, there was not an American abolitionist, I may say an abolitionist in the world, who had any doubt before the experiment was made, that it would work well, for every such individual

has faith in God. Every abolitionist has, from the beginning, been convinced, that it was safe, and profitable also, to obey the requisition of the Almighty Creator, to break every yoke instantly, and to let the oppressed go free. He knew, that "Godliness is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come." On board the ship, in which myself and a portion of my American friends came to England, there were ten or twelve planters from Jamaica and British Guiana. They were quite agreed in one thing, and that was, in representing the state of those islands, especially of Jamaica, as most horrible. They represented, that there had been a great diminution in the value of their estates; that they could not make the negroes work; that they would work a day or two and be off. The very moment that labour was most needed, was the time they would leave the plantations, and nothing could be done. Several of these gentlemen said, that they had in consequence of this conduct lost large sums of money. One said that he had lost £1500 the last year. They urged me, notwithstanding the views I entertained, and the statements of other gentlemen to the contrary, to look at the statistical returns for the present year, which they said, would show a great falling off in the productions of the islands. But these gentlemen, from certain statements which they made, destroyed their own credibility, at least with me. I could not believe one word they said, and so I told them. And why? I will tell you. They stated deliberately, and with all the gravity that JOHN BULL was ever known to put on his countenance, that the eloquent gentleman who last addressed us was a madman, that our friend, CAPTAIN STUART, was a fool, and that DANIEL O'CONNELL was a mere political demagogue. "Now, gentlemen," I said, "such statements are sufficient to give the lie to all you have told me, with regard to the working of emancipation in those islands." Let me add, that this they did admit, and without a dissentient voice, that the system worked well for the negro. I observed, "that is a very gratifying admission. You have already received your reward, now let the negro receive his." They took pains to inform me, that it was easy to gain a livelihood in the colonies; that the negroes were not obliged to work more than one day in ten, in order to procure a comfortable subsistence. But they blamed them, because they would not work more, and especially, because they demanded such high wages. I replied, "that, to say the least, answers one great objection, urged everywhere against abolition, viz., that the negroes are imprudent, and cannot take care of themselves. This fact shows, that the negro is provident, and has a regard for his own interests. I thank you heartily, gentlemen, for this information. It assures me, that the negro takes a right view of the subject, and that he is probably acting on your own estimate of the value of his services. For, although you now ask him to work for some twenty-five cents. per diem, did you not, at the time compensation by the Government was talked of, solemnly declare, with your hands on the word of God, that his labour was worth one dollar a day? Now, the negro takes you at your own word, given under oath, and, disdaining to work for the paltry sum of ten, fifteen, or twenty-five cents a day, unless compelled to do so, demands that you pay him something like fair wages. And he knows, that in refusing this demand, you either deny him justice, or give the lie to your own estimate, declared under the solemnity of an oath, of the value of his services. He chooses, with characteristic kindness and charity, to believe that you are no perjurers, and therefore insists on higher wages. But he will not work continuously? Well, what if he will not? Neither you, gentlemen, nor myself, will work continuously, or at all, unless we chose, or are compelled to do so. And shall we condemn

the negro for doing that which we ourselves deem it right to do?" As to the matter of compensation, these gentlemen, if I may be allowed so to misapply the term, said that the word ought to be blotted out of the English vocabulary, that it was an insult to pretend, that they had been compensated for emancipation. Call it compensation, to pay a man £5 for that which was worth £100! Yet *that*, they said, I might take their word for it, was the true state of the case. You know how I estimate the value of their word. "But, gentlemen," said I, "with all due deference, the British Parliament had no right to make you any compensation. It was an outrage upon all moral principle, to pay you a single cent. If justice were done in those islands, you would not only experience a diminution of your annual incomes, but every particle of property you hold, would pass out of your hands instantly into the possession of the oppressed negro, that property having been created by his unrequited toils. This is what justice requires. And how could you have the face to ask the British nation to pay you in dollars, for ceasing to do wrong? For I regard slave-holding as an atrocious wrong; it is "man-stealing;" a crime, which, however it may be treated, under the merciful dispensation of Christianity, was deemed under the Jewish dispensation, a capital offence, and its perpetrators were put to death." "Waugh! I'll have no more to say to *you* about it," was the exclamation of one of them, as he turned on his heel, with an awful look of astonishment. "Very well, gentlemen," said I, "if I may not express *my* views, as well as listen to *yours*, on this subject, it is well there should be nothing further said about it."

Captain STUART.—There are two of our emancipated islands which I wish particularly to mention, because I believe, they eminently need all your care. One is Tobago. It is more out of the way of national and commercial observation than any other. Scarcely a vessel touches at it, except the mail, and that only to deposit the bags. Such being the case, I need not point out what must of necessity be its condition. The other is St. Lucia, which is the most destitute of all our western colonies in missionary and religious advantages. I know not of any body of men, nor have I heard of any, the free offerings of whose love surpass those of the negroes in Berbice. When I was at Orange Chapel, in that colony, a man, named FREDERIC, brought to Mr. HEYWOOD, the Missionary there, the sum of £45 currency. About ten days before, Mr. HEYWOOD had pointed out to the negroes the decayed condition of his carriage, and said to them, "the Missionary Society will supply me with a new one whenever I want it; but do you not owe something to that Society? Are you not willing to save it this expense? Think of it." Without any further communication, FREDERIC, the headman on a neighbouring sugar plantation, brought the above amount, and paid it to Mr. HEYWOOD in my presence in silver coin. When I was at St. Lucia, I saw a refugee slave from Martinique, (who had been in the island only about five years), employed in manufacturing the produce of a sugar estate in the northern part of the island; the proprietor not being able to get labourers for that purpose. I need not pause to tell you why. This poor refugee found no difficulty in hiring twenty-five labourers, and in conducting the manufacture to advantage. This same man was also engaged in cutting a canal at the head of fifteen labourers, whom he procured readily, though the proprietor of the ground could not obtain them. In St. Kitt's, I saw a negro, who for five years prior to emancipation, had concealed himself on a lofty mountain. In 1838, he heard that all were free, but at first could not believe it. He came

down, however, to surrender himself to SIR HENRY M'LEOD, the GOVERNOR—a name that ought to be dear to the heart of every friend of humanity. He said, "I ran away from slavery, I have been enabled, through Divine mercy, to conceal myself till now, and I am told that we are all free. Is it so?" The GOVERNOR replied, "Yes, it is so, and I bless God for it, as well as for your preservation. Here are two dollars, take them, and show by your good conduct that you are worthy of freedom." The man retired, overwhelmed with gratitude and joy; and when I was there a year afterwards, he was headman on a sugar plantation, and was one of the most modest and pleasing men whom I ever saw.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—It is not my intention, at the present stage of the proceedings, to make many remarks. Fully concurring in the resolution which now appears before you, I would only state, that it has been with the most sincere pleasure, that I have heard of the conduct of our esteemed friends, the Independents at Berbice. I do hope that, what they have stated, will induce the Committee of the denomination to which they belong, if they think the Baptist Missionaries have been unjustly accused, not to be ashamed to say so. Since the despatch, to which allusion has been made, has gone forth to the world, I have watched to see if any Missionaries of other denominations would express their sympathy, either at home or abroad. It has been with sincere pleasure, that I have, for the first time, heard that announcement to-day. Whether they do so or not, we shall continue our course, being fully convinced that we shall only do that, which every man who loves his country, and is a friend to liberty, ought to perform. But I rose to draw the especial attention of the Convention to the laws recently passed in the island of Jamaica. I believe they are quite as bad in other colonies, and I sympathise with the friends in British Guiana and Barbadoes. I refer to this, to implore that we may have some strong resolutions to-morrow, when we shall have more time to speak about it; and also, because I have seen it stated in the public prints, that it is the intention of LORD JOHN RUSSELL, to let these laws go into operation as they now are, and merely to send out some recommendations of amendment to the House of Assembly. The fact is, if you trust to the House of Assembly, you might just as well trust the lamb to the tiger. They say they will take care of the liberty of the negro; but it is only with the same intention that the tiger carries the lamb, saying, that he can carry it better than it can walk, simply for the purpose of secretly devouring it when he gets it out of sight. I feel strongly on the subject, but not more so than the occasion requires. I hesitate not to affirm, that if these laws go into operation, and are entrusted into the hands of Jamaica magistrates, the whole battle will have to be fought over again. The reason why they have been passed, is to obstruct liberty, and to strangle it at its birth; and I call on every anti-slavery man and woman to assist us in fighting out fairly, yet peacefully, the grand object we have in view in Jamaica. I do this, because our American friends are constantly reiterating in our ears, that upon the result of the experiment in Jamaica, American slavery or freedom depends. If five or six laws be passed which are restrictive of liberty, and they are passed for that very purpose, it is within our province to use every moral effort we can, to obtain that which we are determined to have, unrestricted liberty for our emancipated brethren. Their past conduct, the excellency of which has been reiterated from every part of the West Indies, demands it. Consistency to this holy, sacred, God-like cause, imperatively demands it. If ruin come in

connexion with the laws, the planters must bear it. Let the consequences, be what they may, as our kind friends have assured me, that money shall not be wanting; if the planters oppress all engaged in sugar plantations, then it will be our imperative duty to provide a home for the negro population; to provide them with the means of subsistence without being continually annoyed, continually vexed, continually insulted, and insulted by those who have been fully paid for all they surrendered, and in my estimation paid most unjustly. I would just advert to one circumstance, which, I think is interesting, and, I believe, that the information I am about to convey is official. It is contained in an extract from *Galignani's Messenger*:—"The commission on colonial affairs, of which the DUKE DE BROGLIE is President, has come to an unanimous resolution, that slavery ought to be entirely abolished, and that the total emancipation of the blacks, in the French colonies, ought to be effected. Three questions are to be submitted to the high functionaries in the several colonies:—1st. Whether the emancipation should be according to the English mode? I hope not. 2nd. Whether it should be accomplished after a fixed period, either of ten years with an indemnity, or twenty years without an indemnity? 3rd. Whether it should be according to the system proposed by M. DE TOCQUEVILLE? The commission has adjourned till January next, by which time it is expected that the answers from the colonies will have reached Paris. The delegates from the colonies to the capital refused to appear before the commission, or to afford it any information, entrenching themselves behind the law of 1835, relating to the colonies." This is interesting information as far as it goes. I do trust there will be such a feeling displayed, and that such facts will accompany that feeling, as to show the French Government that they have not the least occasion to spend one particle of their money, to compensate those who have not the least title on principles of justice to receive it; while every fact brought before us leads us to the conclusion, that immediate emancipation is sure to work well. I do hope that the respected Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, will draw up some strong resolutions for to-morrow's meeting, in connexion with the laws recently passed in Jamaica, Barbadoes, and if necessary, other colonies, that we may have an opportunity of discussing that subject in public, and of showing the anti-slavery party and others, that there is an attempt now made to infringe the principles of civil liberty, and that we are determined to be no parties to the nefarious design.

Dr. LUSHINGTON.—I will trouble you with one or two observations. I have long expected, indeed from the very first period when the Emancipation Act received the assent of the Legislature of this country, that its real and effectual working would be attempted to be defeated in the great majority of our colonies. It never was to be expected, that persons whose minds were so imbued with the spirit of slavery, whose hearts for so many years had been hardened against the true principles of justice and of religion; it never was to be supposed, that in consideration of any pecuniary reward, however great that might be, they would divest themselves of those feelings they had so long cherished, or of those habits in which they had so long indulged; and I grieve to think, that at the present hour, looking more especially at the great island of Jamaica, and here I entirely agree in the importance of keeping our eyes fixed upon that island, which contains so large a portion of the emancipated race of negroes; I deeply regret to think, that at this day they

are concocting measures, studiously disguised in outward appearance, but in truth and in reality, intended for the purpose of curtailing that liberty, which we have bought with our long exertions, and with the gold of the country. I feel also, that in the island of Jamaica, as in most others, which have been under a local assembly, or governed, as it is called in corporate terms, by the authority of the Crown, that there has been no power yet established, at least so far as I have witnessed, which has been able to carry a just law into full and complete execution. But if the law be in itself unjust, if it be so studiously framed for the purpose of diminishing liberty, for the purpose of giving to what may be called in society, the upper class, a greater power over those who are beneath them ; I am confident, that if the Government of this country give their assent to such laws, they will go far, not merely to diminish the liberty of the negro, not merely to introduce great and flagrant abuses, but to defeat all the great objects which have been declared in Parliament, to be well purchased by the twenty millions ; and I fear a still greater evil, I fear the time may come, when there may be a contest in this country, whether or not we shall be compelled to submit to the introduction of slave-grown sugar, with all its calamitous consequences of an interminable increase of the slave-trade. Now, in mentioning this circumstance, I hope that my friend, Mr. KNIBB, has to a certain extent misunderstood the declaration of LORD JOHN RUSSELL : for I did not understand his Lordship to declare, that he intended to allow all those acts to go into operation.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—They are in operation now.

Dr. LUSHINGTON.—I am aware they are. I am aware that when an Act has passed the House of Assembly, and received the sanction of the GOVERNOR, it continues to be in force, until the Crown, within a certain period, does disallow it. What I meant to say was this, that I did not understand LORD JOHN RUSSELL to say he did not intend to disallow any of those laws, or that he meant to permit them to continue in force and effect. I understood him to say no such thing. What I understood him to say was this, that there were certain laws amounting to a large number, passed during the sitting of the House of Assembly, some of which contained good mixed up with bad ; that he would not at present disallow those laws, but that he would give the GOVERNOR instructions to inform the House of Assembly, that if they did not bring others, abrogating that which was wrong, the Prerogative of the Crown would then be exercised in the disallowance of those statutes. What the result may be I cannot say, but I do earnestly hope, that LORD JOHN RUSSELL, knowing the deep responsibility which is fixed upon him as Colonial Minister of this great country ; remembering all the great interests which are bound up in the advice which he may think it right to proffer to his SOVEREIGN ; remembering how the happiness of thousands upon thousands is at stake, if he relax his vigilance, or for a moment allow injustice to triumph over truth ; I do hope and trust, that viewing the case as we view it, he will exercise that vigilance in the mode which I have mentioned, by the total disallowance of all measures in which the evil preponderates, and by only giving temporary permission to the continuance of those, where in his judgment, there is greater good and less evil. But, though I entertain this hope, I am not one who would leave any exertions unmade, or any effort untried, to give such a force and power to the expression of public opinion, as to let him, or any other Minister of the Crown, know that we, the people of England, have our vigilance excited upon this great subject. I will not say

our vigilance merely, but our well-grounded jealousy, profiting by all our past experience ; recollecting that for above a century, there have existed in Jamaica, apparently excellent laws, a dead letter ; recollecting that in Jamaica, there have also existed laws the most execrable in their nature, and in their provisions ; and recollecting that in proportion as these provisions were abhorrent to truth and justice, so were they carried into the most efficient execution. I say therefore that neither to him, though I have confidence in him, nor to any other Minister, would I commit entirely this task, save so far as absolute power and authority may go ; but I would endeavour to induce him carefully to reflect on this subject, not to lend too easy an ear to the voice of the planter, to remember that that sweet poison was poured into the ears of his predecessors, and that we, who have so many years been fighting in the cause of the negro, have had to encounter from day to day, and from hour to hour, a denial of those atrocities, and of all those grievous evils which afflicted mankind in that country ; nay, that we were met, up to the very hour of emancipation, with the denial of the truth, of that which no man now dares to disavow. I will trouble you no further. I cordially concur in the spirit of this resolution, and I trust and hope, that the evil effects which some prognosticate, and many fear, may be averted.

Rev. W. KNIBB.—The latter part of the address of Dr. LUSHINGTON is so fully in accordance, not only with my feelings, but with the truth, that I hope it will be pondered by every one present. But I cannot entirely concur in the sentiments he has expressed with respect to the intentions of LORD JOHN RUSSELL ; I wish I could. I should heartily rejoice if I possessed the utmost confidence in the Colonial Office, but I do not ; and I do maintain that their past conduct towards the West India colonies, in the removal of every GOVERNOR who has sympathised with the black population, is enough to make the friend of the black man tremble. Those laws have been passed, and coupled with base insinuations, not only against the black population, not only against the upright stipendiary magistrates, but also against all who are known to be foremost in defending the negroes' rights. I have sought an interview, but have not been able to obtain it, and my only appeal now is to the people of England, and with them the battle shall be fought. They know what we mean, when we thus speak, and are able to appreciate the truth and importance of the sentiments we utter. It would give my soul joy to carry out the intentions of HER MAJESTY'S Government ; and, if it were possible ; to agree with them during this struggle between semi-slavery and perfect freedom. Every effort we could employ should be used to support HER MAJESTY'S Government. But SIR LIONEL SMITH distinctly declared, that it was to us the success of the measure of emancipation was to be attributed, and yet within six weeks afterwards we are to be calumniated, and not suffered to appear in our defence. The whole of my brethren wrote to SIR CHARLES METCALFE, and asked him to prove his assertions, or to retract them, this he declined, saying, that it was not consistent with his official duty. These things in connexion with those laws are enough to make us frantic. If the staple commodities of the country were diminished, it has been asserted, and I believe truly so, that it would lead to the introduction of slave produce. But what is to be done ? Are the industrious labourers of Jamaica to be sacrificed or not ? This is the question. Are these laws to be passed or not ? Is the black female to be taken up, because she is turned out of her house, and

found on the road, and, on the fiat of one Magistrate, to be sent to work on the road for sixty days? This is one of the laws, and though the word chain is not put in the law, we know what is meant. You thought that under the apprenticeship there was no working of women in chains, no flogging of females. The first thing I saw afterwards, in Jamaica, was a woman in chains, she being at the time pregnant; and when I visited the jail, the first sight I saw was a woman, a member of a church, whose back was streaming with blood. I implore you by all the results of this great measure, to demand the abolition of these laws. You have the power, if you will but use it. Let there be the united voice of tory, whig, and radical, that woman shall not be worked on the high road, because she is defenceless. It is high time to speak out. Where is the advantage of quibbling about such matters? We have paid every farthing of the emancipation money, and we only ask for liberty. Give us liberty and we shall do; with nothing else shall we be contented.

Mr. WHITEHORNE.—I wish to suggest to the consideration of the meeting, a simple measure, by which the control of Government may be effectually exercised. Instead of suffering the Colonial Governments to pass laws for the restriction of liberty, which go into operation immediately, and continue so until disallowed by the Government at home, the Colonial Governors ought to be directed not to sanction them, without what is called a suspending clause, preventing them from coming into effect until they have been approved of here. If that plan were rigidly adhered to, the House of Assembly would not be so ready to pass such measures. They know under the present arrangement, that whatever may be the ultimate issue, some months must elapse, during which they can exercise tyranny and oppression. But this would be a salutary restriction, preventing the mischief which now occurs. I think the Convention ought to suggest this remedy to the Government; if they refuse to accede to it, it will be manifest that they are not sincere.

Captain STUART.—One explanation may be given of the whole matter before us. The British Government is not a despotism, it is a mixed Government, and the people of England have a mighty and beneficial influence over it. It is not, I contend, the fault of the Government solely, that these bad laws have been passed, or now exist in Jamaica, it partly rests with the British public. At the time when we ought to have combined with new zeal, and to have conducted with new fervour our anti-slavery operations, we left the matter entirely to the Government. Why did the Government fail in their recent attempts to correct the evils in the Assembly of Jamaica? Because the anti-slavery public were not on the alert to give them their support and influence. While we attach to others that blame which is their due, let us take to ourselves that which belongs to us. We may shortly be called upon again to exercise our elective franchise, let the anti-slavery men and women be vigorously up and doing, and then, I believe, Lord JOHN RUSSELL will be glad to do his duty.

The resolutions were then put and agreed to.

The CHAIRMAN.—As we have heard nothing of Trinidad, I will read a few lines which give a delightful representation of the state of things in that island. They are taken from a letter, accompanying the credentials of one of the delegates, Mr. ANDERSON. Signed by Messrs. KENNEDY, LATOUR, and HIND.

The emancipated population are daily improving in religion, morals, knowledge, and industry ; perfect tranquillity prevails in every quarter of the island ; the commerce of the colony is greatly increased, population is rapidly augmenting. Instead of stupid, surly, malicious, disaffected slaves, we have cheerful, free, grateful, loyal British subjects. Considering their education, and the evil example to which they were exposed, their conduct, although not all that could be wished, is on the whole far beyond what reasonable expectation warranted, and triumphantly proves, that man, guiltless of any crime against society, however deep his mental and moral degradation, is fit to enjoy the right of liberty. Results plainly declare that the God of Heaven smiles on the act of emancipation.

Dated Trinidad, 29th April, 1840.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I believe that the modesty of our esteemed friend, Dr. LUSHINGTON, has prevented him from saying anything on the discussion in the House of Commons regarding the Hill Coolie question.

Dr. LUSHINGTON.—The news has already reached you of the good fortune which attended our efforts in the House of Commons last night. I must say, that the exertions of those who took the lead in putting a stop to the exportation of the Hill Coolies from our dominions in the East, were very much assisted by the honourable member for Beverley, Mr. HOGG, who came down on the part of the East India Company, and expressed on their behalf, his earnest desire that no steps should be taken without further information. I am happy to say, that the feeling of the majority of the House of Commons was strictly in accordance with that which must be the feeling of this Convention, that they looked with deep sorrow and trembling upon the very many evils and calamities, which have already befallen that unhappy race in their exportation to the Mauritius. There was no one part of the transaction relating to these Hill Coolies which did not deserve reprehension. In the first place, they were cajoled even out of the small advances which were given them ; they were then placed on board of a vessel, and during a long voyage, they were deprived, I will not say of the comforts, but even of the necessities of life. In many instances, so destitute were they of water, that death ensued on their landing in the Mauritius. But what was the treatment which the survivors experienced when they arrived in the Mauritius, a spot more desecrated than which by the spirit of slavery, I believe, never existed ? I do not say their universal treatment, but it was proved by those papers upon which the case was founded, that they were in a state of positive slavery. They were not permitted to move after their work was over without a ticket of leave. All the members admitted that they exercised the power of imprisonment, while many of them claimed the right to inflict corporal punishment. There is one man whose name ought to be mentioned, Mr. WORTHINGTON. He, when the Commissioners of Enquiry, stated to these unfortunate people, that if they were ill-used they might have redress, remonstrated in the strongest possible terms against giving them so dangerous a lever as that ; in fact, the object was to keep them in a state of perfect and entire ignorance as to their rights, and if possible, the means of obtaining

redress, however great the wrongs and injuries which might be inflicted upon them. In these papers it is stated that 25,000 were imported, but after a period of four years, only 18,000 were to be found. What must have been the fate of the others, I will not pretend to say. But I think we must all congratulate each other, all be thankful to Providence, that for the present, at least, a stop has been put to what I conceive to be little less than the renewal of the traffic in man. Whether the time may come hereafter when it may be of advantage to that large population to emigrate from our territories in Hindostan to other parts of the globe, I will not say; but this I will say, that I trust the hour will not arrive when permission will be granted by the Government of this country, for one individual to quit that shore, until there is perfect safety against fraud and kidnapping, until there is security, that upon their passage they shall be supplied with the necessaries and the conveniences of life, and until upon their landing, they may have justice neither in its outward form, nor its real administration, in the slightest degree resembling the present system as it prevails in the island of Mauritius.

The Convention then adjourned.

TENTH DAY'S SITTINGS, TUESDAY, JUNE 23, 1840.

(AFTERNOON).

JOSEPH STURGE, Esq., in the Chair.

MR. WILLIAM MORGAN laid on the table letters from Mr. THOMAS HARVEY, of Leeds, and Mr. WEBB, of Belfast. Also a paper on Madagascar, communicated by Mr. SAXE BANNISTER, extracted from Freeman and John's Narrative of the Persecution of the Christians in that island; and the following letters from Messrs. DAVID MARKS and CHARLES MARRIOTT, of New York.

New York City, May 8th, 1840.

To the World's Anti-Slavery Convention at London, June 12, 1840.

Dear Brethren in the cause of suffering humanity.

The Free-will Baptists in the United States, numbering about 40,000 communicants, are united in the holy cause of abolition. Probably we should have sent a delegation to your Convention, had a knowledge of its appointment reached us previous to our anniversaries in 1839. In the absence of such a delegation, I will take upon myself the responsibility of making some statements respecting our anti-slavery sentiments.

As a people, we mourn that the church in this land is so deeply involved in the sin of slavery, and have endeavoured to keep our garments pure and unspotted from its foul stains. We neither receive into our churches, nor at the communion table, *any* whose hands are

polluted with slavery. Our board of foreign missions refuses to receive any donation or bequest from slave-holders, on the principle, that their wealth is the wages of iniquity, and the price of blood.

Our churches, which are spread over about half the United States, meet together, (by delegation) quarterly, in about eighty associations. The cause of the down-trodden slave is almost invariably remembered at those meetings, facts are presented, warm-hearted stirring addresses are given, and our testimony against the wicked system of slavery repeated in the form of recorded resolutions. These associations being held from church to church, have been effectual in scattering much light, and in tearing away many a veil which sophistry had woven.

At the last session of our general conference, which comprised a delegation from every portion of the denomination, our anti-slavery principles were practically tested in a public manner. Dr. HOUSLEY, a slave-holding minister from Kentucky, accompanied with high recommendations, presented himself, desiring admission to our church. Had he been received, 20,000 in the slave-holding states would probably have been added to our communion, who, with him, had embraced our peculiar denominational tenets. But his request was met with the prompt answer, that he could not be received, either as a minister or a member, till he should give liberty to his slaves.

Probably a principal cause of the union of the Free-will Baptists in abolition efforts, is the righteous course pursued by the "Morning Star," a weekly religious periodical, which is the organ of the denomination.

May heavenly wisdom guide your deliberations, and direct your decisions.

Your's in the cause of the slave,

DAVID MARKS.

New York, 5th Mo. 4th, 1840.

To the Congress of Nations, to be held in London, in 6th Mo. 1840,
for the General Abolition of Slavery.

It is with no small regret I find, that circumstances will prevent me from attending your body, as a delegate from the Free Produce Convention held in Philadelphia, in 10th mo. last.

Among the various views that may be offered for your consideration, allow me to suggest a plan, which, if adopted, and perseveringly urged, it has appeared to me, would speedily and peacefully put an end to negro slavery.

One great truth is now generally admitted, namely, that all efforts to terminate the African slave-trade, will prove ineffectual, short of abolishing slavery itself. Another truth, no less important, we have yet to learn. It is this, to put an end to slavery, we must put an end to the present open and profitable market for slave-grown produce.

The United States, the last strong hold of slavery, now produce about one million bales of cotton annually. Of this one hundred thousand may be the limit of what is manufactured at home. Nine hundred thousand bales have, therefore, to find a market in Europe, and most of these in England. Plead then with your Governments to reduce the duties on all free-grown cottons, that they may flow in from Egypt, from the free West Indies, from the South American republic, from Mexico, and, above all, open to your manufacturers, the exhaustless supplies of the vast eastern continent. In so doing, you will sign the death warrant of slavery, and break for ever the bonds of bleeding India. Urge next upon the Governments of Europe, especially on those of England and France, a progressive and rapid increase of duties on slave-grown produce; bearing equally on all nations. This, so far from being justly deemed an unfriendly measure, should rather be viewed as offering to the acceptance of every country, a bounty for the abolition of slavery.

It is thus the welfare of all nations would be promoted. Those clear of slavery would reap a reward in an immediate and greatly increased prosperity. Others would be invited to share the same advantages, by becoming just, and be drawn to liberate their slaves by the strongest pecuniary interests, in addition to the powerful moral influences that are now pressing upon them.

It may not be proper in this communication, to enter at large into the details of this plan, and its probable results. It is believed that it can be so arranged, that the manufactories need suffer no shock, the revenues no diminution. That it could give no just cause of offence to any nation. And that the effect would be, the peaceful, the certain, and the speedy extinction of slavery throughout the civilized world.

With ardent desires for the success of the important enterprise in which you are engaged. I am your friend,

CHARLES MARRIOTT.

Mr. W. MORGAN moved, Rev. J. WOODWARK seconded, and it was resolved unanimously,

That the papers now laid on the table be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with a request that they may receive its best consideration, and be disposed of as may appear most conducive to the advancement of the great objects of this Convention.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I beg to read a paper which has been prepared by a gentleman long resident in Russia, on :—

RUSSIAN SERFAGE.

The object of the present Society, being to oppose slavery throughout the world, entitles me to make mention of the many thousand families and individuals suffering at the present time, under iniquities sanctioned by time, customs, and laws, known by the name of Serfage, whose atrocities and horrors, are carefully hidden from the enlightened eye of Europe.

The example of the Society, encourages me to speak of a slavery, the consequences of which, are a great obstacle to the progress of humanity, and which, by preventing the advancement of civilization, keeps the eastern parts of Europe in a state of dark ignorance and barbarism.

Men who are obliged to undergo the injurious treatment of their tyrants, only for the purpose of satisfying their ignoble passions, and to supply them with the means of cheating Europe, by their externally civilized appearance and false acts of generosity ; I say these men have a claim to the sympathy and attention of the Universal Anti-Slavery Society. My object is to describe the true state of serfage in Russia.

It is in the character of Slavic nations more than any other people, to be attached to their native country.

In earlier ages, they were permitted to leave the land of their nativity, but their affection for their native soil, bound them to it ; but in later years, inhuman laws have been based upon a praiseworthy custom, and have made that imperative which was previously innate love.

It was first in the reign of VLADIMIR MONOMACH, who divided Moscovia among his sons, and left them at his death the apple of discord, that slavery there took its rise. The continued wars occasioned by the cupidity of the Kuyases or Princes, were the principal cause of serfage in Russia. Whole towns and villages, taken by the Conquerors,

were sold and forced to obey the will of the purchaser. Afterwards this country was conquered by the Tartars, who followed this example, and sold back a part to the *Kuyases* of their time, who in their turn, drove out the Tartars. They then to secure themselves against the inroads of the Tartars, united themselves and elected a *Valeeky Kuyas*, or Great Prince, by which means, the minor princes lost their influence. The great prince became emperor of Russia, the minor became oppressed subjects, and found pleasure in avenging themselves by oppressing the serfs; they had no longer towns to sell, they then sold families and individuals, which is practised to the present day.

A serf in Russia is deprived of all human rights; he has no property; the blood which flows in his veins belongs to his master; his toil and sweat only serve to satisfy his lord's disgraceful lusts; every hour of his existence must be devoted to the purpose of adding to his master's wealth; every day he spends, is a tax paid by him to the man who suffers him to enjoy or deplore his being.

It is true, the Government made an endeavour, to prevent a *male* serf being sold alone, without his family and the ground on which they were settled; but to the present day, it is permitted to buy and sell female serfs, and their offspring is the property of the purchaser.

It is also true, that the Government, some time ago, made an apparent amelioration, by forbidding the proprietor to occupy the time of a serf more than four days in the week, for his own immediate advantage. The slave in the hope of acquiring something for himself, began with good will and even pleasure to labour, and he saw with delight, his little ground covered with corn and fruits, which he thought were his own; but, when at the end of the year, he counted his little gains, the steward of the master knocked at his door, and carried away the produce of his toil, leaving him only the cries of his infant children, the tears of his wife, and his own despair! And in Russia there is no appeal for the poor! Justice findeth not a dwelling with iniquity and despotism. There are churches with priests, schools with teachers, but unhappily for that country, instead of being a means to effect a holy purpose, these institutions are made the instruments of tyranny; instead of raising the heart of man by the Divine precepts of religion, they extinguish its noble feelings; instead of enlightening the mind by useful knowledge, they kill the tender bud, and bind it in chains of ignorance and credulity.

During my visit to a village, near Yampol, a man came to me and begged of me to buy him ; such was the degree to which his mind was reduced ! In that village there is a church and a school, but the object of which is to degrade the mind, instead of to raise it, so that the law is evaded by the slaves offering themselves for sale, instead of being offered. By this means, the credit of being willing to abolish slavery is conferred upon the Government, although it supports these wily influences of degradation under such a holy name.

I will here relate an instance of refined cruelty, to which perhaps in all the experience of the Society, there is no parallel. A nobleman, in order to celebrate his liberality and refined taste, sent one of his serfs, in whom he discovered talent, to Paris, for the purpose of studying music ; the serf, after a residence of some years, acquired a very great degree of perfection upon the violin, and returned to administer to the pleasures of his lord, with the hope of receiving from him his freedom. Immediately on his arrival, his lord had a large assembly, and the artist was brought forward to display his ability ; after he had played several airs, his lord demanded a particular piece ; the artist being exhausted from his journey, and his sensibilities having been sharpened in a civilized country, begged to be excused. The liberal minded nobleman called immediately for his servants, and directed them, unless his wish was complied with, to carry out the artist and give him one hundred lashes ; but the man indignant at this harsh treatment, seized a knife from the table and cut off four of his fingers, to prevent being threshed into compliance with this imperious command ; he was then sent to labour in the fields. This is only one of the numerous instances where talents are degraded, and where worthy members of society are deprived of the means of being useful.

Another instance not less striking may be here narrated ;—a young man known for his noble feelings, met with a friend who had a dog with him, and the following conversation took place :—“ How do you do my dear friend, your dog pleases me, and you are pleased with my cook—will you exchange with me ? ” they shook hands and the bargain was closed.

Have not these martyrs of human passions and wickedness claims upon the sympathy of this Society, whose object is universal liberty ? Yes, gentlemen, they have claims upon your consideration ! they have claims upon you, whose philanthropic zeal hath gone forth to the most

distant parts of the earth to find out suffering humanity, who have loosed the chains of thousands of our fellow-beings! they have claims which you will cheerfully grant; and you will then be able to add to your already acquired victories new laurels; and the blessings of heaven will be your reward.

I am happy to say there are men in Russia, who are aware of the benefits that would result to that country by giving freedom to the serfs; who know that they would not suffer loss by emancipating their slaves, because they see the flourishing state of the Baltic provinces, where slavery was abolished by the EMPEROR ALEXANDER; but old prerogatives, vain names, fear of equality; all these have too much power to admit of emancipation.

The Anti-Slavery Society have very properly remarked, that only means of a moral, religious, and pacific character, can effect satisfactory results. Men must be found whose character and influence could strongly act upon the minds of the proprietors, and I have no doubt, there are in this assembly, more than one, who would sacrifice himself for the purpose of establishing truth and liberty, where ignorance and slavery now reign. A direct influence on the states where slavery exists is necessary for its abolition; as a visitor, I have no right to explain how this could be effected, but I leave it for more experienced men, to find out the means necessary to effect this purpose. I have done my duty in stating a few of the facts, which a long residence in Russia presented to me; and I shall be happy if by calling your attention to this abomination, I may be instrumental in the removal of this accursed tyranny from Europe.

Mr. TURNBULL.—The author of this paper is worthy of the confidence of the Convention. He is a doctor of philosophy in a German University, and is at this moment in London. I think there should be an Address sent to the EMPEROR OF RUSSIA, calling upon him to abolish villeinage in his country. I beg to move,—

That the paper now read, be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. W. JAMES having seconded the resolution, it was put and carried.

ADDRESS TO THE PEOPLE OF HOLLAND AND DENMARK.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I have a short resolution to submit to the Convention, as a report from a Committee formerly appointed.

That this Convention being deeply impressed with the importance of

promoting the abolition of slavery throughout the European colonies, recommend the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to prepare an Address on this subject, to the people of Holland and Denmark.

I may just state, that the reason of this recommendation being proposed is, that it was thought by some members of the Committee, that it would be difficult for the Convention to adopt an address sufficiently extensive to embrace all the topics which it is desirable to lay before the people of Holland and Denmark. On this ground, I desire that the subject may be placed in the hands of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. There is one feature in the slavery of Holland, to which I did not refer, when I addressed the Convention on that subject. I mean the fact, that although there are between 300 and 400 plantations in Surinam, there are not more than fourteen or fifteen resident proprietors. We know how much slavery is aggravated where this is the case.

Mr. CONDER moved, and the Rev. J. H. HINTON seconded the adoption of the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

SPANISH SLAVERY.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I also beg, in like manner, to submit the following resolution :

That the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be requested, (in addition to procuring a translation of Dr. MADDEN's statement on the subject of slavery in Cuba for circulation in Spain), to take such other steps as they may deem best adapted to promote the emancipation of the slaves in the Spanish colonies.

Mr. TURNBULL moved the adoption of the resolution, which was seconded by the Rev. J. W. WAYNE, and unanimously agreed to.

SLAVERY IN CEYLON.

Professor ADAM.—I rise for the purpose of reading a paper relative to slavery in Ceylon. I have no personal acquaintance with that island, or the state of slavery in it; all that I know is derived from the Parliamentary papers which I have consulted on this subject.

The continued existence of slavery in Ceylon, notwithstanding its abolition in all the other Crown colonies, including the Cape of Good Hope and the Mauritius, is a remarkable fact; nor have I met with any statement of the reasons for which it was excepted from the operation of the Emancipation act. Whatever those reasons may have been, it is certain, that the opposition to emancipation could not have been greater than it was in the other Crown colonies, and that the facilities for effecting it were much greater. It is, however, important to the people

of England to know, that after all they have done and paid, there is still one colony, directly subject to the Crown of Great Britain, and under the immediate administration of Her MAJESTY'S Ministers, in which slavery continues to the present day.

Slavery exists in Ceylon under different forms in the maritime provinces of the island, and in the Kandyan, or Central Provinces.

1. Maritime Provinces.—The slaves in the maritime provinces are both domestic and prædial, and they are chiefly found in the district of Jaffna. They consist of three castes, called Caviar, Nalluar, and Pallas. The Caviar alone are used as domestic slaves, and all three castes are generally employed in cultivating the lands, tending the cattle, and collecting produce from the trees. Where the cultivators are employed by their own masters, only the persons actually employed are fed. In some instances, the cultivators are allowed a share of the produce of the land, particularly where they cultivate tobacco, or any plant that requires continual attention, and daily labour to water and preserve it; and when slaves serve for their own individual interest, either as cultivators of paddy, or high lands, with cocoa-nut trees, the proprietors of the ground (not being their masters) usually grant them a share of the crop or the trees grown. Many of the slaves are opulent, and, generally speaking, they have lands either by purchase, descent, or by gift from their masters. As they are not continually in the employment of their owners, they acquire sufficient, when they serve others, to provide their families with support the days they must attend their master's call. The slave is entitled to purchase his freedom, if he can, and to give evidence in Courts of Justice. Means have been adopted to obtain a complete registry of slaves, to abolish the joint-tenures held by many individuals in the same slaves, and to secure the emancipation of all female children at birth, since 1821, by purchase on the part of Government from their masters, and of all the children of the slaves of certain owners, since 1816. It was officially stated in 1831, that the number of children who have been registered as free by these owners, since 1816, was 96; the number of female children who, in 1829, had been purchased by Government under the regulation of 1821, was 2211; and the number of slaves who had purchased their freedom, under the regulation of 1818, either by labour on public works, or otherwise, was 504. The number of slaves, in 1837, was stated to be 27,397.

2. *Kandyan, or Central Provinces.*—In these provinces some slaves are retained for domestic purposes, and others located on land, and employed at the pleasure of the proprietors. Frequently they are advanced to offices on the estates of their masters, but these arrangements are not considered permanent, the manner of employing slaves being entirely at the option of the owners. Slaves are all personal property. None are attached to the soil, but can be disposed of in any way the proprietor may think proper. They are competent to acquire and possess landed and immoveable property, independent of their masters, and dispose of it by will, or otherwise; but on a slave dying intestate, his owner becomes his heir-at-law, and inherits all his lands and effects. They are in every respect held equally competent with freemen to give evidence in a Court of Law, and are not unfrequently called upon to be witnesses to transactions where their owners are concerned. Of the slaves at present in the *Kandyan* country, some are descendants of native *Kandyan*s, who, from circumstances, became slaves; and others are supposed to be the descendants of slaves brought from the continent of India by the first settlers. Slaves were likewise acquired by purchase of children from their parents, in times of great scarcity, and by seizing free persons in satisfaction of pecuniary claims; but these practices are said to have entirely ceased, since 1818. By the laws and customs of the country, a master has the power of punishing his slave, in any way short of maiming and death. The punishments usually inflicted are flogging, confining in stocks or irons, cutting off the hair, and when very refractory, selling them. But it is alleged that recourse is seldom had to these punishments. The owners are the principal land proprietors of the country, who confine their agricultural pursuits merely to the supply of grain, for the use of their families and retainers; and it is alleged, that there is no inducement to over-working, or otherwise ill-treating their slaves. Slaves are seldom sold, or families separated, except when given as a marriage portion, or on the demise of the proprietor, when, in common with the rest of the deceased's property, they are distributed among his heirs. In all cases, however, every consideration is stated to be paid to the feelings of the slaves thus disposed of. The *Kandyan* slaves are not valued in consideration of the labour executed by them, but in some measure as appendages of rank, and for the performance of certain services which, being considered a badge of slavery, cannot be obtained for hire, such

as the bringing of fire-wood and water ; and on the occasion of the death of a member of a high caste family, the laying out of the corpse, and doing everything that is requisite at the funeral, carrying out the corpse, and performing the office of sepulture : services allotted to slaves from ancient times, and the performance of which by any one is itself a legal proof of slavery in Courts of Justice. The number of slaves in the Kandyan provinces, in 1824, was 2889. In 1829, a census showed that the number had diminished to 2113, being a diminution of 776 in five years ; how produced, whether by emancipation, by purchase of freedom, or by death, does not appear. An attempt was made, in 1831, to obtain the consent of the owners to the emancipation of their slaves by a gradual process ; but they would not consent to emancipation at an earlier period than after the lapse of sixty years ; at the end of that period, each female slave to be paid for at the rate of £3. 6s. 8d. and that only on the condition, that they should perform the same menial services after emancipation, as they had done before it.

I beg your attention to the phraseology which in several cases I have adopted. I have said, such and such is the fact, resting solely on the authority of the Parliamentary returns, but, in my opinion, many of the returns are liable to doubt ; and it is only by the investigation of the case on the island itself, and by a person capable of holding intercourse with the native inhabitants, that the real facts can be ascertained. Assuming the correctness of all the circumstances stated in the Parliamentary papers, it follows, that slavery as it exists in the island of Ceylon is comparatively of a very mild character. Now what do we desire more ? Why, if the slavery which exists there, be as mild as it is here represented, how great are the facilities for effecting the immediate and entire emancipation of the slaves, giving to them the full possession of their own persons, and the undoubted right to the fruits of their own labour.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—What is the proportion between the free and the slave population of Ceylon ?

Professor ADAM.—According to these statements, the slave population is about 30,000, including those resident both in the maritime and central divisions of the island ; the whole population falls little short of 1,000,000.

Mr. TURNBULL moved, and Rev. J. W. WAYNE seconded the resolution, and it was carried unanimously.

That the paper now read by PROFESSOR ADAM, be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

AFRICAN SLAVE-TRADE.

Rev. J. CARLILE brought up the report on Mr. MURRAY's plan for the abolition of the slave-trade, and moved :—

That the plan be referred to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. J. WOODWARD seconded the resolution, which was carried unanimously.

ON THE HOLDING OF ANOTHER CONVENTION.

Mr. PRICE.—I perceive by the resolution which I have to submit to the meeting, that we are approaching towards a conclusion. Besides this resolution, there will be little more than the due acknowledgment of services rendered. I have, throughout, felt a very deep interest in the proceedings of this Convention, and I do hope and trust, that it will materially contribute to the advancement of the objects for which we have been convened. I felt very great satisfaction in meeting a number of persons from the other side of the Atlantic, whom I had never seen before, and whom, perhaps, I may never see again. I hope that in now separating, we may remember each other, and the object for which we have met, in our prayers. Recollecting that we have concluded altogether to abolish the use of force for the promotion of those objects, and that our reliance is entirely placed on Divine aid, I feel that therein, is everlasting strength, and that we may safely commit our cause to the protecting care of Divine Providence. It does appear to me, however, that in looking forward to the future, it is wise on the part of this Convention, to devote a few minutes to the consideration of the question, whether it should, before its separation, conclude to meet again. That is the object of the resolution which I have now to submit. In considering that question, it has appeared to me, that in a Convention of nations, comprising representatives from so many different parts of the world, subject as we are to the vicissitudes of life, we little know what may take place in the future; and it would be difficult to come to a conclusion that we would agree to meet again at any specific period; but that it is wise that we should at least submit to this Convention the propriety of committing that subject to the Anti-Slavery Society in London. That is the purport of the resolution I have now to submit.

That in reviewing the immense importance of the great objects of the Convention, the abolition of slavery and the slave-trade throughout the world, the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society be encouraged to convene another meeting when they shall deem it convenient.

In taking leave of our friends, particularly those from America, let me say, that they are about to return with very important suggestions contained in the various resolutions agreed to in this Convention, and that great importance attaches, in my apprehension, to their proceedings, in the steps they adopt for carrying them out.

Rev. J. KEEP.—It is with solemn and deep interest that I have the pleasure of seconding this resolution. I enter very fully into what I believe to be the feelings of the gentleman who has presented the motion, with regard to the co-operation of abolitionists on both sides of the Atlantic. I have felt in the progress of this Convention, that we may, as philanthropists, indulge the expectation of the greatest good to the cause of human freedom, in con-

nexion with the decisions of this body. I doubt not that it will be the opinion of every individual present, that another general meeting may be anticipated in aid of the objects which have been so distinctly brought before us ; that such a Convention may soon be called for, and that with the blessing of God upon the means which we are now using, and the carrying out of the resolutions which we have now adopted, we shall in a short time see great advances in this blessed work of emancipation. Our minds cannot embrace the magnitude of these objects ; we are not competent fully to understand the interests which attach to a Convention like this. Were we to allow ourselves to be controlled by the reflections which now arise in the mind, and to be carried forward by the associations which now cluster about us, no language could describe the results to which we should thus be conducted. But I would not indulge in too fond anticipations, neither would I trespass on the time of the meeting, in attempting to express my own feelings and expectations ; but I think that I echo the desire of every Christian present, and I trust, that that, is the character of all, when I say, may it please the Great Ruler of the universe, to permit us once more to convene, for the purpose of congratulating each other on the success of our efforts ; and if we shall not be permitted to witness the speedy triumph of our principles, to cheer each other by the renewal of our pledges, and in our resolves to labour on till we have effected the grand objects at which we aim. As an American citizen, I feel that in seconding this resolution, I may with propriety allude to the state of things in my own country. It is America especially, which I have considered as most deeply concerned in the decisions and results of this Convention, for it is in that REPUBLIC, that slavery now maintains its strong hold, and vaunts itself with the most shameless effrontery. What a spectacle has been laid before us during our sittings, respecting the American Government, the American Churches, the American Ministry, and the condition of society in the United States ! How deep, how forbidding, how appalling are the horrors of the American slave-system ! How is it possible that the few philanthropists, there engaged in the work of emancipation, can go forward to its completion, unless they are sustained by the special blessing of God attending them, and by the sympathies and co-operation of philanthropists on this side of the water ? I have been cheered by the manner in which the statements of American abolitionists have been received and regarded during this Convention. I rejoice that its members are not prepared to say, that America is to be abandoned, however abominable and revolting her system of slavery may be ; that they so cheerfully accord very much that is good and interesting, and of rich promise in the state of society there ; that they are prepared to appreciate correctly the materials and facilities for the noblest developments in that portion of the Christian world : yet I am fully persuaded, that they will hereafter, more than ever, feel the necessity of remembering that slave accursed country, of laying aside all prejudice, and everything which can restrain the influence of British prayer, British philanthropy, and judicious Christian co-operation, for the purpose of sustaining anti-slavery operations there. At the close of this Convention, and in the anticipation of a similar one soon to be called, I am especially cheered by the belief, that from this period there will be more prayer, and a firmer reliance upon the Divine teaching and guidance among Christians on both sides the Atlantic, for the blessing of God to attend the anti-slavery enterprise. I trust I shall not be misunderstood when I say, that as Christians we should feel that our

warfare is not uncertain, and that the conquest is assuredly ours. Although from the disclosures made during this Convention, Satan may seem to have a mortgage upon the whole of this earth ; let it be remembered, that TRUTH is omnipotent, and that the blessing of God will attend his people in presenting this truth. Free discussion, in the spirit of meekness and love, must overturn every system of error, and expel from human society all that is offensive. I trust, therefore, that this motion will be carried ; that in passing it, we shall exercise the liveliest gratitude to our forgiving Father and God in heaven, whose benignant smiles have so signally attended us during this meeting ; and that after we have separated, we shall love as brethren, aggrieved at the wrongs of our fellow-men, weeping over human woe, assured that there is a full remedy, and associated for good only in the application of this remedy, and be permitted finally to participate in the perfect and glorious triumphs of our principles, in the eternal kingdom of our common SAVIOUR and LORD.

Rev. H. GREW.—I doubt not that the proposal now before us accords with the feelings of all our hearts ; and that is our desire that we should meet again in some place to carry forward this glorious design. But I rise particularly to call the attention of the Convention, with all due respect, to the opinions of others, as to whether or not the United States, where slavery abounds to such a degree, is not the fittest place for our next meeting. Mr. KEEF has placed before you, and has anticipated me in that respect, the important influence which the removal of the galling yoke from the poor slave in America, will have upon general emancipation throughout the world. I hope that this subject will meet with the calm and deliberate attention of the Convention. I do not wish anything to be determined at the present moment ; it is matter for serious consideration. It has been suggested to me, that our American brethren should retire for a few moments, and confer with each other on this subject. As these proceedings were commenced with solemn silence, and I trust our hearts were with one accord lifted up to Him, on whose blessing we are dependent for the success of all our deliberations ; so I trust in the same silence we shall close this Convention, that we may honour God by a simple dependence on the Holy Spirit, to crown all our efforts ; and that when the ocean may divide us, still our hearts will not only beat high with sympathy for the suffering outcast ; but that they will ascend to Him whose ear is open to the cry of the poor, that he may sustain our zeal and clothe our labours with success.

The CHAIRMAN.—There are few, I believe, who can fully appreciate the weight of responsibility which has been felt by those who have been chiefly instrumental in bringing together this important Convention ; and I believe they will hardly venture to do so again, unless some encouragement be held out to that effect, before this meeting separates. It was no wish to dictate in the slightest degree to the other friends of the cause, that induced the London Committee to take upon themselves the responsibility of making the arrangements ; but a desire, as far as possible, to facilitate the business, to promote order and regularity, and to aid the great question of negro emancipation which we all desire to promote. It has been suggested, that at the end of about two years, from the present time, advantage might arise from another Convention being again held ; but all the Committee would wish to ascertain is, whether their friends now assembled are generally favourable to the views, that a Convention should be held at some future period.

Mr. FULLER.—I doubt the propriety of retiring. We are all here without distinction of country. I am not here as an American, but I stand here as a Christian on the platform of humanity. If there is anything, let us meet it in the face of open day. I, for one, object to going out with the Americans.

Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR.—It is, if I understand the proposition, to be left with the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to call the next Convention. I hoped that at our next meeting we should have the pleasure of welcoming our friends from different nations on the soil of the United States. But if it be left with the London Committee, they would naturally invite the Convention to assemble here.

Rev. N. COLVER.—I am in favour of the resolution just as it stands. I am opposed to retiring, or to the American delegates attempting to come to any arrangements among themselves. But while I approve of the resolution, I have no doubt that such a correspondence will be opened up with the brethren in America and elsewhere, as will lead to the best and most satisfactory results in calling a subsequent Convention. I have the utmost confidence in the Society here, and I have strong hopes that before two years elapse, we shall have the pleasure of welcoming you to our own country in a Convention like this, such an event would gladden and cheer my heart. So much with respect to the resolution; but I should not feel that I had done right, if I left without adding a word or two. In America, there is a dreadful cloud hanging over us, the cloud of slavery. I give you my assurance, that coming as I do from a land of slavery, where we feel its effects in the church, and in every circle in which we move, to be present in this assembly, has, indeed, cheered my heart. To my dying day, I shall look back to this event as an Ebenezer raised to gladden me on my path. We are about to return to America, we shall not go back to rest, but to fight the battle of the Lord and liberty. Our speeches delivered in this Convention will meet us there; they will be canvassed by the slave-holder and by the slave-holder's apologist; but I am ready to take the responsibility. I have nothing from which to shrink on that account. But when I take my leave of these brethren, and I think that I shall look on this esteemed assembly no more, there gathers around my heart a peculiar sensation. I give you this pledge, that I will remember you, and remember you when I come before that throne where God hears prayer. In America we shall need your prayers, we shall require your sustaining hand. When you send men to America, or delegates to religious societies, I pray you to remember your abolition principles, and to send such men as will strengthen our hands. We shall gladly hail them to our shores. Whether we meet in another Convention or not, I do trust that we shall often meet at a throne of grace; but there is another Convention where we shall all assemble, and where the slave-holder will be in our midst. May he not have it to say, "You did not do what you could to relieve me from the infatuation under which I was labouring, and to wash off that guilt which has now clothed me with eternal woe." There we shall also meet the poor slave divested of his chains. May God forbid that he should have to say, "You did not do what you could to take my fetters off in the other world." There too we shall meet Him who died on Calvary. May he not say, "To live in luxury and ease, you shrank aside from the slave, and toiled not in the path of humanity!" I pray that we may all keep that day in view; and though ocean may roll between us, yet one in the hands of Jesus Christ, we shall fight in the cause of truth and humanity, keeping our eye constantly

fixed on that period, when we shall lay down our armour at the feet of Immanuel. Permit me to commit these brethren to the grace of God. When I think of the thousands of slaves in my own country, men, women, and children, groaning beneath the lash, my heart is pained, and I lay awake in the watches of the night. Let us feel it more and more ; let us continue to feel it till our spirits arise to the Convention above. In conclusion, I call upon you not to desist from your labours till every slave throughout the world is free.

Rev. H. GREW.—I will withdraw my suggestion, and leave the matter in the hands of our friends.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—With the view of producing harmony, I will move as an amendment, or rather as an addition to the resolution, the following words:—"Or to accept an invitation from the abolitionists in America, or elsewhere, to hold the Convention there, and to act in concert with them in issuing the call." This does not interfere with the arrangement already proposed, but gives the Committee your sanction in carrying into effect another plan, provided it should be found to promise more advantage than the other, to the great cause in which we are enlisted. I do not offer this on my own account. But if it should appear both practicable and desirable, on the part of the friends on both sides of the Atlantic, that the next Convention should be held in the United States, it would be more acceptable to my countrymen for the invitation to issue from thence to this country, than for the Committee sitting in London, to appoint a Convention in America. Some unfriendly to our cause might regard the latter as an obtrusion on American opinions and feelings: whereas, the former would create an interest, which might be productive of great benefit. I cannot dismiss from my mind the thought of another Convention. Nor can I abandon the hope that every individual here is fully persuaded, that the great interests of mankind demand that we should re-assemble. This Convention, have now planted their feet, and planted them boldly on those immutable and eternal principles, which God and nature have taught us to recognise as the only proper basis of human actions. It appears to me necessary, that these principles should be further developed, and repeatedly urged upon the attention of the world ; as precious ores while they remain in their native bed, are not available for the valuable purposes for which they were designed, so moral truths sometimes lie apparently dormant in the human mind ; and as it is necessary to bring out the precious metals, and to pass them through the mint, not to give them new properties, but to stamp upon them the index of their value, that they may be duly appreciated and put in circulation ; so it is necessary to bring out those intrinsic truths, so esteemed in heaven, so dear to man, and by the combined power of associated and enlightened intellect, to impress upon them the index of their value, that they may obtain currency among mankind. Such was the effect of that memorable document, which was the product of the enlightened minds and benevolent hearts of the American fathers. They brought out those first principles, which have been acted upon by this Convention. They held up those self-evident truths to the admiration of mankind. That noble document embodied them and emblazoned them throughout the world ; and although the sentiments it proclaims under the sacred sanction of consecrated life, fortune, and sacred honour, have not overthrown, and may never demolish the various *forms* of human government, yet like leaven, they are fermenting and modifying the Government of every nation upon the face of the earth. Let this Convention follow the example

which has thus been set. We are assembled for moral, religious, and humane purposes. Let us bring forth those moral truths on which our enterprise is founded, and cause them to bear on the interests of humanity. I hope that the Committee will be left unfettered; and that the next meeting of the Convention will take place where it will best promote the cause in which we are engaged, and in which we are delighted mutually to pledge our hearts and our hands. I intend never to quarrel with my brethren on this side of the water, whether their views should entirely agree with ours or not. I have seen too much of the warm feeling of their hearts, of the light of their understandings, and of their steady and unwavering attachment to the cause, to entertain aught of the spirit of jealousy. I will work with them on any feasible plan. I can assure them that this is the feeling of many, and I hope it is the feeling of all. I thank God, that he has enabled us to act with perfect unanimity on the two most important resolutions, those on which our prosperity hangs, viz., church action and free-labour production. By the one, we appeal to the slave-holder's conscience, and by the other, to the slave-holder's pocket: and while we make this double appeal, we may feel assured that it will not be in vain. Having gained these two points, let us act in union upon every other great question. The ocean may divide us, but such is the love we cherish to this cause, that many waters cannot quench it.

Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR.—I rise to second that amendment. It comprehends all I had in view.

Colonel MILLER.—It is with no ordinary feelings that I rise to express my opinion on the resolution now offered to the Convention. I have no objection either to the original resolution, or to the proposed addition. I came here at the call of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for the world. I came here, however, an independent man, and I hope that I have maintained, and still maintain that independency. I believe that the Society will not deem me a worse man for stating where I differed from it. I feel the fullest confidence in the abolition spirit of Great Britain, and I have watched it incessantly. While I thought that physical power must be employed to redeem men from slavery, I have felt that the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, was the only adequate remedy. Though I may differ from you on some points, and may be set down as not fully carrying out the gospel, still I believe that it is by the enunciation of "peace on earth and good will towards men," that our great object will receive its achievement. I am so fully convinced of the sincerity and efficiency of the members of this Society, that I would leave with them the calling of another Convention where they see fit. If they do not now enjoy all the light upon the subject which they wish, I pray that it may shine in upon them. But as an American citizen, I would say, let us have a Convention of this kind on our own shores. We, of all people most need it; and I can promise the abolitionists of England, that they will receive as cordial a reception in America, as we have met with in London. It is with heartfelt emotion that I take my leave of this meeting; to the last hour of my life it will have its impression on my mind. I have made my objections as they came up, but I would forego almost everything save fixed opinion, rather than mar the cordiality of those who have assembled to redeem men from bondage. I would, therefore, entreat my American friends, to leave the matter in the hands of the Committee. I would spurn the insinuation, that if the Americans were to retire, they would divide on the subject. With the warmest feelings of my heart, I pledge to you on my

own account, and on behalf of thousands, and tens of thousands, on my native shore, abolitionism shall be the standard under which we will rally, and that we will never lay it down, till death deprives us of the means of raising it, or every slave stands disenthralled, enfranchised and free.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I feel bound to say as one member of this Convention, that whenever and wherever, and by whomsoever, another body of this kind may be summoned, I hope it will be left free to decide of what it shall be composed ; free to settle its own qualifications of membership ; free to arrange all the details of its own meeting ; not requested even, nor expected to sit under the shadow of any Society however meritorious, or any Committee, however much we may owe them for their services in the cause. And further still, if it be not possible in England to have a World's Convention, in which may be represented the feelings of every friend of humanity, and each sex be acknowledged, then for one, I shall vote that the next General Convention be assembled either in France or my own country, where such a state of things is possible, and it will not be opposed to the customs, the prejudices, or the religious convictions of the community.

Mr. BRADBURN.—I hope that the addition will be adopted. I think it would be peculiarly unfortunate, if a Convention for the abolition of slavery throughout the world, were to be called in America by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. The Americans, like those of every other nation have, their national pride, and their national prejudices ; and I know, that if such a call were sent forth from such a quarter, it would excite in many men that pride and those prejudices. For this reason, I hope that the amendment will be adopted. I doubt not, that two years hence there will have been such a change in the public sentiment of our country, as will warrant abundantly the assembling there of a Convention similar to this. Those who have spoken upon the affairs of America, have dwelt on the dark side of the picture. I know that this has been peculiarly the case with myself. It has been a picture of blackness which has been hung up for the contemplation of this assembly. But there is also a bright side of the picture. There has been a great change brought about in the public sentiment of America relative to slavery. It is only some eight or ten years since, that there was throughout the length and breadth of that mighty land, but one solitary voice lifted up in denunciation of the giant crime of our nation. But since then, there have been joined to it, I might say, hundreds of thousands of other voices. And there was, at that period, but one publication which would venture to speak out in behalf of the truths, emblazoned in the preamble of the American declaration of independence. I remember that one of the first numbers of that publication casually fell into my hands ; and on looking over its pages, and seeing the announcement of the mighty purpose it proposed to accomplish, and especially when my eye rested on a sentence to this effect, that the editor would tell scorners, that that little sheet should yet cause that mighty nation to shake from its centre to its circumference, I flung down the paper with this exclamation, that the editor must be either a knave or a fool. It was not till some time afterwards that I took an active interest in this cause. And if I have been able to do anything in America, especially as a legislator, in behalf of the inalienable rights of humanity, I may say, with truth, that the original occasion of my acting at all in the premises, was my hearing the distinguished individual who now sits before me in this house, GEORGE THOMPSON. I had prejudices against the abolitionists at that time.

I considered them a set of hair-brained fanatics, who, to accomplish their object, would scarce scruple to dismember the union, to get up a servile war, and excite the slaves to "cut their masters throats;" and it was only by the urgent solicitations of a personal friend, that I consented, one 4th of July, to go and hear the eloquent orator to whom I have just alluded. I was astonished to hear him say, and to find the sentiment sanctioned by other abolitionists, and by the American Society of abolitionists, that so far from disturbing the country, and exciting the slaves to mutiny, he would not, with all his love of liberty, injure the hair of a slave-holder's head to liberate every slave in the universe; for he would not, he said, do evil that good might come. But I had not listened long to the orator's eloquence, before my prejudices began to melt away, like fairy frost-work before the sun. My own experience has been essentially that of thousands of individuals in America. As light has been disseminated over the land, and the people instructed on this subject, a change has been going on in the opinions of our countrymen. Now, instead of there being only a single individual, and only a single press devoted to the advocacy of this cause, there are large numbers of presses, and hundreds of thousands of individuals enlisted in its behalf. It might possibly be inferred, from what some of us have said, that our clergymen are all like so many dumb dogs, that will not bark. But that is not the case. However it may have hitherto been, many now stand nobly up in our sacred pulpits, and in the name, and by the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ, proclaim to the people, the duty of "giving to their servants that which is just and equal," of "breaking every yoke, and letting the oppressed go free." And our legislatures have been referred to in a way, to leave the impression that *they* had done nothing. But in reality they have done a great deal. The legislature of my own native state has passed all our anti-slavery measures. Vermont has done the same. And other states, though they may not have done so much, have, nevertheless, done considerable, have rendered, through their legislative enactments, a great service to our cause. Indeed, when I consider the weight of prejudice, of ignorance, and of opposition, against which the abolitionist cause in America has had to contend, I cannot but think its progress has been truly wonderful, greater by far than its most sanguine friends could have reasonably anticipated. Two years hence, it will have extended its progress so far, that a World's Anti-slavery Convention may well be assembled in America. In Massachusetts, where five years ago, even in its capital, our head-quarters of liberality, of benevolence, and of refinement; a few women could not meet to pray for the slave, lest they were mobbed, where GARRISON, the originator of the whole abolition movement in America, for attempting to unite in the prayers of those devoted women, was dragged through the streets with a rope round his neck, and thrust into a gaol for safe keeping; where such men as FOLLEN, CHANNING, and MAY, could not be heard before a Legislative Committee, and where, even at a still later period, the abolitionists were driven to hold their meetings in a barn, it is now not only safe, it is even held honourable, to speak out plainly in behalf of the outraged rights of the negro. I rejoice in this change. It makes me think better of my country. And although I am there denied the right of locomotion—cannot travel southwardly three days, without endangering my life—and although millions of my countrymen are there sacrificed on the bloody altar of slavery, yet I can say most heartily of my country, what your noble COWPER said of yours,

"O," America, "with all thy faults, I love thee still." And let me add, that my country has never seemed so dear to me, as since I have been in England. I have a great, an intense veneration for England and the English. I venerate England as the mightiest nation of the world, and the English as a brave magnanimous people; and I thank them, in the name of the down-trodden slave, in the name of humanity, and in the name of the God of humanity and of mercy, for their noble and beneficent exertions in the glorious cause of emancipation. But I love America and the Americans more; and it is because I love them, that I have in this Convention denounced so freely the atrocities perpetrated by American slave-holders, and sanctioned by their apologists. And because I love them, I will never cease this denunciation, till every American slave-holder shall loose his grasp on the throat of his brother, whom he holds in bondage, and restore him to the enjoyment of those inalienable rights of which he has so long robbed him. I sympathise with the views and feelings expressed by my friend who preceded me. It would give me great pleasure to see a Convention of the abolitionists of the world assembled in America. And should a Convention be called there, I hope it will be, in reality, a World's Convention, a Convention in which every friend of humanity, duly delegated, will be heartily welcomed to a seat, without respect of colour, of creed, or of sex.

Rev. A. HARVEY.—It is impossible, for any sincere friend of humanity, who has witnessed the proceedings of this Convention, to restrain the emotions of heartfelt gratitude to the Giver of all good, for the unanimity which has characterised its members in the great cause which has brought us together. A strong impulse has been given to the cause of freedom. Our faith has been strengthened in the practicability of our object, and our zeal inflamed to labour with increased energy in this sacred cause, till the last fetter is broken from the limbs of the enslaved. We have just cause of thankfulness to God, for keeping us so harmoniously united in all our decisions. Let us separate in the same spirit of brotherly love. Our work is not yet done; it is only begun. Long have the sable sons of Africa been considered as the common prey of the rest of the world, and for a long series of years little was done to ameliorate their condition or redress their wrongs. And although a generation has nearly passed away since the friends of humanity first united to destroy the horrid traffic in human flesh; yet many years have not elapsed since much progress was made in this sacred cause of human freedom. Enough has however been done to show what a united people can achieve in the cause of justice and humanity, and to encourage us to united persevering effort for the redemption of the slave. Much time was wasted in experiments, while the wretched victims of oppression were groaning out their lives in hopeless bondage. It is not more than fifteen years since the friends of the negro resolved, nobly and properly resolved, to consult no longer the interests or wishes of the oppressor, but to demand immediate and unconditional emancipation for the slave. So long as we advocated the improvement of the horrid system, and pled for gradual abolition, we made little progress; but no sooner did we take the ground of justice, and demand in her sacred name immediate liberty for the slave, then the country was roused; right-hearted men of all classes came to our aid, the Legislature could no longer resist the appeal of united millions pleading for the oppressed, and the loud cry raised in this country, rolled over the broad and majestic Atlantic, till it made the tyrants tremble, and the slave leap from his chains,

and exult in all the dignity of a freeman. The world has now taken up the cause of bleeding, injured humanity, and its wrongs must be redressed. Our friends in America are fighting the battle of freedom nobly, and although they have many difficulties peculiar to themselves with which to contend, triumph must await them, and that at no distant day. Our American brethren who have honoured us with their presence, and given us so efficient aid by their counsels, are about to return to their own land, where they have to meet the monster in his most hideous aspects, and to encounter the most determined resistance; but I would bid them be of good cheer. Theirs is a holy cause. They have the sympathy and the prayers of all the wise and the good, and He, who hears the cry of the oppressed, will bless their efforts, and in due time crown them with success. I could not refrain from giving expression to these feelings of admiration for our American brethren, and I bid them God speed. If they are anxious to have a Convention in their own country, and if they think it would contribute to the advancement of their great cause, I am sure the call will be cordially responded to by the friends of the slave in this country, and that all national jealousies will be quenched by the gushings of a warm hearted humanity.

Mr. FULLER.—I rise to express a desire, that the resolution now before the Convention, may be so worded that we may all be able to vote for it. I quite agree in sentiment with my friend, WENDELL PHILLIPS, both of us are anxious to see a World's Convention, upon such a broad basis, as will admit every person who may be sent to it by the friends of humanity. All of us have come to a Convention, and I do not doubt but some good may have been done; but the Convention is made up of individuals, and what I want is, that every one of us will go home impressed with the feeling, that the whole weight of the business devolves upon himself. Let every one of us act as if the very issue of the cause in which we are engaged, rests upon our own labours, then our coming will be for good. Some of us, you refused to receive, and I expressed, as is my custom, my feelings upon it. But if I have hurt the feelings of any one, I heartily ask to be excused. I want to see a World's Convention, I care not where it is held, so long as I have health, and a little money, I will come to see my friends, or I will be glad to see you. I respect you all.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—I have a further suggestion to throw out for the consideration of the Convention. Whilst the discussion has been going on, my heart has warmed towards our American friends, for the sacrifices they have made in this good cause; but my thoughts were also turned to the great business of the Convention. Looking at all that has been now done, I cannot give my vote with my friend, JAMES FULLER; I am afraid, therefore, we cannot have an unanimous vote. Taking as comprehensive a view of the question as I can, in the short space of time allowed me, considering the interests of the slaves distributed throughout the various countries of the world, I think it would be best to look to the holding of a Convention in two years in London, and shall therefore give my vote for its being left to the discretion of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I must confess that I had looked forward to the assembling of the next Convention, with a lively hope of our being able to respond with cheerfulness to a call from our brethren from America, to meet them in their own country. That pleasing hope was dispelled by remarks which were made by them, at meetings held with us previously to the assem-

bling of the Convention, meetings which were full of interest, and elicited information of the most important nature. One and all of our American friends, then united in opinion, that under present circumstances, it was wholly out of the question, that we should meet in North America. It was their sentiment, expressed with great regret, but fully and decidedly expressed, that the prospect of holding the next Anti-slavery Convention in America was wholly out of the question. Such is decidedly the impression that was made upon my mind ; and I have reason to know, that such was the impression made upon the minds of many of our friends, as well as upon myself. So that those communications or conversations prevented us from entertaining the question at present, and at all events, for the next Convention. The idea was a grateful one, and I am quite aware, that by many of our warmest friends, it was hailed with feelings of pleasure and peculiar delight. Of course, we all felt proportionate pain when we were obliged to abandon it ; but we hope the time is fast approaching, when we can gratify our friends on the other side of the Atlantic. I have for a great many years taken a warm and deep interest in the holy cause of abolition, and therefore, I have narrowly watched, and with much anxiety, the progress it was making in America. It has given me much and heartfelt pleasure, to see its steady advance, and by the blessing of God it will, by our proceedings, be greatly accelerated ; it would be therefore, with feelings of the utmost satisfaction, that I would unite with them in a Convention like this in their own land. Now, however, I fear, we cannot entertain the idea of it.

Rev. C. E. LESTER.—As an American, I must claim to say a few words upon this question, after the remarks that have been made upon us. Of course, I cannot feel very much gratified, that the idea of holding the next Convention in my own country has been discouraged and abandoned. I suppose the fear is, that you would be mobbed out of the country. I have often heard the remark made, both in this country and my own ; but I am perfectly satisfied that every mob which has ever threatened our cause, has done us good. We are, then, much indebted to the mobs, and more especially to those mobs which threatened our friend GEORGE THOMPSON with the tar barrel and feathers, and drove him from the country. They were our best friends, for they made people think upon what necessity there was for so much violence, and then they found we were not such terrible fellows as they had supposed us to be. I do sincerely trust, that a Convention will sit in my country before long, though probably not the first one. We must not now sleep upon our posts, we must not let any long time pass without meeting again, and the revolution in the feeling on slavery in America, caused by our proceedings, will enable us to receive you properly, honourably, and safely, after the next Convention shall have been held. I am not prepared, Sir, to say, that if the next Convention were held in America, the result would be emancipation to our slaves ; but this I will say, that it would greatly help towards it. Many presses in my country have advocated the holding of our next Convention in America, as it is now the largest slave-holding country ; and, therefore, they said, the deliberations and proceedings of the Convention would there have most effect. I trust, however, that you have not come to your present determination, because you think we are wanting in hospitality to receive you, or that we are deficient in courage to stand by you. I know not what sort of reception you might obtain in the South, I will answer for

it, that in the North we are better prepared, and would most joyfully receive you.

Mr. BLAIR.—Whatever determination you may come to, I earnestly hope the same will come to no resolution, the effect of which will be to tie up the hands of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Many circumstances might arise which would render such a course most undesirable and detrimental to the cause we all have at heart.

Mr. ALEXANDER.—I agree in what has fallen from my friend BLAIR.

Mr. PRICE.—I cannot think that the proposed amendment is a judicious one. It sets out nothing specific, it fixes nothing whatever; and I think it is decidedly the best plan to leave the whole matter in the hands of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, or rather the Committee of that Society. Our American friends must remember, that there are slaves in other countries than America; there are slaves belonging to France, to Holland, and to Spain; and not only in those countries, but that they abound in Brazil. It is my opinion, that the question of abolition comes more appropriately under discussion in England, because in this country the abolitionists are in a better position for sending forth to the slave-holding nations, recommendations or entreaties; they must have more weight coming from Great Britain, where all slavery has ceased, than coming from America, where it still exists. Right well should I be pleased if the Americans had washed their hands of the foul stain, and were in a position to address other nations on the abominations of slavery. I should, indeed, be glad. But I think we stand on fairer and stronger ground in England, because our communications would be better received than they would from any nation where slavery is permitted to exist. I have no objection to fix the period for holding the next Convention at two years; but I will adhere to my motion, as I am persuaded it is the best course to take, and it received the full consideration of the Committee before it was agreed upon.

The amendment was then put and lost.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—With the assistance of some friends I have drawn up a few words in addition, which I hope will amicably settle the present question. I beg to move:—

That it be left to the discretion of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, to decide, after consulting with the friends of the cause of abolition, the time and place of holding the (said) next Convention.

Rev. N. COLVER seconded the amendment.

Mr. BALL.—The amendment just proposed, I am fully persuaded would be carried unanimously if it were put. It leaves the question open, so that advantage may be taken of any circumstance that may arise, and that, I think, will meet the views of every one. The Committee also are to consult with their friends in other countries, before deciding anything.

Mr. STACEY.—As one of the Committee upon which so much responsibility rests, may I ask whether we are to consult the friends of abolition everywhere; that would entail a vast correspondence and expense.

Rev. J. CARLILE.—No; if the Committee corresponds with the friends of the cause in two countries, the terms of the resolution and amendment will be satisfied.

Mr. PRICE.—As a matter of courtesy we ought to make some addition to the resolution, in order to meet the views of our American friends. I, therefore, as the proposer of the resolution, have no objection to the amendment.

The resolution, as amended, was then put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

Rev. T. SCALES.—We have now got through all the business which has been prepared by the Secretaries, and which appeared upon their list, according to the instructions of the Convention. I understand that there are other resolutions in the hands of some gentlemen, and that Mr. PHILLIPS desires to lay a paper before the Convention.

Mr. PHILLIPS read a protest against certain proceedings of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and of the Convention, signed by WILLIAM ADAM, WENDELL PHILLIPS, JONATHAN P. MILLER, CHARLES EDWARDS LESTER, JAMES MOTT, GEORGE BRADBURN, and ISAAC WINSLOW.

It was moved by Mr. PHILLIPS, and seconded by PROFESSOR ADAM, That the protest now read be laid on the table, and entered on the minutes.

An amendment was moved by the Rev. N. COLVER, seconded by Mr. SCOBLE,

That the protest now read be laid on the table.

The amendment was carried. The original motion was put and negatived.

Mr. PHILLIPS read and laid on the table resolutions of the American Abolition Society, from the 12th to the 15th of May, 1840.

RESOLUTION RESPECTING THE PRESIDENT.

Mr. G. THOMPSON.—I hold in my hand a resolution, upon offering which, I would have been most happy to have said a few words to the Convention. The resolution is one, which I had prepared on the first day of our sittings, but the Committee were of opinion, that the more proper time for bringing it under your notice, was immediately previous to our breaking up. The resolution I have now to propose is as follows :—

That this Convention has hailed with the deepest feelings of gratitude to ALMIGHTY GOD, the appearance among them on this occasion of the venerable THOMAS CLARKSON, the originator (fifty-four years ago) of the Committee for the Abolition of the Slave-trade ; and humbly trusts, that the same DIVINE PROVIDENCE, which has thus far prolonged his days, will permit him to witness the beneficial effects of the deliberations and plans of this Convention, in the still further triumphs of that cause to which he has devoted his most valuable life.

Had time permitted me, upon such a theme, it would have been easy to have dilated at great length. As it is now so late, I will content myself with calling upon all present to study the labours and the life of the good man, and go home determined to proceed in the same spirit. Which of us will ever forget the glory which surrounded the features of that venerable man, when he told us, that if he had another life, he would devote it to the cause in which we attempt to follow him. I will simply submit my motion, not doubting, but the Convention will respond to my feelings in offering it.

Mr. PHILLIPS.—I have nothing to add to what has fallen from GEORGE THOMPSON; in such an assemblage as this I may well content myself with simply seconding the motion. I am pleased that the last tones of my voice will create no feeling of discord in the assembly; all present can well sympathise one with another, and unite cordially in an expression of deep gratitude to a gracious Providence for its mercy to such a man. As an American, I can only say, that we want words to give expression to our feelings.

The CHAIRMAN.—I would suggest that you should omit the usual signs of approbation upon this resolution. All who are in favour of the resolution will be pleased to stand up.

The whole assembly rose, and the motion was carried in silence.

THANKS TO THE VICE-PRESIDENTS.

Mr. J. FORSTER.—Our CHAIRMAN and VICE-CHAIRMEN are urging upon Dr. PRICE to withhold a resolution which has been put into his hands. I have never been in the practice of moving formal votes of thanks, and therefore I do not urge that course of proceeding. But I am glad of this opportunity of publicly expressing my individual sense of what we owe to our friends, who, from day to day, and sitting to sitting, have kindly filled for us the place of Chairmen. I am sure that it was no easy part which they were called to occupy.

Dr. PRICE.—The feeling just expressed would have been in entire accordance with my own, had it not been for the peculiar circumstances in which the Convention is placed, by what has recently transpired. I do not think that men acting together in any benevolent or Christian association, should either look for thanks, or be met with them from each other. Let those who see their labours, thank them if they will, but united together for the most part in the same work, the satisfaction of doing right should be sufficient. But placed in such circumstances as we now are, I think that we cannot part without adopting some such resolution as that which has been placed in my hands; I will read it for the information of the meeting.

That the cordial thanks of this Convention be given to W. T. BLAIR, of Bath; JOSEPH STURGE, of Birmingham; JAMES GILLESPIE BIRNEY, of New York; and ROBERT KAYE GREVILLE, LL.D., of Edinburgh, the VICE-PRESIDENTS, for the assiduity, impartiality, and urbanity with which they have performed the arduous duties devolved upon them.

It is not my purpose, nor is it in accordance with my general plan, to make a long speech. Unhappily I have been prevented from attending the Convention by several engagements over which I had no control; however, I

have been here often enough to have received a strong impression perfectly identical with that, which this resolution declares. I do hope those little variations of feeling which have arisen, will result in an increase to our pleasures. I would rather be in an association where there were some trifling variations of opinion, and thought, than in one where every mind was cast into the same mould. With these remarks I most cordially move the resolution.

Rev. E. GALUSHA.—It is with very great pleasure that I acknowledge the favour done me by the Committee, in allowing me to second this resolution. When I considered what a variety of mental constitutions, of mental trainings, of mental habits; what a variety of opinions; what complicated, intricate, and deeply interesting matters have come before us, I am agreeably surprised that our Chairmen have been enabled to maintain so much calmness of mind, and impartiality, and integrity of conduct; I hope that I speak not for myself alone, nay, I am sure that there are others, from the same side of the Atlantic as myself, who feel as I feel, upon this subject. With these remarks, I beg leave most cordially to second the resolution which has been presented to your notice.

Dr. PRICE, then submitted the resolution for adoption, on which the assembly rose, and carried it by loud acclamation.

Mr. JOSEPH STURGE.—I believe I not only express my own feelings, but those of my coadjutors, in saying, that we should have been glad, had this kind expression of approbation of our conduct been omitted; and I wish to avail myself of this opportunity, of assuring those friends from America, who may have disapproved of some part of our proceedings, that it is impossible for them to see, more strongly than I have felt, my own individual infirmities. I have often wished that I could have taken a silent part in these meetings, and I trust, that if I have given a single individual in the assembly, any cause of offence, he will pardon it. I have at times felt intensely anxious that nothing of an extraneous nature might interfere with the subject before us, that of endeavouring, under Providence, to promote the full emancipation of the slave in every part of the world; and this anxiety may occasionally have somewhat clouded my judgment. As perhaps many of us may never meet again on this side eternity; I humbly hope, that when separated from each other, on whatever subordinate topics we may differ, we may steadily pursue the great object for which we assembled; and I do believe, that under the Divine blessing, our labours will not be in vain.

THANKS TO THE COMMITTEE OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

Rev. J. KENNEDY.—I have the honour of laying before the Convention, a resolution which I think needs no argument to enforce its adoption. I shall therefore, not preface it by any speech, but merely explain the circumstances under which I bring it forward. Our Chairman alluded in the course of the afternoon, to the responsibility which the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society felt they took upon themselves, in calling this assembly together. It then occurred to me, that it was not the intention of the Committee of business, to suggest such a resolution as that which I shall

lay before you. Finding that I was correct, I drew this up, and it will be seconded by a gentleman coming from a greater distance than myself. Allow me to say, that being Secretary to a working Anti-Slavery Society in the north, I shall return from this Convention, with a zeal and devotedness which I never felt before. The resolution is :—

That this Convention cannot separate without expressing their deep obligations to the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society for calling this meeting together, and their earnest hope and prayer, that the results will far exceed all expectations, which were previously entertained regarding them.

Rev. J. KEEP.—It is with great pleasure and a full conviction of the propriety of the resolution, that I rise to second it.

The motion was then carried.

CUSTODY OF THE RECORDS.

Rev. C. P. GROSVENOR.—I feel myself peculiarly honoured in having this resolution put into my hands to present to the Convention. My emotions I cannot express, nor will I attempt it. Let me read the resolution, and append to it only one or two remarks. It is as follows :—

That the records of this Convention be committed to the custody of the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, together with the documents presented to it, and that it be left to that Committee to make such use of them, by printing and publishing, as they may deem expedient, with a view to promote the objects of the Convention.

I move the adoption of this resolution, because I believe that there is no body on the face of the earth, among all the anti-slavery bodies which now exist, to which we can, with more confidence, commit the records of the doings of this Convention. I feel happy that we have proof, not since we met together merely, but as I look back over years which have gone by, that the British abolitionists are trust-worthy men. I move this resolution also with pleasure, because I feel that, in doing it, I am preparing the way for bringing before the world, a mass of matter which will be of immense value to the world ; and that I am preparing a rich benefit for my native country, for that country which I love, notwithstanding all its faults, for which I am willing to labour and for whose rescue from the curse of slavery, I have often, during the last ten years, being willing to die. I feel that the doings of this Convention cannot fail of awakening, still more strongly, the attention of the abolitionists of that country, and arousing the attention of thousands of citizens in the Northern states, to the great question of slavery, who, up to this day, have allowed it to pass by them without regard. I believe, further, that it will have a powerful influence in awakening the consciences of tens of thousands of slave-holders in the Southern part of the country, who have hitherto remained in a state of apathy. I believe that the doings of the Convention will be of immense benefit to the world at large, wherever the power of

oppression now bears sway. I say this the more readily, because I have contributed so little to the effectiveness of the Convention. I regret exceedingly that I did not arrive here till after you had commenced your session ; since which, I have only been able to drink in, from the fountains bubbling and springing up everywhere around me, those refreshing waters which will fit me, I trust, more vigorously and effectually, after my return to my native country, to pursue the sacred work to which I feel most ardently devoted. I wish to state one fact, corroborative of the opinion I have expressed as to the result of your labours. A gentleman of high standing in the state of Massachusetts, second in point of character to no other, second in point of learning to very few if any, told me, but a day or two before I left home, that he had learned that I was about to leave for London, to attend the Anti-Slavery Convention, and expressed a hope that I would go. Let it be remembered, that this gentleman had never before opened his voice in favour of this cause. He is one of those legal gentlemen who have been kept quiet. He is a Judge on the bench who has done nothing in this cause of bleeding humanity. He added—"That Convention will do much good, and I shall want to see you after your return." I estimate the opinion of that gentleman very highly, and I believe that there were hundreds of others looking forward, as he did to this Convention, in order to see its results. I believe that the citizens of America are looking across the Atlantic, with the most intense interest for the report of your proceedings. But I promised to be short, and I would conclude by expressing my respect and gratitude, for the manner in which myself and my colleagues from America have been received.

ISAAC BRAITHWAITE, Esq., (of Kendal).—I feel very much obliged to the Convention for giving me an opportunity of saying a few words. I have felt very much interested in the proceedings as they have gone *de die in diem*. The subject is to me one of absorbing delight. I have some cause to feel highly gratified at seeing my dear American friends ; for I cannot but remember the kindness which I received from them, while a sojourner in their land. I cannot but rejoice even in the partial removal of the difficulties by which they have been surrounded. My chief desire this evening has been that our love to the Redeemer may be increased, and then we shall entertain a corresponding feeling towards each other. Nor will it stop here. That love will be extended to the slave and the coloured man, and to the oppressor also. If we earnestly seek after the guidance of the blessed Spirit of Truth, we shall be directed as to when and where it will be advisable to assemble again in the capacity of a Convention, so that we need experience no anxiety on that subject. My earnest wish is, that our labours may prove effectual in the accomplishment of the great end which we all have at heart. In most cordially seconding the resolution, I bid you an affectionate farewell.

The resolution was put and carried unanimously.

THANKS TO THE SECRETARIES.

Mr. BALL.—I have departed a little from the usual order, in not submitting my resolution to the business committee—in other words, to the Secretaries. But as I have the permission of the Chairman, I trust I shall be allowed to proceed. I beg to move, with the warmest feelings of my heart :—

That the thanks of this Convention be presented to THOMAS SCALES,

JOHN SCOBLE, WILLIAM MORGAN, WILLIAM BEVAN, HENRY BREWSTER STANTON, and WENDELL PHILLIPS, for the unremitting assiduity and discretion with which they have performed the duties of Secretaries.

Rev. N. COLVER seconded the motion, which was put and carried by acclamation.

Rev. T. SCALES.—I feel, I am sure, in common with my colleagues, that if we have served the great objects for which we have been convened, and if our services have met with your acceptance and approbation, we are richly rewarded. If we may only act together for the promotion of the end in view ; if under the Divine direction and blessing, and by the guidance and grace of the Holy Spirit of God, we are permitted to bring about the accomplishment of that design on which all our hearts are fixed, and to which as far as we are able our energies shall be devoted, I am sure that we shall all rejoice. I had some fears and apprehensions at one part of our proceedings, that what we had done, and the way in which we had done it, did not meet with the entire and cordial approbation of all our friends. This, however, I can say for my colleagues and for myself, that our great aim has been to act with the utmost impartiality, to give our undivided attention to the business of this great Convention, and I think we have not swerved to the right hand or to the left, but have been concerned to do justice to all, and to the great cause which has brought us together. And now to have thus received your thanks is most welcome to our hearts. I do hope, that when we retire from this Convention, it will be under the influence of mutual regard and esteem ; that not one unpleasant feeling will be suffered to remain in any breast, nay, I hope the sun will not be suffered to go down upon any one angry feeling ; but that we shall conclude, that whatever has been apparently painful and conflicting, has been nothing else than a collision of honest sentiment and free discussion, by minds, many of them accustomed to rule and guide in the spheres in which they move, but now brought to act in common, and mingling together their common feelings and opinions, with a view to deliberate on that way which may best serve the cause which we all love. It was scarcely to be expected, that in a meeting like this, there should not be, now and then, a ruffle ; but still I hope, that though we have been in our different opinions, and in their expression “distinct as the billows,” yet that we have been really “one as the sea.” I am sure that the conclusions to which I have frequently arrived, have been of this character, when after a long, a protracted, and a warm discussion, we have come at length so happily to an agreement. Thus on the most important of all the questions which have come before us, we have passed resolutions in which we all cordially united. This augurs well ; I trust it is an earnest that we have not met in vain ; that we may regard it as a pleasing omen, that the influence of the Convention will be felt to the very extremity of the globe ; that it will make the slave-holder tremble in the exercise of his unjust and inhuman power, and thrill the bosom of his slaves with emotions of hope and joy, when in the distant parts of the world they shall learn that there has been an assemblage of friends met together, to discuss and devise those measures by which their emancipation may be accomplished. Let us resolve that we will retire and separate from the Convention, to carry out, in our several spheres, the important objects which we have thus proposed to ourselves. The work is not done ; we have only entered the

threshold. We have marked out a great deal to be done by the friends of the anti-slavery cause, and by the Committee in London. An immense burden is imposed upon them; I trust they will receive strength from God to bear it, and that they will be assisted in the discharge of those important duties which you have entrusted to them. I am sure that they deserve your confidence; I am sure that they are entitled to your thanks and gratitude. I have had an opportunity of seeing it, and I may speak it now, without incurring the charge or suspicion of partiality; for I live far away from the metropolis, and only come up now and then, to take part in proceedings of this kind. But I can testify to the cordiality with which they consecrate themselves to this great and good work, the sacrifices of time and feeling which they perpetually make to accomplish this object, which lies so near their hearts. I am persuaded, that they feel their need of your sympathy, that they desire your prayers, and that you will remember them at the mercy-seat. You have committed a great work to their hands; you have appointed them a variety of services which they will have to accomplish; I trust you will retire with confidence, that those services will be faithfully performed, and with the resolve, that so far as you have the opportunity, you will co-operate with them in carrying them out. On this head there is one thing which all the friends ought to feel before they leave the metropolis. Already has a vast amount of expense been incurred, in order to bring us to this very point; but there are a variety of services which you have devolved upon the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which will oblige them to incur a very large expenditure. I do hope that all our friends will feel the importance of aiding in this great cause, to the utmost of their power, and that they will have the sinews for carrying on this peaceful war. It is not the *bella, horrida bella*, which we have to wage; here are not the "garments rolled in blood," and all the evils connected with carnage and destruction. It is an aggression upon the territories of the enemy of all righteousness that we are making; but in order to promote that great object, the sinews of such war must be supplied. We have been rejoicing this day in the accomplishment of one object on which our hearts have been much set, that of preventing the carrying away of the poor Hill Coolies from India to the Mauritius. Mr. BEVAN and Mr. SCOBLE two of my esteemed colleagues, have been engaged day and night in procuring information, by which they were enabled to convince members of Parliament of the evils to which the Hill Coolies were exposed; and they have accomplished their work in such a way, as entitles them to our gratitude, for the zeal with which they devoted themselves on this as on many other occasions, to our great and glorious cause.

THANKS TO THE PUBLICATION AND PRESS COMMITTEE.

Rev. W. BEVAN.—You have kindly tendered us what we have not adequately deserved. There is another body who have not worked as we have done, before the assembled delegates, but in secret places, and in the hours of darkness, that our works might be brought to light. To them our thanks are deeply due, and with these feelings, I beg to move :—

That the warmest thanks of this Convention be given to the Publication and Press Committee, and the gentlemen of the press, for their

devotion to the duties devolved upon them, on which so much of the successful issue of the proceedings of the Convention has depended.

Mr. SCOBLE seconded the resolution, which was put, and carried unanimously.

CONCLUSION.

The CHAIRMAN.—There will be a resolution moved by our friend WOODWARD, which will not be put from the Chair ; but after it has been read, I trust we shall be permitted to sit for a few moments in silence.

Rev. J. WOODWARD.—I feel extreme anxiety—an anxiety to which I am perfectly incompetent to give utterance,—in rising at this interesting moment to claim the attention of the Convention. Although a member of the London Committee, and occupying the responsible position of a delegate from the Congregational Union of England and Wales,—the humble representative of so many Churches and so many Christians,—I have deemed it wise to give place to the many competent individuals, by whom the matters that have passed under our review, have been so successfully discussed, and have hitherto forbore to address the Convention. I feel, therefore, that I have some little claim upon your indulgence for a few minutes, whilst I submit to you the proposition which I hold in my hand. In the fear of God we commenced our sittings, in that fear they have been continued, and now we are about finally to dissolve them, I trust under the power of the same emotion. Let us not go hence disquieted by those agitating and conflicting feelings, which must necessarily have arisen out of such discussions as have just taken place ; but rather let us separate in calmness, sobriety and charity, blessed with that soothing peace which arises from the conscious approbation of Him, who is the author of peace and lover of concord. The sentiments which I am anxious that you should adopt, are the following :—

This Convention desires to offer reverend thanksgivings to Almighty God, for his gracious providence, in permitting the assembly of so many Christian and philanthropic men, from different parts of this country and from other nations, to deliberate on the best means of effecting the utter extinction of slavery and the slave-trade ; for the harmony which has obtained among its members, as to fundamental principles of action ; and for the cordiality and general unanimity which have distinguished their proceedings ; and calling to mind those pacific, moral, and religious principles, upon which, as a Convention, it has agreed to act ; would conclude its important deliberations, by expressing its entire dependence on the blessing of Him who has given us command to break every yoke and to let the oppressed go free ; and by recording its solemn sense of the duty binding on every friend of the cause, not to relax in any effort until unconditional freedom shall be secured to every slave.

As a Christian man, and a Christian minister, I submit these sentiments to the cordial approbation of this Convention : and I cannot but hope, and fervently pray, that henceforward with enlarged knowledge and deepened charity, we may as better men and better citizens, consecrate our hearts, energies and talents, not alone to the great work of emancipating the slave, but to every other object of Christian philanthropy, in which we may deem it right to engage. Whilst during the brief term of our session, we have each been acting our part, and each endeavouring to serve our generation, how many have gone to their final account ! None of us can surely calculate on participating in the anxieties and responsibilities of another Anti-Slavery Convention. Let us then retire, filled with solemnity of mind, whilst we cherish thankfulness and hope, resolving to consecrate heart, life, and talents to that God who formed us by His power, to that Saviour who redeemed us by His blood, and to that Holy Spirit that sanctifies us by his truth.

The Delegates then sat for a few minutes in solemn silence, after which the Convention was dissolved.

LIST
OF
MEMBERS OF THE CONVENTION,
AND
FROM WHENCE THEY CAME OR WERE DELEGATED.

Acworth, Rev. James, A.M.	. Bradford, York.
Adam, Professor William	. Massachusetts, U. S.
Adey, Rev. Edward . . .	. Leighton Buzzard.
Aggs, Henry, Esq. . . .	. Croydon.
Alexander, Rev. William Lindsay	. Edinburgh.
Alexander, G. W., Esq. . .	. Member of the Committee.
Alexander, R. D., Esq. . .	. Ipswich.
Allan, David, Esq. . . .	. United Associate Synod of Scotland.
Allen, Richard, Esq. . . .	. Dublin.
Allen, William, Esq. . . .	. Member of Committee.
Allen, Stafford, Esq. . . .	. Ditto
Anderson, Rev. Christopher	. Edinburgh.
Anderson, Rev. William . .	. Glasgow.
Anderson, Rev. Hugh . . .	. Whitehaven.
Anderson, David, Esq. . . .	. Driffild.
Anderson, Robert, Esq. . .	. Trinidad.
Anderson, William Wemyss, Esq.	. Jamaica.
Angas, George Fife, Esq. . .	. Newcastle-on-Tyne.
Angus, Rev. Joseph, A.M. . .	. Falmouth, Jamaica.
Anstie, George W., Esq. . .	. Devizes.
Ashby, Thomas, Jun., Esq. .	. Staines.
Ashurst, William H., Esq. .	. Darlington.
Atkins, Arthur, Esq. . . .	. Coventry.
Atkins, James, Esq. . . .	. Northampton.
Austen, Rev. H. T. . . .	. Colchester.
Backhouse, Frederick, Esq. .	. Stockton-on-Tees.
Backhouse, Jonathan, Esq. .	. Darlington. †
Baines, Edward, Esq., M.P. .	. Leeds.
Baldwin, Edward, Esq. . . .	. Dublin.
Balfour, Joseph, Esq. . . .	. Braintree.
Ball, William, Esq. . . .	. Member of the Committee.
Bannister, Saxe, Esq. . . .	. Aborigines Protection Society.

Barbour, J. N., Esq.	Massachusetts, U. S.
Barfitt, Rev. John	Salisbury.
Barker, Francis, Esq.	Pontefract.
Barney, Nathaniel, Esq.	Massachusetts, U. S.
Barrett, Richard, Esq.	Member of the Committee.
Barrett, Mr. Edward	Western Baptist Union, Jamaica.
Bartlett, Thomas, Esq.	Baptist Church, Oxford.
Bass, Isaac, Esq.	Brighton.
Bassett, William, Esq.	Massachusetts, U. S.
Bassett, John D., Esq.	Leighton Buzzard.
Bassett, Peter J., Esq.	Ditto
Bayley, William, Esq.	Stockton-on-Tees.
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